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ART. I.—RISE AND FALL OF THE BONAPARTES.

1. *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* Par L. A. THIERS. Paris. 1845–62.
2. *Mémoires ou Souvenirs historiques sur Napoléon.* Par LA DUCHESSE D'ABRANTES. Paris. 1831–34.

THE idea has been rather a general one that, for a powerful and poetic story of kingly achievement—diversified by the lights and shadows of romantic victory and tragic disaster—the lover of such things should go back to earlier times to find it, if not in the scenes

> "Presenting Thebes' or Pelop's line,
> Or the tale of Troy divine"—

at least, in the record of the Merovingians, the Carlovingians, or the Hohenstauffens of the Middle Ages. But, within the lines of the present century and the memory of persons living, may be traced a career of "Arms and the man" as "audible and full of vent" as any other that ever went before; suggesting that the world still holds the arbitrament and game of war in especial honor, and also loves to have its currents, courses and consequences set forth in a vivid and somewhat pictorial manner, for general entertainment or instruction.

The family of the Bonapartes—for the name was contracted from *Buonaparte* when young Napoleon had won his first French distinctions—has been one of the most remarkable in history for the magnitude and variety of events associated

with it. It was first talked of in 1793, when the young Corsican officer of artillery, acting with promptitude for the French Directory against an outbreak of the "Sections," swept the streets of Paris clear of the rioters with a pitiless discharge of grape-shot; and, during the last year, the name produced the latest of its thousand sensations, when the telegraph sent abroad the news that the poor young Prince Imperial had fallen, in an obscure African scuffle and a discreditable cause, by the hands of the brave men of Zululand, fighting for their kraals and cornfields.

The chief of that Corsican family proved his Italian origin. Alfieri once boasted that men grew better in Italy than in any other country, *La pianta uomo nasce piu robusta in Italia che in qualcunque altra terra*—and, beyond a doubt, Napoleon Bonaparte had the energy of the Scipios, the Cæsars, the Borgias, the Colons and the Garibaldis; while he always kept the recollection that, in the Middle Ages, his name ranked with the best in Florence, Bologna, Treviso, Parma and Sarzano. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the family was among the first in Corsica, and his father, Carlo Buonaparte, was a gentleman and a lawyer in good repute. He was also a patriot, joining Paoli in an attempt to free the island from the rule of Genoa. About that time, J. J. Rousseau, admiring the bravery of the islanders—which could also fire the fancy of James Boswell, the garrulous friend of Dr. Johnson—hazarded the opinion that Corsica would yet be very memorable in the world; a prediction having special reference to the heroism of its people, and one that, in our day may be considered to have had a rather curious and unlooked for fulfilment.

Carlo Buonaparte and his wife, Maria Lætizia Ramolino, had thirteen children, five of whom died and made no sign, before the death of their father, in 1785; and the other eight—Joseph, Napoleon, Lucien, Louis, Jerome, Eliza, Pauline and Caroline (to write the names in the simplest way)—lived to play their distinguished parts on the stage of the world. Napoleon, born in 1769—about the time Louis XVI had taken Corsica from the Genoese and from republican liberty—led the

Ver Sacrum of his family from the troubled ground of Ajaccio to the mainland of France, where, after his schooling at Brienne and in the Military School of Paris (1784), he became lieutenant of artillery in the Royal Regiment of Grenoble. In his leisure moments he wrote a prize-essay on the best means of promoting the happiness of a people—an effort so full of fine thoughts in the manner of Rousseau and other *doctrinaires*, that, after he had become emperor, he grew afraid or ashamed of it; and having got it back, with the astute help of Talleyrand, he put it satisfactorily into the fire.* He also, about 1787, began a history of Corsica, for Paoli, written in a democratic spirit, and showing, at the same time that if he had been forced to use the pen to get a living, he could have written almost as admirably as he fought. Some of his subsequent army-bulletins are models of military eloquence; and of this he was always very conscious.

But the young soldier soon put literature and democracy aside. He found himself in the midst of a great revolution and resolved to take part in it. One day, in 1792, he saw the Paris mob put a red cap on the head of the king, on one of the palace balconies, and said calmly: "Poor man! it is all "over with him. And how easily he might disperse that "crowd with a discharge of cannon!" He did not sympathize with the party of Robespierre; but he served the Convention well at the siege of Toulon, in 1793, where his military genius first distinguished itself in the management of artillery. After the fall of Robespierre, on the 9th *Thermidor* (1794), he carried cannons into the streets, brought the insurgent Sections to a condition of terrified order with grape-shot—his panacea in such cases—and saved the government.

Barras, chief of the Directory, and Carnot, "organizer of victory," could see that the Corsican—now general of brigade—

* It is rather curious that Napoleon's sometime opponent, the Duke of Wellington, should have acted in the same way, with respect to a perfervid letter he had written, after the Waterloo victory had excited his rather phlegmatic nature. He was afraid it would be "remembered in his epitaph;" and when his secretary, Colonel Gurwood, had succeeded in getting possession of it—at an expense of £500—the Duke thrust it between the bars of the fire-grate, exclaiming, "I was a confounded fool when I wrote that letter!"

was the instrument they were to use. At the age of twenty-six (1796), Napoleon, a recent bridegroom, led the "Army of Italy" through the passes of the Alps; and, from the level ground of Lombardy, sounded the long and interrupted march of that peninsular people to the kingly independence of the present day.* His rapid and decisive style of manœuvering his small force—not much greater than that at present under the orders of General Wolseley in Southern Africa—perplexed the Austrian generals, accustomed to the old German strategy of the Thirty Years' War; while the impetuous battles of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, Mondovi, Lodi, Castiglione, Rivoli and Arcola changed the entire political aspect of northern Italy; and the Treaty of Campo Formio, leaving to Austria the sequestered Lagoons of Venice, established two Italian republics—the Cis-Alpine, or Lombard, and the Ligurian—and prepared the way for the Roman republic of 1798 and the republic of Parthenope (1799). This was a grand awakening for Italy, which, like Macbeth, was fated to "sleep no more;" while the sudden renown of the young Corsican rose to the level of Turenne's, Catinat's, or Marlborough's, and far beyond that of Moreau, Massena or Pichegru. France then saw fulfilled the prophecy of the Abbé Sièyes, who had declared that, in her great difficulties, she chiefly needed "a sword and a man." Both had come, and, instead of writing history, the conqueror of Italy began the great work of making it.

With a mind capacious of daring things, he meditated some decisive stroke against England—an old and persistent enemy. He first imagined an invasion of Ireland, then in a partial condition of revolt; and Theobold Wolfe Tone—a man of resolute purpose, like himself—tells us in his Diary that

* The first wife of Napoleon, Marie-Joseph Tascher, born at Martinique in 1763, married, in 1779, the Viscount Beauharnais, who subsequently tried to divorce her for levity of conduct, but was obliged to grant her a separate maintenance. Some years later, he asked to be reconciled, and they lived together. He was guillotined, in 1794, as a royalist, and Josephine imprisoned for her attempt to effect his escape. She was the friend of Barras, and her house in the Rue Chantereine was much frequented—especially by young General Bonaparte, whom she patronized in the most charming way, and who, it was said, owed his new command to the lady's interest with the Directory.

he had some interviews with the General, who asked him many questions about the Irish people. In one of his replies the Irish rebel was obliged to admit that the Catholic clergy, as a body, were opposed to the proposed rising; and this decided the matter. In the same year Bonaparte hurried with the "Army of England"—as it has been called—down to the Mediterranean, and thence to Egypt. He meant to make of the latter a colony of France—remembering, perhaps, the advice which Leibnitz pressed upon Louis XIV for the same purpose—and a base of operations for a further movement against the English power in Hindostan. His ideas included some others, advocated more recently, and at the present day—such as the idea of a grand canal at Suez, and notably, that of an overland route to the East by way of the Euphrates. But it was, at that period, a wild ambition, with all its boldness, and indicated that vehemence of purpose which was to undo him in the end.* Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign, with the "Battle of the Pyramids," and his march into Palestine, with its brilliant combat of Mount Tabor, were as romantic as the Italian campaign was heroic. But the ships of England baffled his best ideas. Nelson destroyed Napoleon's fleet in Aboukir Bay, breaking off his communications with France; and, in the end, he was forced—leaving Kleber in Egypt—to return almost alone to Paris, where he had other enemies to grapple with.

These were the men of the Directory—a Quintumvirate which had allowed the Austrians to undo, in Italy, the great work of 1796. He denounced them—his old friends Barras and Sièyes among them—for their imbecility; obliging them to resign their office, and then marched with his grenadiers to abolish the Council of Five Hundred at the Orangery of St. Cloud. His act was like the dispersion of the Long Parliament by Oliver Cromwell. The 18th *Brumaire* was one of

* The occupation of African territory is one of the French ideas and is, of course, in accord with the ideas of other great nations, like the English, the Russian, and even our own—all bent on overrunning and occupying. Morocco will yet belong to France; and, at this moment, a project is on foot to extend the French roads and colonies, through the Atlas ridges, down to the fertile region of Timbuctoo and the Soudan.

the "crowning mercies" of Bonaparte's career; and his brothers, Joseph and Lucien (President of the Council,) helped him through the ordeal to the Consulate of Three, of whom he was ranked as the First. Then followed, in 1800, his impetuous campaign against the Austrians and the celebrated victory of Marengo; changing, as if by magic, the face of the European chess-board, and leading to the peace of Luneville.

France was again in the ascendant. The young Czar Paul, by his ambassador, expressed a romantic respect for its chief, and corresponded with him by letter. The First Consul advised the emperor to advance an army toward the Oxus and the Indus, and carry out the work by military colonies, each occupying in advance its agricultural station, cultivating its own supplies and going forward, from year to year, sustained by an assurance of support from those coming after. This idea has not slept, though moving slowly; since the soldiers of the Czar are now at Tashkend and Sagalien. A possible alliance of France and Russia troubled all the friends of the old order of things, and attempts were made to assassinate the First Consul. In one of them an infernal machine was exploded (24th of December, 1800) close to the opera house which he was about to enter, shaking the houses and killing several persons. The attempt against his friend, the Czar—who had just ordered the chief of the Bourbons to quit Russian territory—was more successful. Paul was assassinated by his courtiers and some of his own relatives; and the historians of England and Germany placed on permanent record the opinion that he was a man of crazy ideas, and unfit to live.

The rule of the First Consul—for the two others were merely his ministers—was a restoration of order after a period of disturbance. The industry of France experienced a happy revival. The administration of the laws was greatly improved, and a Concordat (15th July, 1801) brought the country into friendly relations with the Catholic church and the Pope. Yet the government was a centralization—the control of the body politic emanating, so to speak, from the brain of one man; a state of things not unsuitable to a period of transition and the sword, when the European monarchies stood ready to

question the right of France to control northern Italy and Holland, and hold the left bank of the Rhine. The Consulate led naturally to the Empire; and the day when, in 1804,* Napoleon received the crown of Charlemagne from Pope Pius VII in the cathedral of Notre-Dame;† and, subsequently at Milan, adjusted on his head, with his own hands, the Iron Crown of Lombardy, bearing the magnificent old device—*Dieu me l'a donné; gare à qui la touche!* These were the challenges of a resolute soldier; and the European war-beacons were soon again in a blaze. The new emperor was execrated for the seizure—on the neutral ground of the Grand Duchy of Baden—and for the execution of the Bourbon Duc d'Enghien. But it was an act of self-defence at a time when the French generals Moreau, Pichegru and others were incited by the late king's family to overthrow or assassinate Bonaparte. In 1805, Russia, Austria and Prussia declared war against him; and his retort was the passage of the Rhine, the seizure of Vienna, the capture of Mack's 30,000 men at Ulm, and the astounding victory of Austerlitz; a field on which the Czar's army was annihilated. Under the Treaty of Presburg, Napoleon raised the electorates of Bavaria and Würtemberg into kingdoms, and founded in Germany a French Protectorate called the Confederation of the Rhine. But a shadow from the sea swept across the field of that triumph. In the October of the same year (1805), Lord Nelson's ships destroyed the combined armaments of France and Spain, at Trafalgar, and France had no longer "any part in the large lordship" of the sea.

The Corsican's ascendancy was, they said, the death of William Pitt. But a wine-drinking habit—as strong as that of Bismarck in the matter of strong and savory meats—might have contributed to that result. The English wrote terrible

* Before assuming the crown, Napoleon appealed to the people of France to decide—voting simply *Yes* or *No*. The affirmative presented three and a half millions of votes, against a negative of 2,569. The French were satisfied with "the man and the sword."

† On this occasion Josephine—whom he had married in church-style a few days previously (the earlier ceremony having been a mere civil contract)—was crowned with him. But she did not share in the Milan coronation.

things about Bonaparte—*Napoleon* being never mentioned—and all the moralists declared that, if the latter had only been moderately-minded, he might have died ruler of France. Byron, in *Childe Harold*, sings in that strain of sentiment, which comes oddly enough from one who was himself such a furibond of the gentle muses, and such a scorner of the amenities and regulated ways of social life. Napoleon was mainly a great agency, and he did his work after the manner of other great agencies—a hurricane for instance—which must obey some tendency stronger than themselves. For the rest, if the Corsican had been born a moderate-minded man, like his brother Lucien, he would have lived and died in the little island.

But he was forced to live his own life; partly by some abnormal tendency of mind and body which he had inherited from his father, and partly by the hatreds he had provoked. In 1809, he divorced the empress Josephine and married Marie Louise, Archduchess of Austria; and for this also the moralists have blamed him. Yet, it should be remembered that his first marriage had been a *mariage de convenance* with one whose interest with Barras could procure for him the command of a great army. If Josephine had brought him an heir, the case would have been different. Be this as it may, the result does not appear to have greatly grieved her. She had no affection for a man of his grave and saturnine disposition, and expressed her satisfaction when he had got a son to succeed him—as was the belief at the time.

But the entrance of the Corsican within the charmed circle of the Hapsburgs did not allay the animosities he had excited. The Kaiser Francis remembered that, in 1806, he had been forced to resign his ancient style of Emperor of Germany. England, too, was suffering from the effect of the Berlin Decree which declared her commerce excluded from the continent of Europe. The blow touched her in a vital part; and, if Napoleon had not failed in his seizure of Spain in 1807, and his Russian campaign of 1812, it would have humbled her. These attempts were attributed to the insane ambition of the conqueror. But they were war measures,

counselled by circumstances and by the proverb: "*A la guerre comme à la guerre.*" The English fiercely denounced the seizure of Spain; but it was quite in their own style of warfare. In 1800, they invaded the friendly kingdom of Denmark and destroyed its fleet, lest the First Consul should make use of it. This was thought a great glory; and Campbell, the poet, chanted it in one of his lyrics, the *Battle of the Baltic:*—

"Of Nelson and the North
Sing the glorious day's renown!"

The same flagrant piece of "poetry" was repeated in 1807, when the Danish fleet was overpowered and carried off from Copenhagen, by lords Cathcart and Gambier. Napoleon took Spain in the same spirit—meaning to cripple the trade of his enemy. The act, however, brought English troops into Spain and roused the Spaniards to insurrection. The other grand movement of Napoleon, made in 1812, had the same purpose of exclusion in view; and a single great victory over the Russians would have disposed the Czar to shut his ports against the British.

The story of that terrible year—of the splendid march across quiescent Germany and the sanguinary retreat—has been told and moralized by a thousand writers. The natural elements of earth and sky destroyed the invading armament; "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera"; and nearly 300,000 veteran soldiers were blotted from the roll-calls of France. And this was the beginning of the end, which came with the rising of Germany and the invasion of France by the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia, in 1813. For a year, Napoleon stood at bay on his own ground, and his battles of Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, Arcis-sur-Aube and St. Dizier, exhibited all the fine strategy and soldiership of his most victorious days. But providence was on the side of the strongest—as was once observed by Galgacus, among the Grampian hills; and the emperor was forced to sign an abdication and retire (May 14) to Elba. Of this islet he received the fee-simple and a yearly revenue of two millions of francs, with reversion to his wife, Marie Louise, and son—the latter about three years old. Marie Louise did not accompany

him. She was thenceforward dead to him—as much so as Josephine herself, who died in that same year of exile, 1814.

When the shepherd was struck down, the flock was scattered. The Bonapartes departed from the ground of France, where they had shared the brighter fortunes of their brother. Joseph, the eldest of the family (born in 1768), who had been placed on the throne of Spain and driven away from that country, for the fourth time, in 1813, went to Switzerland with his wife whom he had married twenty years before. She was daughter of M. Clary, a merchant of Marseilles and had brought her husband a family of daughters but no son. Joseph lived many years in America—chiefly at Bordentown, in New Jersey—as the Count de Survilliers. He died at Florence in 1844, followed by his wife in 1845. His daughter Charlotte was married to her cousin Napoleon—son of king Louis, and Hortense—who died at Forli, in Italy, in 1831. Lucien, born in 1775, was the only member of Napoleon's family whom he did not raise to some princely dignity. He had a love of liberal sentiment and literature, and Paoli, who saw some of his boyish writings, called him "the little Tacitus." In 1796 he married Christine Boyer, daughter of an innkeeper, and when she died, in 1800, he wedded Marie de Bleschamp, divorced wife of M. Jouberthon, a stock-broker, and, in defiance of the angry instances of his brother, refused to be parted from her. He was president of the Council of Five Hundred, and helped Napoleon to overthrow the Directory in 1799. He and his family then went to reside in Rome, where he studied art and archæology, and in 1808 was made Prince of Canino and Musignana by Pius VII. In 1810, he was on his way to the United States; but was captured by a British cruiser and kept in custody till 1814, when he went again to Rome. He was author of an Indian novel, published in 1799; an epic poem entitled *Charlemagne, ou l'Eglise Sauvée*, London, 1814; another styled, *La Cyrnéide, ou la Corse Sauvée*, in 1830; a *Description of Etruscan Antiquities;** *La Vérité sur les Cents Jours*, and *Mémoires*.

* The Etruscan Antiquities were, for the most part, dug up at Cucamella on his own estate of Canino—the place being considered the site of the ancient Vetulonia.

Louis Bonaparte, born in 1778, was made king of Holland in 1806, and expected to hinder all commercial intercourse with England. He sympathized with his industrious Dutchmen and was rather roughly coerced by his brother, who compelled him to marry Hortense, daughter of Josephine, and make regulations injurious to the commerce of Holland. The marriage was an unhappy one, Louis and his wife living very much apart. In 1810, he went away from Holland and Hortense—his kingdom being incorporated with the empire—and resided with his brother in France, where he published a novel about his Dutch people, *Les Hollandaises*, and seemed to prefer the work of writing to that of ruling. He published a volume of poetry, and also wrote a history of the English Parliament, from its origin to the year 1800.* Later (1829) he wrote a "Reply," to some misstatements of Sir Walter Scott in his rather hurried and unsatisfactory *Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*, and died in 1846.

The youngest brother, Jerome, born in 1784, was made a naval officer: and it was as a captain of a small war-vessel, *L'Epervier*, that he visited Philadelphia, in 1803, and there contracted marriage with Miss Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore; just at the time his brother was about to become an emperor. The latter had the marriage broken in the French courts, on plea of Jerome's minority, and when, in 1805, the young couple went to Europe they were prevented from landing in France, and separated,—the wife going to England, where she gave birth to her son Jerome, and then returning to America. Her husband was made admiral in the naval service; and when that was virtually abolished, at Trafalgar, he received the rank of General. In 1807, he married Catherine, daughter of the king of Würtemberg, and was made king of Westphalia. He served in the German wars of Napoleon, and (in 1815) commanded a division in the battles of Ligny and Waterloo.

*Hortense, though she never loved Louis, must have sympathized a little with his love of poetry. She, herself, wrote verses, and one of her pieces—*Partant pour la Syrie*—was made very memorable by her son, Napoleon III, who had it set to music as the representative, in France, of the English air, "God Save the Queen."

Madame *Mère* was not ennobled by any title. A shrewd, sedate gentlewoman, she disliked the state and ceremony of courts; and, happy in the society of a few old friends and the visits of her children, lived a life of calm wonder at the luck of the family, fearing it might come to an end some day, and saving her money to meet any of the turns of fortune. Her daughters shared the splendid rise of her sons. Marie Elise, born in 1777, and married, in 1797, to Felix Bacciochi, a poor officer of good family, was, in 1808, created Princess of Piombina and Grand Duchess of Lucca, in which station she supported her dignity and her husband with remarkable ability. She died in 1820. Her younger sister, Marie Pauline, born 1780, was first married to General LeClerc (1801) and, after his death, to Prince Borghese, in 1803. She was the most beautiful of the family and loved state and splendid society as if she had been to the manner born. She also loved the fine arts and patronized them, and was the favorite sister of the emperor. Her death took place in 1825. Caroline Marie Anunciada, the youngest daughter, born in 1782, was, in 1800, married to the *beau sabreur*, Joachim Murat; and, in 1808, she found herself Queen of Naples; in which high office she showed as much ruling ability as her husband, and went beyond him in the work of patronizing art and literature, founding schools for female instruction, and increasing the *Museo Borbonico* from the excavations of Pompeii. Talleyrand used to say of Queen Caroline that she was "a charming woman with the head of Oliver Cromwell." She was by far the ablest woman of the Bonaparte family. She died at Florence in 1839.

"All these and more went flocking" from France and their customary places, on the first exile of Napoleon in 1814. But the curtain which fell on the little isle in that year soon rose again, to exhibit one of the most powerful acts of that vehement life-drama. On the first of March, 1815, after an exile of six months, and while the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance were busily employed in arranging affairs in Europe after the old fashions, Napoleon stepped from a little vessel to the quay at Frejus, in the south of France, with a company of about a dozen persons, and began a march on Paris which is

perhaps the most astonishing on military record. The Bourbon monarchy was guarded by 200,000 armed men and guaranteed by all the kings of Europe, when Napoleon set out. On the 2d of March, he and his little party approached Vizelle, where a strong regiment was drawn up. Flinging open his coat and baring his breast, he advanced and asked aloud if the soldiers wanted to shoot their old commander. The effect was instantaneous; and in half an hour he was on his march to Grenoble at the head of his late opponents. He performed the same sort of military miracle at the barricades of the latter city, raised to oppose him, and still pressed his march forward. At Lyons he found himself suddenly at the head of an army which, the day before, had obeyed the Duc d'Artois; and so travelled onward, without pausing, in a growing tumult of enthusiasm, till he found himself once more in the old palace of Fontainebleau. Between this place and Paris was massed the army of Louis XVIII, commanded by his brother and sworn to seize the fugitive. But the scene at Melun was the crowning astonishment. A hundred thousand men, standing to their arms, looked intensely towards the high road to the south. Suddenly, coming over the ridge, appeared a single *calèche*, driven rapidly and holding three persons— one of them being General Drouet, the other General Bertrand — while the centre man stood with his arms stretched forward. History narrates what followed. While the army rushed towards the emperor, the royal princes fled to Paris; the *calèche* coming on swiftly behind them, backed by a hundred thousand men. On the same day, 20th of March, Louis XVIII was driving as rapidly in the direction of Ghent, while Napoleon, entering the Tuileries in the evening, issued his orders as calmly as if he had never left it.* This and other authentic actions of Napoleon throw the fanciful and semi-fabulous exploits of Alexander and Cæsar into the shade, and sufficiently

* The French punctuate their stormiest facts of history with *bons mots;* and the jest of 1814 was at the expense of the journalists, who, when the invader had landed in France, announced: "The *Corsican* is in France." Next day it was: "*Bonaparte* is at Grenoble;" in a few days they printed: "*General Bonaparte* is at Lyons;" then: "The *Emperor* is at Auxerre;" and at last: "*His Majesty, the Emperor,* reached the Tuileries last evening in good health."

account for the popularity of himself and his memory in France.

The work that followed exhibited the same, if not a greater, amount of energy and genius. For thirty days, as the emperor himself recorded, he spent sixteen hours a day in the effort to raise the army of France from 200,000 to 400,000 men; at the same time announcing a new constitution such as he knew the people of France had long needed. He then summoned the great officers, dignitaries and popular representatives to the grand spectacular pageant of the *Champ de Mai*—a modern reproduction of the Frankish *Campus Madius*—and there pledged himself and them, on the first of June, to the defence of the country against all its enemies. The allied sovereigns, who had quitted France, retraced their steps and were soon approaching the frontiers with nearly half a million of soldiers. The English and Prussians, under Wellington and Blücher, were still in Belgium; and the emperor, quitting Paris, resolved to fall upon and annihilate them, before the Russians and Austrians could come up. His troops were inferior to those of Austerlitz and Jena; but he beat Blücher and the Prussians at Ligny, and the English from Quatre-Bras, and then, after a night's rest in the midst of a violent rain, stormed the ridges of Waterloo on the 18th of June. The British squares stood steadily on the defensive till the evening, when Blücher with the Prussians, moving against the flank of the French army, forced it back in confusion and put an end to the emperor's latest and most wonderful reign, of "The Hundred Days."

The last scene of all presents us with the little farm-stead of St. Helena, treeless under a tropical sun, and watched day and night by a cordon of English soldiers; and it has, for a great many, as strong an interest as any of those that preceded it. In it Napoleon showed more of his natural character to those about him, whether in his talk or, more simply, in his shirt-sleeves and drawers; as may be gathered from the memorials of him published by Montholon, Gourgaud, Las Cases, Surgeon O'Meara, Antomarchi and others. He was more of the man and less of the emperor. And yet, in one

respect, he insisted on maintaining "state" and waging war to the end. To the English, and against them, he was always "Emperor," and manœuvered against Sir Hudson Lowe as resolutely as he had done previously against kaisers and kings; insisting on a proper personal respect, and resisting all attempts to coerce or intrude upon him in any way. In this, people have discovered a certain littleness. But that was part of his powerful character. He always acted with reference to the feelings and prejudices of men in general; much more than Zeno would have done, or Diogenes, or Ignatius Loyola; and was no ascetic, but a man of strong passions and high-handed ways—one who had, after his own fashion, as lively a sympathy with his fellow-beings as Oliver Goldsmith himself.

In 1821, at the age of fifty-two, Napoleon died of cancer of the stomach; rendered, of course, more deadly by the vehement brain-work of years, and the hot air of St. Helena.* The sovereigns composing the Holy Alliance could now breathe freely. They had been always haunted by the idea that the man of Austerlitz and Moscow might again appear in the midst of them, at any moment; especially as many American vessels had touched at the island. The English were fearful of some American stratagem in the way of carrying off the prisoner, as he, in 1815, had proposed to take up his abode in the United States. In Germany, France, Italy and Spain, things went on after the old fashion; and yet not quite in the old ways. The outbreak of French democracy and the onsets of French armies had changed the thoughts of men; and society, through much tribulation, was making some steps in advance.

Nine years after the death of Napoleon, the Parisians drove the elder Bourbons out of France; and in 1841, Louis Philippe brought back the remains of the emperor and laid them in the grand sarcophagus of the Invalides, thus giving a national

* Marie Louise—twenty-four years old in 1815—did not accompany her husband to Elba or St. Helena. She lived chiefly in Parma as Duchess of Parma, Placenza and Guastalla; and, about a year after the death of Napoleon, married General Count Neipperg, by whom she had several children. In 1836, the troubles of Italy forced her to quit the Duchy and she died at Vienna, in 1847, aged 56.

sanction to the popular feeling of the country, where, in disregard of the old conscriptions, sufferings and invasions, the memory of the great soldier and law-giver was remembered with pride. The poets had helped to strengthen that feeling. Even in England, Byron wrote some of his best things on the theme of Napoleon; and a number of other European poets—Manzoni among them—followed his example. All the great French poets took pride in his glory; most notably, Victor Hugo, who has given the world a number of lyrics on that animating theme—the "Ode to the Column in the Place Vendôme," "*Lui*," "*Bounaberdi*," and several others; while Lamartine and Casimir Delavigne, after a less fervid manner, moralized the great character and life-work of the chief, in a very harmonious manner. But, of all those French bards, Béranger has done most

> to soften to the heart
> Napoleon's story;

as all readers of his happy and popular songs—especially the "*Souvenirs du Peuple*"—

> "On parlera de sa gloire
> Sous le chaume bien longtemps—"

may easily remember.

The biography of Napoleon II, born in 1811, and made king of Rome in his infancy, is as short and shadowy as that of Louis XVII. On the fall of his father, he, a child of three years, was taken by his mother to Vienna, where he was educated, and, in 1818, made Duke of Reichstadt. He was a mild, sickly lad, having more of the Hapsburg than the Corsican blood in his veins. His education was partly military, and he performed for a few years the duty of lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of Hungarian hussars. He died of phthisis, at the Palace of Schoenbrun, in 1832.

Seven years after the burial-pageant of Napoleon, came the Revolution of 1848, which brought the Bonapartes back to France, with the man who, at his baptism, in 1808, had been recognized by Napoleon as among the heirs of his throne. Louis Napoleon was the youngest son of Hortense Beauharnais and Louis, king of Holland, who sometimes said the boy was

not his, while others declared that he was the son of Admiral Verhuel, the Hollander. Subsequently, when Louis quitted Holland and went to live in Italy, he took with him his son Napoleon Louis—an elder child had died in infancy—leaving the youngest with his mother in Switzerland, where, in due time, the lad entered the Swiss civil service (1824 to 1830). In the latter year he went to Italy to join his brother, who had engaged in a *carbonaro* insurrection against the pope. The young men could do little. The elder (married to his cousin) died of fever, at Forli, in 1831, and the younger went back to Switzerland, where he remained, watchful of the signs of the times. In 1836, he tried, at Strasburg, to raise an insurrection against Louis Philippe, but was arrested and sent off to Brazil. Thence he went northward to New York, where he is still remembered. He next resided in London, chiefly in the society of Count D'Orsay and Lady Blessington, and there published his *Idées Napoléoniennes*. In 1840, he made another wild attempt against Louis Philippe, landing at Boulogne with a few companions, among whom were Count de Montholon and a large tame eagle.* This imperial fancy cost him an imprisonment of over five years in the fortress of Ham, whence he contrived to make his escape in 1846.

In 1848, Prince Louis Napoleon was returned to the French Legislative Assembly by several constituencies, including Paris; and, in spite of some protests, took his place in the Chamber, where, from the first, he seemed to hold himself aloof and in reserve, with a certain taciturnity which many mistook for genius, but which was simply cunning. With his cold and reticent manner, he had no personal popularity—and it was significantly noted that he was wanting in that vivacity of tone and address which belonged to all other members of the Napoleonic family. His few speeches in the

*A feeling for omens and symbols was very strong in the Bonaparte family—as, in fact, it has been, more or less, in all families of men. Louis Napoleon meant to hoist his bird on a staff and carry it aloft to Paris, charming the minds of all Frenchmen along the route. The obsequies of the late Prince Imperial observed in England offered to the spectators a device of a similar character. A bronze eagle was raised over the catafalque, with a living dove perched on its back—the bird having been trained to expect a supply of grain on that place. Sorrow has its own fantasies, like pleasure.

Chamber were feeble and affected, and Thiers declared he was a *tête de bois*—an epithet something like that bestowed by Lord Byron on the Duke of Wellington.

A majority of five millions of French votes in 1849 raised the heir of Napoleon to the presidency of the French republic; and he began his government with a firm reliance on the principle of universal suffrage. The later history of France had assured him it could be as friendly to a strong government, as any agency of kingly sovereignty in other countries. The *souvenirs du peuple* were on his side, and the powerful influences of the clergy were exerted in favor of the chief who, in 1849, sent General Oudinot to guard the pontiff against the insurrectionists of Rome; so that when, in 1851, the president broke with the Assembly, dissolving it in *Brumaire* fashion, and violently arresting its most refractory members, the *plébiscite* to which he appealed not only sustained the act with seven millions of votes against one million, but also (1852) accepted him as Emperor of the French, successor of Charlemagne and Napoleon.

Most people remember his career. In 1853, he made a democratic virtue of necessity, by marrying Eugenie de Montijo instead of seeking a royal alliance—such as would, probably, have rejected him.* His war-alliances of the Crimea and China, together with his visits to the queen of England and the czar (1857), gave his reign an *éclat* which was not diminished when, in 1859, he went with a strong army to drive the Austrians from northern Italy. In a year (of Magenta and Solferino) he had transferred Lombardy to Victor

* Eugenie Marie de Montijo, born at Granada, in Spain, in 1826, was daughter of Count de Montijo, a grandee. Her mother, Maria Manuela Kirkpatrick, was descended of a Scottish Catholic family exiled on the fall of the Stuarts. Eugenie travelled much with her mother and met Prince Louis Napoleon in London. Her marriage in 1853 raised her to the highest social level. She visited, and was visited by, Queen Victoria. She was a friend of the church party called "ultramontane," and the recognized leader of the European world of fashion. In 1869, she made a grand tour, during which, accompanied by her son, she inaugurated the statue of Napoleon, at Ajaccio; presided at the opening of the Suez Canal, and then astonished all the "harems" of the East by her visit to the sultan at Constantinople. Her suffering, on the death of her only son, has won for her more kindly regard and sympathy than all the splendors of her reign.

Emmanuel and obtained in return the territories of Nice and Savoy.

The downward course of Napoleon III began with his recognition of the American Confederacy and his attempt to restore the empire of Montezuma under the rule of Maximilian,—an unlucky potentate who, having been supported for three years by French bayonets, met his fate in 1867 from the bullets of a Mexican platoon. By degrees the intelligence of the French educated classes grew weary of the imperial strategy, and the emperor and his ministry made liberal concessions which were "like the letting out of water." By a law of 1868, the press was freed from its restrictions, and the elections of next year were consequently disputed in a very tumultuous manner, in the great cities—Paris, Lyons, Marseilles—where Thiers, Favre, Simon, Gambetta, Bancel, Raspail, Rochefort, Crémieux, Arago and others were elected in opposition,—the result exhibiting a decline of the imperial suffrage from eight millions to less than five. Arrests were made, and then concessions; the latter including the return of a number of exasperated political exiles. In the beginning of 1870, the Napoleonic tide was ebbing rapidly, darkened by a peculiar omen—the shooting of Victor Noir, the journalist, by Pierre Bonaparte, son of Lucien, Prince of Canino; and then came the unexpected sound of arms, the cry of *à Berlin!* in the streets of Paris, and the march against the Prussians—as wild and wilful a fatality as that of Napoleon I against the czar in 1812.

The catastrophe of Sedan was as astounding as that of Moscow—and more decisive. The French army was unprepared to act with vigor—the money voted to support it having been diverted from its purpose in a fraudulent manner—as the Emperor discovered when it was too late. He made a feeble show of going, with his son, to the front where he was bewildered in the confusion of marches and countermarches, broken by sanguinary defeats. Saarbrück, Worth and Gravelotte, were followed by Sedan—where another French empire was fated to sink before the military onset of Prussia.

On the 2d of September, 1870, Napoleon III drove to the

head-quarters of King William, and, unbuckling his sword—in the demonstrative style to which he was always partial—placed it in the hands of his vanquisher; after which he proceeded to the king's castle of Wilhelmshöe; while Eugenie, escaping from the Tuileries in disguise, made her way to England, and William marched forward to Versailles, where, in the midst of his princes, generals and counsellors, he assumed the style of Emperor of Germany. His revenge for Jena was as ample as it was astonishing.

After an imprisonment of six months, the ex-emperor, broken in health and hope, joined his wife and son at Chiselhurst, and there awaited the end—which came on the 9th of January, 1873. He had lived ten years longer than his great uncle.

Among the many ambitions of Louis Napoleon's life was that of authorship. He published several works: *Les Œuvres de Napoléon III* (1854–1869), *Œuvres Militaires* (1856), and his unfinished *Vie de Jules Cæsar*.

The fate of the Prince Imperial, Louis Eugene, was in keeping with the history of his family, so full of change and disaster. He was born in 1856; and at the age of two years spoke English better than he did French. His father, for many reasons of kindly feeling, or policy, showed a liking for the English and had the child nursed by a healthy young Briton. At the age of three the boy was a *petit caporal*, and subsequently a colonel in a regiment of Chasseurs. In the dark days of 1870, he accompanied his father to the scene of the military struggle, and was present at the battles of Saarbrück and Metz. That was an unfortunate "baptism of fire" for the poor lad—ominous of the later baptism of blood in Kaffirland.

From Chiselhurst the prince was sent to King's College, London; and, on the breaking out of the Zulu war, proposed to serve for a time with Lord Chelmsford,—guided, of course, by the wishes of the Empress Eugenie and his Bonapartist adherents, who counted much on the friendship of England. At the parting visit to Queen Victoria, she gave him a ring, for remembrance; and on the 27th of February, 1879, his

mother accompanied him to Southampton and took leave of him on board his ship, bound for Natal—looking forward to the day of his happy return. In Africa he became one of the *aides-de-camp* of Lord Chelmsford, and proceeded inland to meet the *impi* of king Cetewayo, a little beyond the ridge of Isandula, where the English had suffered such a shameful defeat some weeks before. The district was swarming with Kaffirs; and the prince went forward on several *reconnaissances*, accompanied by other officers. On the day of his death (June 1st) he reached a place ten miles from camp, attended by Lieut. Cary, of the 98th Regiment, and five troopers, and dismounting, made a sketch of the surrounding country. As they were about to return, the party saw a number of dark faces among the cornstalks, and hastening to their horses, were attacked by the Zulus. The prince was overtaken and killed with two of the troopers, Lieut. Cary and the rest escaping. The body of the prince was found next day, speared in seventeen places and stripped. * It was brought to England, where at Chiselhurst it rests beside the remains of Napoleon III.

The death of the Prince Imperial, last male descendant of King Louis, has weakened the pretensions and hopes of the Bonapartes, eight of whom, at least, are now living—descendants of Lucien and Jerome, brothers of Napoleon I—for Joseph, who died in 1847, left no male heirs. Lucien, who died in 1840 at Viterbo, had four sons and six daughters. Of the latter, two were by his first wife, Christine Boyer. One of them married Prince Gabrielli, and the other became Lady Dudley Stuart. One of his daughters by the second wife was married to Sir Thomas Wyse, British Ambassador at Athens. The eldest of his sons, Charles Lucien, born in 1803, became a man of literary pursuits with a strong leaning to the Italian

* The prince, adopting the curious custom of his family, usually wore a talisman, enclosing a gem, suspended from his neck—the gift of his father, who had received it from Napoleon I, who, himself, was taught to believe it came, in some way, from the Emperor Charlemagne. Napoleon Eugene carried it on the day of his death; and the superstition that had transmitted it so far still preserved it. The Zulus who stripped him would not meddle with it. It was the *fetish* of an enemy which might injure them; and when the owner was taken up, it was found resting in its customary place.

revolutionists, against the Austrians and the pope. He married his first cousin, Zénaïde, daughter of King Joseph, a lady who, like himself, loved literature and helped him to bring out his books on European and American ornithology, and his *Iconographia della Fauna Italica.* In 1850 he went to Paris, where he became Director of the *Jardin des Plantes.* He published Mémoirs of himself and died in 1857, leaving three sons; the eldest of whom, Joseph Louis, died at Rome in 1865. His second son, Lucien Louis Joseph, born in 1828, and educated for the priesthood, was made a Cardinal in 1868. His third son, Napoleon Gregory, was married to the Princess Ruspoli and served with the French army in Algiers and Mexico.

The second son of the Corsican Lucien is Louis Lucien, born in 1813, and distinguished for his cultivation of philology and chemistry. In 1847 he was elected to the French Legislative Assembly from the department of the Seine. He is an LL.D. of Oxford, and has published a book—*La langue basque et les langues finnoises* (London, 1862) followed by a Basque version of *Solomon's Song*, and a great many essays and letters printed in the London *Athenæum*, the *Academy*, *Notes and Queries*, etc.

The third son of the first Lucien is Pierre Napoleon, born in 1815, and very much of a wanderer, like most of his family. His nature is rather wilful and vehement. In 1836 the pope sentenced him to exile from Rome for his *carbonaro* sentiments. On that occasion he had a scuffle with the *sbirri* and killed one of them. After his liberation from the castle of Santo Angelo he travelled to Germany and England, and then joined the French army in Algeria. Quitting his regiment without leave, he was arrested; and his conduct being commented on by a journal, he fought a duel with the editor. In 1869 he married the daughter of his washerwoman and sturdily refused to divorce her, at the urgent instance of his cousin, the emperor. In 1870 he killed Victor Noir, a journalist, who had come to his house with a challenge from another journalist, and was mulcted in a sum of 25,000 francs. He then migrated to London with his family, and there, in

Bond Street, set his wife up in the business of a fashionable dressmaker, with her name — *La Princesse Bonaparte* — over the window. The act was Napoleonic in its daring, and Madame was happy to find it very profitable. If she has any children, their names are not yet on public record.

The first Lucien had yet another son, Antoine, born in 1816, a man of quiet ideas and ways who lived very much at home with his father, and at the same time sympathized, like the other members of the family, with the malcontents of Italy. He was a member of the French Assembly, but retired from public life in 1851.

The youngest brother of Napoleon I—Jerome, who died in 1860, near Paris, in the calm light of imperialism—had three sons. His Würtemberg issue, Jerome Napoleon, an officer in the army of Würtemberg, was born in 1814 and died in 1847. His second son, Napoleon-Joseph — nicknamed *Plon-plon* in his childhood, from his attempts to pronounce the name *Napoléon*—was born in 1822 and educated at Rome and in Switzerland; his teacher in the latter place being his cousin, subsequently Napoleon III. Louis Philippe allowed him to reside in France, where he and his father, Jerome, helped in 1849, the advancement of his cousin and tutor. Yet he was very democratic in his ideas, and almost always in opposition to the emperor. He took a slight part in the expedition to the Crimea; but, being "fat and scant of breath," like Hamlet, did not do anything to distinguish himself. He always had a look of Napoleon I; and the lyrist, Béranger, said he was "a medallion of the emperor steeped in German oil." From his mother he derived the placidity of manner which has exposed him to some ridicule and concealed many of his better qualities. In 1859 he married Clothilde, daughter of the late king of Italy and sister of the present king. In 1865 he was present at the inauguration of a statue of Napoleon I at Ajaccio, and, in presence of the empress and her son, made a very democratic speech, for which the emperor publicly rebuked him. In spite of his democracy, the new government of 1871 would not allow him to live in France, and he went to his

estate of Prangins, near Geneva. He has two sons, Victor and Louis, the eldest of whom is seventeen years old.

A notice of the Bonaparte family would be incomplete without mention of the American branch of it. Jerome Bonaparte, son of Jerome, the first emperor's brother, and Elizabeth Patterson, of Baltimore, was born in 1805, in England, whither his mother had proceeded, on the Emperor's refusal to let her land in France. Mother and son soon returned to Baltimore. In 1829 Jerome, Jr. married Miss Susan Williams, of Roxbury, Mass., greatly to the disgust of his mother, who was then in Europe among her husband's princely relations and who had tried to obtain for him one of the daughters of King Joseph. A late number of *Scribner's Magazine* contains some of her letters to her father (Mr. Patterson) in which she writes a number of vivacious, giddy and shrewish things, indicating that, in her own family, she must have been a *petite peste*—the epithet Napoleon applied to the Duchess d'Abrantes. In one letter, she calls her husband, Jerome, "the most worthless of his race," and elsewhere she says her son "Bo" has neither ambition nor energy; adding that, after all, one cannot make a silk purse of a sow's ear. Adoring the dignity of the Bonapartes and looking down on the Pattersons, she spent fifteen years in Europe—from 1819 to 1834—and then returned to live, for the next forty-five years, in Baltimore—somewhat after the secluded fashion of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in Italy, and Lady Hester Stanhope in Syria. She was a close economist of her means, which were chiefly derived from the allowance she received from the first Napoleon.

Jerome Patterson Bonaparte visited Paris in 1838 and 1849, and was kindly received by Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. But he could not procure any French recognition of his mother's marriage. He died in 1870. His son, Jerome Napoleon, born 1832, is a graduate of West Point. He served with the French army in the Crimea and elsewhere, till the fall of the emperor. He is married to a Boston lady, and a resident of Baltimore.

The death of the Prince Imperial has devolved the leadership of the Bonapartists on Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome;

and he has accepted it, as a matter of course, receiving only a qualified adhesion from the advocates of imperialism, and hoping very little, probably, from its chances in the future. He has hitherto expressed sympathy with the French republic, and is not a man to plot against it, since France, forgetting old frenzies and delusions, has evidently resolved to maintain it. Her people hope nothing from Bourbons, Orleanists or Bonapartes; names that, in all likelihood, will fade away into the limbo of the Jagellons, Vasas, Stuarts, Estes and Guelfs, where the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns will join them, in the fulness of time. On some coming day, a republic of Germany may allow Alsace-Lorraine to choose its allegiance; thus removing the heart-burnings of the French, in a spirit of democratic fraternity, and bringing into life a "Confederation of the Rhine" far more beautiful and beneficent than that of 1807. The people everywhere are outliving their old enmities—most notably on both sides of the Strait of Calais; and the death of the French prince has given some very remarkable evidence of this change of sentiment. The English feel kindly towards those Bonapartes so hated by their fathers; and a queen of England has wept over the fate of the Corsican's grand-nephew. On the 12th of July, 1879, the day of the funeral at Chiselhurst, Victoria and her daughter Beatrice went to the chapel where the coffin lay, knelt, Catholic fashion, before the candles of the altar, offered flowers, and mingled her tears with those of Prince Napoleon, his sister, Princess Mathilde, and other foreign mourners. On that occasion she observed, in a very natural way, that it was a changed world, when a grandchild of George III could be found at the funeral of a Bonaparte.

All things considered, the Bonapartes have not lived in vain.* The wildest or boldest of the family have shaken

* Conspicuous failures do not prove that men have lived in vain. One of the failures of the present day is Ismail Pasha, who is now at his St. Helena (Naples) dictating his "Mémoires," probably, to some Frenchman. But he has done a thousand things—mostly in a high-handed, overbearing way,—to rouse Egypt from its dream of ages and push it along the highway of modern progress. Civilization is marked by many defeats and overthrows. But, to quote the words of Galileo, *e pur si muove.*

and hurried the progress of European liberty in a variety of ways, and the terrible disasters that have overtaken some of them have had the effect of softening animosities, and bringing into more kindly relations and a better state of feeling those who "had once stood off in differences so mighty." And this may be accepted as the moral of the Napoleonic drama on which the curtain has just fallen.

Art. II.—The Management of the Indians.

Perhaps at no time in the history of the United States has the Indian Question demanded a more careful consideration than at present. The outbreak of the Utes, resulting in the murder of Agent Meeker, the death of Major Thornburg and the threatened outbreak of an Indian war; the hegira of the Poncas from the Indian Territory, that they might save the small remnant of their tribe still surviving the unhealthy climate; the decision of the United States Courts, that Indians have the same legal rights as white men; the general interest in these unfortunate people which has been awakened in all parts of the country; the massacre of the Cheyennes, who, driven to desperation by unjust imprisonment and broken promises, attempted to overpower the guards and secure for themselves the freedom which no people prize more highly than they:—these events, fresh in the memory of all and emphasized by agitation set on foot by certain well-known philanthropists, and the avowed intention on the part of the Government to make some change in the management of Indian Affairs, render a discussion of the Indian question very opportune.

We had hoped to see the subject discussed by the Executive in his late Message to Congress in a manner befitting its importance. In this hope, however, we were disappointed, as must also have been every Christian whose fortunes are cast with those on the frontier. He indulges in hopes and fears; expresses sympathy for the wronged and suffering tribes; and promises to do all in his power to prevent outrages and to preserve the peace on the reservations—like the good Christian, but poor philosopher, that he is. "It is expected," he writes, "that the settlement of this difficulty [the late trouble between the

Utes and Agent Meeker] will lead to such arrangements as will prevent further hostile contact between the Indians and the border settlement in western Colorado." For our part, we cannot understand why the president should indulge such rosy-hued expectations. The causes and conditions under which the late disturbances were fomented still exist; and, until they are changed for the better, it is idle to expect any favorable change in the relations of the two races.

The occasion demands the institution of measures whereby impartial justice may be administered between these two irreconcilable races. No one doubts the humanity of the president nor the kindly intent of the chief of the Department of the Interior. But the best approved sentiments on the part of rulers count for nothing unless supported by means and agencies to give them effect. On these points the president is as silent as a school-boy with his first lesson. He brings forward no policy; he makes no suggestions looking to a change in the *status quo* of Indian affairs. It is true, he looks forward with apprehension to the increase of the number of white settlers on the fertile plains of the Indian Territory. The vastness of the wealth, stored in mines and soil, awaiting the shovel of the miner and the plow of the husbandman, cannot fail, thinks he, to attract the cupidity of the white man, and tempt him to assume an attitude of aggression. "Under such circumstances," writes the president, "the difficulty of maintaining the Indian Territory in its present state will greatly increase; and the Indian tribes inhabiting it would do well to prepare for such a contingency." To this end he advises the purchase in fee simple, by the resident Indians, of such lands as they may be able to settle upon and cultivate, in accordance with the advice given to them by the Secretary of the Interior, in his late Report to Congress; adding, that it is his purpose "to protect the rights of the Indian inhabitants of that Territory to the full extent of the Executive power." In the absence of any change of policy, or method in carrying out that purpose, which is in no wise different from that announced again and again by the Chief Executive of the nation, we do not see that the suffering inhabitants on the frontier and

reservations, white and red, will be able to extract much substantial comfort from it, or to feel any greater degree of security in their rights of person or property, because of its announcement.

In the management of Indian affairs, two policies have long contended for supremacy, viz.: the present policy of an Indian Bureau, conducted by civilians, and the policy, which constantly gains adherents, of placing the Indians under the charge of the War Department. Long years of failure have convinced most men who are not immediately interested in the Indian Ring—one of the most powerful of the rings which have nearly changed our Government from a democracy to a "ringocracy," that the control of the Indians should pass from the hands of those who have so conspicuously abused their trust.

The people of the east are interested in this question on general principles. The present mismanagement is a blot on our Government. Humanity is outraged by the wrongs which it permits to be perpetrated on the Indians; and all who would make of our Government what its admirers claim for it, namely, the best government on the earth, desire to change the present sad condition both of the Indians and the white people living near them. But to the people of the west, and especially to those living on the frontier, as does the writer, the management of the Indians is a subject of the most vital importance. Success in farming, stock raising and mining—in short, in all the pursuits of civilized life, depends on the successful management of Indian affairs. Every year our western papers have teemed with reports of ranches destroyed, horses and cattle stolen, and settlers, trappers and miners killed by the Indians. No one on the frontier is safe; and it affords slight satisfaction to those whose property has been taken, whose families, perhaps, massacred, for the military to begin an Indian war, and finally to succeed after an enormous expenditure of treasure, and the sacrifice of life, in subduing the red men. What those who live near the Indian reservations, in actual contact with the Indians, demand is security of life and property, and the liberty peaceably to pursue their customary avocations.

All can see that under the present management this is impossible. Treaties made with all possible solemnity are broken, in almost every case, not by the Indians, but by corrupt agents of the Government; clothing and rations fall short when most needed; reckless white men steal from the Indians and squat on their reservations; and when the Indians, outraged in this wanton manner beyond endurance, break out into open hostilities, the military is called upon to conquer a peace. A trifle has created the disturbance, which soon grows to the magnitude of an Indian war. Indian agents, traders and contractors are changed from time to time, and yet the evil does not abate. What is the reason of it? We answer:

Partly, because the appointees gain these positions as a reward for political services, often of the basest kind, rendered to the party in power; a position of trust is degraded to one of profit; while sufficient care is not exercised in choosing honest and capable men to fill these important positions: and partly, because it is a long way to Washington, and the Indian Bureau is much like Dickens' circumlocution office. There is an immense amount of red tape to be unwound; and before the tedious task is ended, the Indians have entered on the war path, intent on avenging their own wrongs; the military have taken the case in hand; and in the horrors of an Indian war the original cause of complaint is lost sight of. Perhaps an Indian Commission, composed of men who have never lived on the frontier and possess no knowledge of frontier life, is sent from Washington to investigate the matter. Before the Commission starts, the agents know of its coming, and everything is put in order, like a college or an asylum examination, so that the Commissioners, completely misled as to the cause of the trouble, have nothing to report but Indian outrages! It is thus apparent that the headquarters are too far away. With the best intentions, therefore, the Indian Bureau could not administer justice in these broils between Indians and white men.

Moreover, the Indians are of different tribes, having different social and religious customs. Some belong to the mountains; some to the plains; some in the north and some in the south. Some tribes are semi-civilized; others altogether wild.

To the Department at Washington, as to the most of the citizens of the United States, Indians are Indians, who are all to be managed in the same way. Hence arise numerous blunders and mistakes which promote serious disturbances. Nor can it be otherwise, from the nature of the case, so long as a single department attempts the management of affairs so complex and difficult as those of the Indian Bureau. Heads of departments are but men, with the faults and fallacies common to men; and with so many tribes, scattered over so wide an expanse of territory, to provide for and govern, it is impossible to give to each case the attention necessary to a perfect or an approximately proper management. Nor is there the requisite time. Since so many cases demand immediate decision, each one of which should be as carefully studied as any difference between our Government and a foreign power, it is important that a wise and just decision may be given on the spot, to the end that the perils and sacrifices of an Indian war may be averted.

Were the control of Indian affairs transferred to the War Department, many of these difficulties would be obviated. It would doubtless secure greater efficiency and honesty in the management. Department generals would control the Indians in their several departments, and less time would be consumed in arriving at a decision. Related tribes, accustomed to a common climate and with similar social and religious customs, could then be placed under the same general supervision. While this plan is evidently superior to the present one, there would still be too little discrimination in treating special cases; for many tribes would be in the same department and red tape would still interfere with a rapid settlement of serious difficulties. Nor would political influence at Washington, which is so baleful in its effect upon the honest and efficient administration of any department of government, be altogether annulled.

The principal objection to this, as well as to the present system, and which is fatal to both, remains to be mentioned,—an objection which has hitherto received but little consideration in the discussion of the Indian question, but which the recent decision of Judge Dundy, of Nebraska, in the case of the Ponca Indians, brings prominently into view. According

to this decision, an Indian has the same legal rights before United States Courts as a white man. The logical sequence of this decision is to grant to the Indian the rights of citizenship.

Whether Indian affairs are administered by the War Department or the Department of the Interior, in either case the management is contrary to the spirit and Constitution of the American Government, as interpreted by its founders and advisers. In 1819, Chief Justice Marshall used the following language, which but repeats sentiments uttered by the founders of the republic:—"The Government of the Union is emphatically and truly a government of the people. In form and in substance it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them and are to be exercised directly on them and for their benefit." "The Constitution acts directly on the people by means of powers communicated directly *from* the people. No State, in its corporate capacity, ratified it, but it was proposed for adoption to popular conventions." Webster, in 1830, spoke of "the people's government, made for the people, made by the people and answerable to the people." President Lincoln, in his Gettysburg address, speaks of "the government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

These principles of government have received the sanctions of statesmen and publicists in all civilized countries. Edmund Burke, in the debate on the control of the American Colonies, in the Parliament of Great Britain, more than a century since, maintained that clemency was but a part of justice. "The natural effect of fidelity, clemency, kindness in governors," he observed, "is peace, good will, order and esteem in the governed." * And Hon. Horatio Seymour wrote truly in the *North American Review*, of recent date, when he declared that "The theory of our fathers takes away control from political centres and distributes it to the various points that are most interested in its wise and honest exercise. It keeps at every man's home the greatest share of the political power that concerns him individually. It yields to the remote legislative bodies in diminishing proportions as they recede from the direct influence and action of the people.

* Morley's *Burke: English Men of Letters* Series.

The local self-government, under which our country is expanding itself over a continent, is founded on the idea that that government is most wise, which is in the hands of those best informed about the particular questions on which they legislate; most economical and honest when controlled by those most interested in preserving frugality and virtue; most strong when it only exercises authority which is beneficial in its action to the governed."

Illustrations of these principles of government are not wanting in the annals of the world. They may be found in abundance in the new democracies as well as in the old,—in the New England plan of town meetings, for example, at which all the affairs of the town are settled, taxes levied and measures for *the* commonweal adopted; and which, though not introduced *into* the other States, has yet impressed the whole system of government throughout the north and west. This New England plan proposed local self-government, in which those immediately interested had the control. The smallest amount of power consistent with a strong Union was granted to the general Government, the largest amount reserved for the State, and within the limits of the State the same policy was maintained; while to the State government has been entrusted the least possible amount of power, the largest being given to the public immediately interested who are supposed to be best informed as to their own wants, and of the questions requiring legislation. And it was decided that their legislation would be the most economical and honest because administered by those immediately concerned and most interested in preserving peace and order and securing impartial justice. The order in which power is conferred, in a government by the people, differs from that of monarchical governments: with the latter, the centre has the most, the remote points the least; with the former, this order is somewhat reversed. The aim of the fathers of the American republic was to increase the power and scope of the legislation in the State governments, culminating in the municipal or town government where the people controlled directly their affairs. At every man's home was reserved, therefore, the greatest power which can concern him individually;

the least possible amount of interference from the general or State government was tolerated; every right given to the Federal Government was surrendered with reluctance; and every precaution taken to prevent any centralization of power, which it was found, if once permitted, would end in changing the republic to some form of centralized and irresponsible government.

In another respect our government, as designed by its founders, differs from others, and that is in the fact that the rights of States and of persons are fortified by placing the judiciary above the executive, or law-making, power. The recent action of the United States Courts in the case of the Ponca Indians, to which reference has been made, proves that this design has not wholly misconceived. But the action of the Department of the Interior in attempting to evade this decision brings to light a tendency, which is only too manifest, to elevate the executive above the judiciary,—in other words, to consolidate into one, and that one the executive, two distinct departments of the Government. This tendency could hardly fail to become more pronounced, were the control of Indian affairs to pass into the hands of the military.

This design of the fathers of the Constitution in regard to the limitations of the executive department of the Government has been for years defied by the Indian ring. The judiciary has but little influence over the Indian reservations. Difficulties among the Indians or between the Indians and the whites have been settled, when settled at all, by the executive; and too frequently by the executive in its most objectionable form. The whites steal the property of the Indians and generally escape punishment, no judicial process being able to reach them, as their neighbors, who were well disposed, left the redress to the general Government, whose wards the Indians were supposed to be. Redress failing, the Indians retaliated and, thereby, became malefactors, to be summarily dealt with by the Indian agent. Crime on the reservations was not repressed by process of law, but by the arbitrary power of the agent; and neither the Indian nor his white neighbors learned anything of the so-called majesty of the law which

restrains crime in civilized communities. Under this *régime*, the poor Indians have no redress whatever for the lawlessness committed against them by their white neighbors; while they themselves are treated as outlaws should they proceed to redress their own wrongs!

Then, as regards that fundamental policy of the republic, to make of it a government by the people for the people, this has been equally set at defiance; for in matters relating to the Indians it has been a government by the Indian ring for the Indian ring. The people immediately interested, namely, the Indians and the settlers in their vicinity, the only persons who knew all the circumstances in the cases of dispute so frequently arising—the persons especially interested in a just and amicable settlement—these have no voice in the matter. The Indian Department has been an *imperium in imperio*, responsible only to itself and in some sort to Congress: in some sort only, for it was an easy matter to prevent investigation or to conceal the facts; so that the Department was virtually irresponsible and thus able to defeat the very principle of our government, viz.: that it should be administered by the people and for the people. The Indian Department, independent of the State and territorial governments, independent of the county governments in territory adjacent to the reservations, has managed affairs on large reservations and relating to a large number of persons according to a system of its own, not determined by the law-making branch of the Government, but by the executive, that is, by the Secretary of the Interior and his assistants. Here we have a system utterly at variance with the government by which the rest of the republic is controlled, and a system which has fostered among its officials a corruption that has extended beyond these officials to Congress and the State Legislature, to the damning injury of popular government in America.

The decision of Judge Dundy, of Nebraska, in the case of the Ponca Indians, is of special importance, because it is the first case in which the judicial branch of the Government has defined the true position of the Indians, and indicates what is the true solution of the Indian problem. And that solution, so

accordant with the spirit of the Government and with common-sense, is to place under State and territorial control the Indians within the limits of the States and territories respectively. Each State or territory concerned has but a few tribes within its borders, and these closely resembling each other in habits and customs. Each individual case can thus receive such attention and consideration as the pecular circumstances demand.

The head-quarters from which emanate the decisions respecting disputes between the two races, are then near the homes of the parties between whom trouble has arisen. Such difficulties can thus be speedily settled, before they reach proportions of such gravity as to require the aid of the military. Only a small roll of red tape need be unwound. Those immediately interested will do the governing: a thousand eyes will watch the Indian agents, of those too, vitally interested in maintaining peace, since there is life and property at stake; of those, again, who have a voice in the appointment of these agents, through the delegate whom they send to the State or territorial Legislature, and through the officers whom, in the States, they elect to office.

While the Indian problem is a complicated one, it is no more so than many others which comprehend the principle of justice between man and man, and which the people manage successfully. It may be objected that the frontier-men, whose opinions will exert the greatest influence in the settlement of questions in dispute between the reds and whites, will regard the Indian as a species of wild beast, to oppress and destroy whom is legitimate sport. Among the farmers, miners and stock-raising men and their employés along the frontier especially, are many lawless persons imbued with this idea, but they are fewer than is generally supposed; and even these few, from motives of self-interest, will desire that the Indian be rightly treated. More Indian outbreaks arise from the dishonesty and rapacity of traders, contractors and agents than from all other causes combined; and were the Indians managed by the State and territorial governments, these rapacious servants of the State would speedily be discovered by their vouchers and supporters and summarily discharged.

Self-interest, the mightiest power in the State, would necessarily dictate this result; for success in agriculture, mining and stock-raising among those living near the Indians depends in large measure on the cultivation of peaceful relations with the Indians. It is well known that much of the trouble now so common between the Indians and their white neighbors arises from the encroachment of the latter on the Indian reservations; and these encroachments are the more frequent because of the difficulty of distinguishing clearly between the reservations and other territory of the United States, open for settlement; but were these very men to have a voice in deciding upon the lands set apart for the Indians, and were themselves to participate in the act of deeding to the Indians the lands they occupy, it could not but favorably influence the state of affairs.

In all difficulties between the Indians and whites the judiciary under the present *régime* is powerless. Whites steal horses and cattle from the Indians, and the red men have no resource but to retaliate, and, once on the reservation with their booty, are comparatively secure. The white settlers have no idea of taking their grievances into court, in which the Indians have heretofore had no legal standing. The agent, so far as he can, compels the Indians to keep on the reservation and leave their white neighbors to themselves. Should he fail in this endeavor, he calls on the army for assistance. This use of the military to preserve order, the necessity of defending property by violence, itself nourishes a spirit of lawlessness, which breaks out in such terrible tragedies as the holocaust, in the spring of 1879, in Custer County, Nebraska. As we approach the Indian reservations and hunting grounds, the power of the civil authority becomes weaker, until at length it ceases altogether, superseded by that of the executive, in the persons of frontier-men, who proceed to execute for themselves what they conceive the law to be, or rather what they think it *ought* to be. Had the State full control within its limits, except in those rare instances where the military must assist in maintaining order, the judiciary would retain its power and the law would be enforced by its proper and constituted authorities.

Nor is this proposed method of dealing with the Indians an untried experiment. In many of the older States the Indians were managed by the State authorities; they were well governed, and troubles between them and their white neighbors speedily disappeared. And in one of the western territories, where dwelt tribes closely related to the Utes, with whom we have just been at war, the Mormons lived side by side with the Indians, and experienced none of the difficulties so common in other States and territories. The secret of this was the fact that agreements with the Indians were carried out to the letter, and that crimes committed by the Indians against white men, or by white men against Indians, were punished impartially, just as similar crimes between white men were punished; and the Indian learned to respect the word of his white neighbor and to believe that what he said and agreed to, he meant to perform.

The theory on which our government is based should be carried out in the west as in the east, with Indians as with white men and negroes, viz.: the management of local affairs by those immediately interested, and the supremacy of the judiciary over the executive and legislative departments. Indian affairs should be conducted as other affairs are successfully conducted. Let the control of the Indians within their borders be given to the State and territorial governments: let the annuities which the general government is pledged to pay, be disbursed by State and territorial officers; let Indian agents, traders and contractors, if any be needed—which would soon cease to be the case under the proposed management—be appointed or elected by the States and territories; let there be given to the States and territories in which the Indians reside, the entire control of the land, and let the people within their limits be subject to no interference from the general Government. Thus the influence of the judiciary will be strengthened; the spirit of the Government will pervade every citizen of its territory. Peculation will cease; the white settlers on the frontier will be protected by the same means that protect white settlers in the interior; and the Indians will be treated with more regard to justice, because it will be for

the interest of their white neighbors so to treat them, to the end that both races may be peaceful and prosperous.

Not only by the proposed method of solving the Indian problem will the Indians and the whites on the frontiers be benefited, but the whole country will share in the benefit; for apart from the reduced expenditure in consequence of an honest administration of Indian affairs and the vast saving resulting from the decline of Indian wars, the most fruitful source of the corruption so alarming in the general Government will be removed. Indian traderships and contracts are now used by Senators and government officials as rewards for the dishonorable trickery employed to secure their election and appointment. The Senator does not dare to use money directly for such a purpose, as he might be impeached for bribery; but instead of that he promises a contractor a tradership, which answers the same purpose. Of course, even under State or territorial control there may, for a time, be contracts and trading-posts; though these would disappear as the Indians were treated more like other citizens.

The aim in any method of managing the Indians, should be to make them citizens as speedily as possible, who should have their own homes, and who should engage in some form of industry, whether farming, stock-raising or other industrial pursuit. To this end they should be established in some prescribed and secure locality from which they should never be removed except at their own request. Under the present management there have been frequent removals, often to localities unhealthy and ill-adapted to the manners and customs of the tribe. The advancing tide of emigration trespasses on the old reservation and the general Government is compelled to place the Indians on a new reservation. Under State or territorial control, the people of the State or territory, having themselves assigned the land to a given tribe, would for their own sake be interested to prevent any intrusion on these lands. And the very persons who now compel a transfer of the Indians to another locality would, under the new condition of affairs, preserve the lands of the tribe from spoliation. Treated in some sort as citizens, protected in

property and person by the laws, the Indians would approximate more and more nearly to the position of citizens, and each year would remove more and more of those troubles which now end in such frightful tragedies. In the territories, where the Indians are less civilized than in the States, and more numerous than the whites, complications might occur, unknown to the State. Under such circumstances, the military might have to be invoked. But there is a vast difference between a use of the military at the request of territorial authorities and at the request of Indian agents, between military used by the people to assist their own efforts, and used by the general Government with no regard to the wishes of the citizens or the rights at issue. And even in the territories there would be less frequent call on the arm of the executive, since the people would feel themselves responsible for the management of the Indians within their borders, and would prevent many of those acts, on the part of their neighbors, which now so often lead to disastrous conflicts. Furthermore, immigration to these territories is yearly increasing, and it cannot be long ere the whites will be so numerous as to enable them to manage their own affairs without invoking the aid of the military.

If the transfer of the management of Indian affairs to territorial governments be at present impracticable because of an inadequate population in certain territories, the objection cannot be made to a transfer of them in the several States now containing reservations. In these the experiment would seem certain of success; and some of the territories, as Utah, Dacotah, Wyoming and Washington, are already sufficiently populous to insure success in them, as also are Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, California and Oregon. Observation of the workings of the Indian Bureau, and of the causes of trouble between the two races, during many years' residence close to the scene of strife, has convinced us of the feasibility of our plan of dealing with the Indian problem as herein imperfectly sketched, and of the utter failure of the present management.

Art. III.—The English Classics.

1. *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Par H. A. Taine. 5 Vols. Paris: 1863-65.
2. *Masterpieces of English Literature.* By H. B. Sprague. London: 1874.
3. *English Writers.* Writers before Chaucer: with Introductory Sketch of the four periods of English Literature. By H. Morley. London: 1864.

"Let us first take the three principal productions of human intelligence—religion, art, and philosophy. What is a philosophy but a conception of nature and its primordial causes under the form of abstractions and formulas? What is there at the foundation of a religion or of an art but a conception of this same nature and of these same causes under the form of symbols more or less concise, and personages more or less marked; with this difference, that in the first place one believes that they exist; in the second, that they do not? Let one consider some of those grand creations of mind in India, Scandinavia, Persia, at Rome, in Greece, and one will see that art is a kind of philosophy become sensible, religion a poem taken for true, and philosophy an art and a religion *desséchée* and reduced to pure ideas." * Literature is the permanent expression of these ideas.

The literature of a nation, like its religion, its philosophy, and its art, is illustrated by its progress in civilization. As the civilization of a people is largely influenced by the soil, the climate, the physical aspects of the country, and by the abundance or scarcity of the national food, so is the growth

* *Littérature Anglaise.*

of its literature retarded or accelerated by similar causes. All the great centres of an early civilization, as Hindostan, Egypt, Mexico, and Peru, were particularly favored by nature, in diminishing the wants of man. The mildness of the climate required but little clothing; heat and moisture—the two causes that influence the fertility of a country—prevailing, the national food was abundant and produced with little labor: consequently the population increased rapidly; labor was cheap because of the surplus of laborers; and, as the distribution of wealth was unequal, the poor were entirely at the disposal of the rich.

As the possession of wealth by a nation is indispensable to the advancement of knowledge in order that a certain class, supported by the manual labor of others, may devote itself to intellectual pursuits, these countries made, for a time, great progress in a certain direction. But the chasm was too great between the intellectual few and the ignorant many. The apparent prosperity vanished before the first adverse wind. A religion, philosophy, or literature, to be enduring, must be of the people and not the exclusive privilege of a favored few.

A country that is particularly favorable to man by readily supplying the necessities of life, is particularly unfavorable to the steady and permanent advance of knowledge. Man is enervated because of the absence of incitement to work, and never attains that perfection which crowns steady and persevering labor. Indolence is inculcated; a distaste for work becomes a part of his nature, and he lacks the strength of will to overcome this tendency. On the other hand, those countries most favorable to the attainment of a permanent and superior order of civilization, are such as are not subject to extremes of heat or cold. In Sweden and Norway, where the regular employment of the people is interrupted by the severity of the weather; and in Spain and Portugal, where they are compelled to suspend their labors on account of the extreme heat, the effect on the national character is the same, producing instability of temper. Their regular pursuits being liable to interruption, the people are rendered prone to desultory habits, and are more fitful and capricious than the inhabitants

of a more temperate climate,—lacking that impetus, the result of long-continued and uninterrupted practice, that is necessary for steady advance in knowledge. Here nature yields much less bountifully to greater and long-sustained efforts, but by this very strife man's powers are strengthened, and his wits sharpened. By the fertility of his brain he atones for nature's lack. The progress of the one is at first tardy in comparison with that of the other, but is infinitely more sure and enduring.

It is in these countries, then, which are not liable to the extremes of temperature that we find a national literature established on a solid basis. The situation of Great Britain and of the principal countries of central Europe is particularly favorable to the growth of literature. The general aspect of the surroundings does not depress man as does the sublime and threatening grandeur of India, where the startling magnitude of nature's works tends to subjugate the understanding and exalt the imagination. The natural scenery of Europe is on a smaller scale. Instead of being intimidated by it, man is encouraged; in place of being oppressed by the stupendous powers of nature, he is incited to investigate these powers because of their beneficence to him.*

The moist climate and fresh verdure of England, with the prevalence of fogs, made their impress on the cool-blooded, blue-eyed, flaxen-haired Saxons. The climate, favorable to the pasturage of their vast flocks and herds, procured them food in abundance; and, being great consumers of flesh, the Saxons became more strongly imbued with animal instincts. But underlying those gross passions that sought relaxation in sensual pleasure—in eating, drinking and fighting—there was in the character of these Saxon progenitors of the English people a sturdy honesty, an unflinching adherence to duty, and an utter self-abnegation that prompted them to lay down their lives willingly for a chosen chief. There was, also, beneath this love for physical pleasure, a deep vein of melancholy which is observable in the modern Englishman, and in the tendency to suicide that is such a marked feature of English character. Their literature was like themselves—

* Buckle's *History of Civilization in England.*

bold, passionate, sensual, lacking the intellectual and spiritual element. Their ideal hero is one (as in the poem of Beowulf) who performs incredible feats, wages successful warfare with the elements, conquers sea-monsters, succors the unfortunate, defeats every enemy and reduces to subjection all turbulent factions.

The next period of English literature follows in the wake of the Norman conquest. It imports new ideas, overturning completely the previous order of things. Norman manners, customs and ideas supplant everything Saxon. During this period nothing but French and Latin literature was recognized; the English language was regarded with contempt, and only used by the meanest classes. English authors followed their conquerors' example and endeavored to express themselves in French. The crude songs of the Saxon gave place to tales of chivalry, abounding in brilliant pageants, fair ladies, brave knights, impossible voyages, marvellous adventures; in fact, the songs of the Saxon had made way for a literature belonging to childhood, a literature that appealed to the senses, revelling in gorgeous colors, fantastic images and exaggerated passions. We find Sir John Mandeville, in his *Voyage and Travaile*, relating with impertubable gravity as an eye-witness absurd encounters and impossible scenes—interspersed with grotesque fancies and ridiculous legends. The ballads of Robin Hood, the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, belong to this epoch. Eventually, however, through the frequent intermarriages and the preponderance of Saxon blood, the Saxon element reasserts itself, and the conquerors are conquered.

Despite the incongruity of the Saxon and Norman literature, it played its *rôle* and was the beginning of a great end. A definite language was at last attained, and the genius of Geoffrey Chaucer dawned upon English literature. Chaucer discards the old childish method of appealing only to the senses. He endeavors to enlist the intellect, seeks to delineate character, places distinct and living personages on the scene, and devotes his attention to their consistent development. He was, as a matter of course, accompanied and succeeded by scores of imitators.

About the close of the fifteenth century a great change began to take place. The nobility emerge from their strongholds, and frequent the Court, indulge in magnificent dress, regard the elegancies of speech—in short, begin to be ambitious of a higher refinement. They begin to study the classics, to observe art. The day dawns after the terrible night of the Middle Ages, and in place of "the dolorous legends of spirits and the damned, it was a delight to see again Olympus shining upon us from Greece, its heroic and beautiful deities once more ravishing the heart of man; they raised and instructed the young world by speaking to it the language of passion and genius, and the age of strong deeds, free sensuality, bold invention, had only to follow its own bent, in order to discover in them the eternal principles of liberty and beauty." The Pagan Renaissance resuscitates the forgotten beauty of Pagan art with much of its sensuality. The Earl of Surrey, "the English Petrarch," introduces a new manner. He imitates the ancient classics, and aims rather at achieving beauty of expression than at a strong style. In Henry, Earl of Surrey, the classical spirit of a century later shows its commencement. Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, and others are the product of the Pagan Renaissance, a period when imagination ran riot, order was disregarded, extravagance was the rule, and rationality the rare exception. Closely following, the connecting link between the Pagan Renaissance and the classical age, came Jonson, Shakespeare and Milton. Jonson, like Surrey, was a forerunner of the English classics. From his vast and varied knowledge, his extensive acquaintance with the ancient writings, his style is formed in the classical mould. He introduced order into the chaotic state of literature; he proceeds regularly and lucidly with his subject. Of Shakespeare and Milton we have nothing to say, except that their style is unique and inimitable. They stood upon the boundary of two eras, that of the Pagan Renaissance,—which acknowledged no rule, whose growth was spontaneous, when man gave reign to his imagination, neither checking its flight nor directing its course,—and that of the Christian Renaissance, when biblical lore is substituted for mythological

legends, going hand in hand with the Reformation. Puritanical literature, austere morals, long visages, interminable prayers and exhortations were the appointed order of things. Shakespeare is the representative of one age, and Milton of the other; each stamping indelibly his impress upon his own and succeeding generations.

The classical age was the inevitable reaction against the austere puritanism of Cromwell's time, and the antithesis of the Pagan Renaissance. It is the offspring of law and order, deports itself with decorum, restrains the imagination, and disciplines the mind. It regards with indignation and contempt the enthusiastic *abandon*, the eccentricities and extravagances of the Renaissance, and endeavors to reform this disorderly state of literature. It ceases to originate and begins to criticize. It seeks to employ only the proper word in its right place, to give it its appropriate adjective, to offset it by a felicitous antithesis. It not only clips the wings of imagination, but binds them down with rules. The Pagan Renaissance is the age of genius; the classical age, that of rhetoric.

Dryden was, undoubtedly, the greatest of English classic poets, greater in genius than Pope, his distinguished disciple. Born in 1681, forty-one years before Addison and fifty-seven years before Pope, he had reached a lonely eminence before either of these illustrious names were known to the literary world. Like most of the classical, and unlike the generality of the poets of the Renaissance, he was of good family, and received a superior education; while, by inheriting a competency, he was enabled to pursue his studies methodically and uninterruptedly. The systematic habits and classical taste of the youth shaped the genius of the man. His mornings were passed in writing and reading. Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius were his favorite authors. He translated much, and for his translations was justly renowned, especially for that of Virgil. He was familiar with French authors—Corneille, Racine, Boileau, Rapin,—and was versed in English literature from Chaucer down. His afternoons were invariably spent in Will's Coffee House, the great resort of the *literati*

of the day, where he was surrounded by a bevy of admirers, who sought to profit by his rare discrimination in criticism.

Dryden found literature, especially poetry, in a very imperfect condition. The poetry of the Renaissance displayed great genius, but was the unrestrained emanations of exuberant imaginations. Its versification was devoid of order, its metre irregular, its cadences rough, and that easy flow of numbers, constituting the harmony of the modern verse, was wanting.

Dryden sought to smooth these asperities and construct his verse with an idea of beauty. He endeavored to please the ear with harmonious vocalization, and to render his rhythm easy and flowing. Poetry to him was an art, and was as much the result of study as of inspiration. He instituted taste as the criterion in the place of enthusiasm. His style was lucid, strong, and exact, excelling in lyrics, satire, translations, and imitations. But his strength did not lie in the drama. He was too fastidious to succeed in this field, where the passionate fire of inspiration is more necessary than the nice discrimination of a critic.

Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* is undoubtedly the best and strongest political satire in existence. Dr. Johnson, in his *Lives of the Poets*, considers it to comprise all "the excellence of which the subject is susceptible, acrimony of censure, elegance of praise, artful delineation of character, variety and vigor of sentiment, happy turns of language, and pleasing harmony of numbers, and all these raised to such a height as can scarcely be found in any other English composition." The poem was said to have been undertaken at the command of Charles II. Shaftesbury, dismissed from the administration, resolved to effect the exclusion of the Duke of York, the brother of Charles and heir-apparent, and to place in his stead the Duke of Monmouth, one of Charles' illegitimate sons. It required an exquisite skill to handle Monmouth in the character of Absalom, although the resemblance between the two men and their positions was striking. Monmouth was well-favored in personal appearance, popular, and the favorite son of his father. Dryden has represented him as an erring, misguided son, the unwitting tool of the evil machinations of

an unprincipled schemer. He treated Absalom tenderly out of respect to Charles' partiality, transferring the worst sins to Achitophel.

The success of this satire was unprecedented. It was published anonymously in 1681, but the authorship was soon discovered. *The Medal*, a personal satire on Shaftesbury, was published about four months after the first part of *Absalom and Achitophel*, and eight months before the publication of the second part. *The Medal* suffers but little in comparison with the former. One represents a group of figures, the other is a portraiture of a single individual; and both display the great ability of the artist.

Mac Flecnoe, which first suggested to Pope the idea of his *Dunciad*, was a pasquinade on Shadwell, Dryden's antagonist in literature, and is one of the most pungent satires in the English language. Mac Flecnoe was an acknowledged poetaster of the lower order, his name being synonymous with doggerel verse and stupid prose. He is represented bequeathing to Shadwell, as his only worthy successor, the sovereignty of the realms of Dulness, of which he, heretofore, had been the undisputed possessor.

"All human things are subject to decay,
And when fate summons, monarchs must obey.
This Flecnoe found, who, like Augustus, young
Was called to empire, and had govern'd long.
For prose and verse was own'd without dispute,
Through all the realms of Nonsense, absolute.
This aged prince, now flourishing in peace,
And blest with issue of a large increase,
Worn out with business, did at length debate
To settle the succession of the State.
And, pondering which of all his sons was fit
To reign and wage immortal war with wit,
Cried: 'Tis resolved! for Nature pleads that he
Should only rule who most resembles me.
Shadwell alone my perfect image bears.
Matured in dulness from his tender years:
Shadwell alone, of all my sons, is he
Who stands confirmed in full stupidity.
The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,
But Shadwell never deviates into sense."

In the execution of *The Hind and the Panther*, Dryden exerted his utmost power, for he was to justify his conversion to Catholicism. The Hind—

> " A milk-white Hind, immortal and unchanged,
> Fed on the lawn, and in the forest ranged.
> Without unspotted, innocent within,
> She feared no danger for she knew no sin "—

represents the Roman Church, the others of the four-footed tribes the Established Church and its dissenting branches. It was the intention of the author to justify his adoption of the Roman Catholic faith, and to this end he employed all his art and energy in argumentative poetry.

Dryden was the great pioneer in English classics, and English literature, from the Restoration to the French Revolution, bears the classical impress. This reigning mode of thought and expression is evident in all writers from the greatest to the least, from Waller to Johnson, from Hobbes and Sir William Temple to Robertson and Hume. The attainment of a perfect rhetoric was the goal towards which all were heading. Around the reign of Queen Anne formed the nucleus of the classics. For sixty years was it consummating, and during this reign the rhetorical art was perfected. M. Taine, in writing of this period, observes :

" The style is at the same time finished and artificial. Open a book at random, Parnell or Philips, Addison or Prior, Gay or Tickell, one finds a certain turn of mind, versification, and language. Pass to the second, the same is repeated ; one would say they are copies of each other ; and to the third, the same diction, same apostrophe, same manner of posing the epithet, and rounding the period. Take them all and, save some minor personal differences, they seem to be all run in the same mould. One is a little more epicurean, another more nasal, another more satirical ; but throughout, the same noble language, oratorical pomp, and classic correctness ; the noun is always accompanied by its adjective, its chevalier of honor ; the antithesis balances the symmetrical architecture ; the verb, as in Lucan or Statius, is paraded, flanked on each side by a noun, garnished with its epithet ; one would say the verse is manufactured by machinery, it is so uniform. * * * One knows beforehand what ornaments will adorn it. * * * Here in like manner we see the classic art centre itself in Pope's contemporaries, and above all in Pope

himself, then to gradually become effaced, mixing with foreign elements, until it finally disappears in the succeeding poetry."*

Swift, Addison, and, Pope, were individually the greatest satirists of their age, and totally different one from the other. Swift was the greatest genius, Addison the greatest moralist, and Pope the greatest poet. Swift's satire was of the bitter, rasping style, the result of a peculiar disposition, wrecked hopes, and stranded ambition. He jeered and railed at the existing order of society. The majority of his satirical writings were aimed at parties and the Government, while his lampoons were few in comparison. Addison's satire was of a playful ironical cast, and touched upon the foibles and follies of his time. He never descended to personalities, and was never known to retaliate on an adversary, although he was more than his match. Of a happy disposition, on the whole prosperous in life, and an acknowledged head of an admiring group of *literati*, he was never bitter nor malicious like Pope, who seemed ever bent upon avenging himself on society for nature's unkindness to him. Pope indulged in lampoons, not sparing even his most intimate friends; his satire was personal and malignant, although couched in the most elegant terms.

It was a marked epoch in English literature when these men, so conspicuous for their ability, sprung into the arena of public letters. Two out of this trio, Addison and Swift, unaided by birth or fortune, succeeded in stamping indelibly their impress on the literature and politics of their country. Beyond the simple fact that both rose solely by their own exertion, never did the natures and careers of two men diverge more widely. In genius, as this term is commonly understood, Swift was indubitably the greater; but Addison, by the full development of his powers, until checked by his premature death in his forty-eighth year, used those powers to a much better purpose. Swift has not left a single work as a worthy memorial to his name in English literature, and is one of the least read of the English classics; while Addison is now widely read and imitated, and has done much towards the shaping of

* *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise.* Tome III, p. 355 *et seq.*

the periodical literature of our own day. Swift's imagination was of the creative order; Addison's was of the constructive. The satirical writings of the former are original, and so stamped with his individuality that his works never failed recognition although flung at the public without a sign; for who, save one of his peculiar nature, blighted by continual disappointments, would have conceived such a scheme as his *Modest Proposal for Utilizing the Children of the Poor People in Ireland*, and presented it to the public with such an assumed seriousness? Swift owed little to education and everything to nature; while Addison, without certain external favorable conditions that trained and supported his mental faculties, would never have risen above the crowd (to use one of Swift's graphic illustrations) that press and squeeze and thrust with indefatigable pains to exalt themselves. But Addison made the best use of his educational advantages, and of his opportunity while abroad to observe the various conditions and study the art and literature of those countries which he visited. He stored his mind with rich materials; and, gifted with a ready power of reproduction, guided by a correct taste and an artistic love of the beautiful, he so combined and arranged his store that the results were the most effective, and lacked none of the appearance of originality. It was Addison's faculty of keen insight into human nature that made him the prince of English essayists and the father of the modern novel.

Swift was apparently devoid of artistic sensibility, and either completely ignored the beautiful, or rudely wrenched it from its exalted position, and trampled it into the dust. In vain do we search through his works for one aspiration towards the sublime, or one yearning after the infinite. His illustrations are invariably chosen from the lowest side of nature, and he continually degrades man instead of seeking his elevation, like Addison. Swift's style, were it pruned of that coarseness that exceeds the license of even that age of moral laxity, is preëminently strong and concise, never vivacious, and without ornament; while Addison always made strength subordinate to elegance. The elegant rounding of his periods, the selection and arrangement

of words so that the accent would always fall harmoniously, render Addison at times a little monotonous, and deprive his descriptions of passion of the reality that constitutes the chief strength and charm of modern fiction. His essays were the reflection of his conversation, and his conversation of his character. Combining the qualities of elegance and instructiveness, full of felicitous illustrations drawn with that quaint humor so peculiar to Addison, and being adapted to every condition of life, those essays met with a great success. Although the project of the *Spectator* originated with Steele, and many well-known writers contributed to its pages, yet its success has always been regarded as due to Addison. He touched upon every topic with an exquisite delicacy of humor, and bared the foibles and follies of the age with an inimitable irony that corrects without wounding. His style is simple, such as the most careless may readily understand; and yet it possesses an elegance that charms the most fastidious reader.

The term *genius* can be applied to Swift with more correctness than to almost any other of the English classic writers, for he possessed a certain originality and keen perception, and impressed his individuality upon everything he wrote. Swift did not discover new truths, but he understood human nature notwithstanding his apparent contempt for it. If Dr. Channing truly defined genius when he said it "is not creative in the sense of fancying or feigning what does not exist, its distinction is to discern more of truth than ordinary minds," the term is often misapplied and there is a dearth of it among English classics.

The precocity of Pope and his insatiate passion for books, especially of poetry, are well known. He versified in his baby prattle, composed between the ages of twelve and fifteen a tragedy in imitation of the *Iliad*, an ode on solitude, and an epic poem of four thousand verses, called *Alcander*. During the eight years he was shut up in the little house at Windsor, he employed his time in reading the best critics, English, French and Latin poetry, Homer and other Greek poets, sometimes in the original, and Tasso and Aristotle in translation, applying himself

with so much assiduity as to endanger his life. It was not the passions delineated in these poems that interested the young student, but never was there a greater devotee of style. His favorite among English poets was the classic Dryden, and following the advice of his early patron, Mr. Walsh, he endeavored to become the most *correct* of English poets. He translated much, appropriating to himself poetic elegancies, and storing his memory for future use. His head was a complete dictionary of happy epithets, ingenious turns, and sonorous rhythms. His *Pastorals*, composed at the age of sixteen, evince a finished elegance unsurpassed by Dryden. At twenty-one he completed his *Essay on Criticism*, which would have been creditable as the closing effort of a long career in literature.

All things conspired to make a perfect expression attainable by Pope,—the persevering application of a whole life, an exhaustive study of models, the possession of a fortune that rendered him independent of booksellers, the companionship of the best society, and a nature exempt from those troublesome passions that usually beset genius, and, consequently, never carried to excess. Glancing over the poems of Pope, we find essays, dialogues, imitations, translations, inscriptions, epitaphs, epigrams, epistles, and odes, for he was commendably industrious. His essays, didactic in nature, were so many rhymed discourses for one's edification. He chooses verse and even rhyme, he says, for two reasons, —principles, maxims, or precepts, so written, both strike the reader more strongly at first and are more easily retained by him afterwards, and he found he could express himself more tersely than in prose. * Those essays have been universally read and admired, and, taken in detached couplets, are incomparable; but as a whole, the perfect uniformity of style renders them tedious. His ideas are never original and his philosophy, of the moderate kind, carefully avoids both extremes. His style is eminently classic, but "correctly cold," and he is never betrayed into that poetic *abandon*, which would be so great a relief occasionally to his readers.

* Introduction to *Essay on Man*.

"The art of arranging words in that measure" [the heroic couplet], writes Macaulay, "so that the lines may flow smoothly, that the accent may fall correctly, that the rhymes may strike the ear strongly, and that there may be a pause at the end of every distich, is an art as mechanical as that of mending a kettle, or shoeing a horse; and may be learned by any human being who has sense enough to learn anything. But, like mechanical arts, it was gradually improved by means of many experiments and many failures. It was reserved for Pope to discover the trick to make himself complete master of it, and to teach it to everybody else. From the time when his *Pastorals* appeared, heroic versification became a matter of rule and compass, and before long all artists were on a level. Hundreds of dunces who never blundered on a happy thought or expression were able to write reams of couplets, which, so far as euphony was concerned, could not be distinguished from those of Pope, himself; and which very clever writers of the reign of Charles the Second, Rochester, for example, or Marvel, or Oldham, would have contemplated with admiring despair." *

Dryden raised poetry to an art; Pope reduced it to a trade. The latter excelled in brilliant invective, cutting sarcasm, and was incomparable in his ability to dissect a character in rhymes sonorous and concise, offset with striking antitheses, and interspersed with the happiest similes,—but he was entirely lacking in dramatic talent. His lampoons were crushing, sparing neither friendship, age nor condition—as witness those on the Duke of Chandos, Aaron Hill, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu—and his subsequent equivocating and lying himself out of their authorship. His lines on Mr. Addison—after their final quarrel on the translation of Homer—under the name of *Atticus*, contain the most consummate irony.

> "Peace to all such! But were there one whose fires
> True genius kindles, and fair fame inspires;
> Blest with each talent, and each art to please,
> And born to write, converse, and live at ease:
> Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
> Bear, like the Turk, no rival near his throne,
> View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,
> And hate for arts that caus'd himself to rise,
> Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
> And, without sneering, others teach to sneer:
> Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
> Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike.

* *Essay on Addison.*

Alike reserved to blame or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend.
Dreading e'en fools; by flatterers besieg'd;
And so obliging that he ne'er oblig'd.
Like Cato, give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause:
While wits and Templars ev'ry sentence raise;
And wonder with a foolish face of praise:
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be!
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he!"

It is not our intention to enter into the details of the quarrel between Addison and Pope further than to call attention to one or two undisputed facts. Addison was a man against whom there was never cast the slightest breath of suspicion, even by political foes. He never retaliated on his critics, although possessing the faculty of the keenest and most effective satire; while Pope, under assumed names, was constantly maligning his most intimate associates, was suspicious of every one—suspicions often unfounded and always invincible. It is too much to expect, however, that a well-balanced mind could exist in his poor crooked body, and generous impulses generate in a hot-bed of flattery.

The gems of Pope's writings are appropriated by every school-reader, for their correctness makes them excellent models. His *Ode of the Dying Christian to his Soul*, *Universal Prayer*, extracts from his *Essay on Criticism* and *Essay on Man*, are familiar to every school-girl or school-boy. If "perfect expression" were substituted for "true wit," in the following lines, Pope's style was never so tersely described as in his own words:

"True wit is nature to advantage dress'd,
What oft was thought but ne'er so well express'd."

Let us take for further illustrations a few extracts from his *Essay on Man*. Where else save in Pope's writings could we find so many beauties crowded in so small a space? Every adjective and epithet is an epitome of a whole sentence.

"Know then thyself, presume not God to scan!
The proper study of mankind is man.
Placed on this isthmus of a middle state,
A being darkly wise, and rudely great:

With too much knowledge for the skeptic side,
With too much weakness for the stoic's pride,
He hangs between; in doubt to act, or rest;
In doubt to deem himself a god, or beast;
In doubt his mind or body to prefer;
Born but to die, and reasoning but to err;
Alike in ignorance, his reason such
Whether he thinks too little or too much;
Chaos of thought and passion, all confus'd;
Still by himself abused or disabused;
Created half to rise, or half to fall;
Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all;
Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurl'd,
The glory, jest and riddle of the world!"

And,

"Remember, man, 'the Universal Cause
Acts not by partial, but by general laws;'
And makes what happiness we justly call,
Subsist not in the good of one, but all."

Also,

"All nature is but art, unknown to thee,
All chance, direction which thou canst not see:
All discord, harmony not understood;
All partial evil, universal good.
And, spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
One truth is clear, WHATEVER IS, IS RIGHT."

So long as Pope confined himself to the satirical style, and to subjects of a didactic nature he was a complete master of his pen; but when he endeavored to enter the realms of passion he failed. His poem of *Eloïsa to Abelard* evinces the same polished diction, is as rich in happy similes and perfect rhythm, as his other poems; but this very elaborateness robs the poem of its charm, and bespeaks more of the seclusion of the cabinet of a *littérateur* than of the unrestrained utterances of a heart-broken woman. Compare the pathetic simplicity of the unhappy Eloïse with Pope's stilted style: "Thou alone canst grieve me, thou alone canst console me or give me joy. Happier and prouder would I be as thy mistress than as the wife of an emperor. God knows I want nothing of thee save thyself. 'Tis thee alone I desire, and nothing thou couldst give me!"

"Let wealth, let honor wait the wedded dame,
August her deed, and sacred be her fame;

Before true passion all those views remove;
Fame, wealth and honor! what are you to love?
The jealous god, when we profane his fires,
Those restless passions in revenge inspires,
And bids them make mistaken mortals groan
Who seek in love for aught but love alone.
Should at my feet the world's great master fall,
Himself, his throne, his world, I'd scorn them all!
Not Cæsar's empress would I deign to prove;
No! make me mistress to the man I love!
If there be yet another name more free,
More fond than mistress, make me that to thee!"

When mythological fables are ransacked for appropriate similes, when the seraphic spirits are invoked to prepare "roseate bowers, celestial palms, and ever-blooming flowers" for her reception, when "moss-grown domes with spiry turrets crown'd" are described,—in short, when a letter becomes, to use one of Taine's expressions, "a repertory of literary effects," in our admiration of the poet's ingenuity we forget the heart-rending passions of the woman, the outpouring of whose surcharged feelings we are supposed to follow.

The Rape of the Lock and the *The Dunciad* are Pope's masterpieces in the satirical style. *The Rape of the Lock* is a poem elevating a trifling circumstance into an affair of the direst importance. *The Dunciad* possesses little interest for the modern reader, as, being a collective satire on the poet's critics, it involves many obscure and unknown names.

Pope's only rival in English classic verse was Dryden. So far as euphony and correct versification are concerned, Pope excelled Dryden, for he was enabled by the latter's endeavors in versification to carry on that art to a greater perfection. Although Dryden did not possess much dramatic talent, in that form of composition he completely eclipsed Pope. In the satirical style, both possessed great power. Dryden used his politically, Pope personally. In lyric verse, Pope wrote nothing to be classed with Dryden's, for in this consisted Dryden's greatest strength. As a critic, the latter stands preëminent, not only among those of the classic age but among those of the succeeding one. He understood perfectly the art of composition, and expounded its rules with a force

and perspicacity that entitle him to the rank of the prince of critics. Of the two poets, however, Dryden was the greater, notwithstanding the correctness and exquisite euphony of Pope's verse, for the scope of his mind was wider, his poetic sentiment truer. To the former we owe the elevation of poetry to its present position.

Samuel Johnson, the great literary dictator, and Oliver Goldsmith, the gentle "happy-go-lucky" poet, though totally dissimilar in character, were fast friends; and there is a sort of an association between these two names in English literature, notwithstanding the opposite direction of their tendencies.

The *Rambler*, issued March 20th, 1750, and discontinued March 17th, 1752, first caused Johnson's reputation to extend beyond the literary circles of London, where he had previously gained some notoriety by his poems of *London* and the *Vanity of Human Wishes*, imitations of Juvenal. The *Rambler*, as Mr. Stephen writes, "marks the culminating period of Johnson's worst style. The pompous and involved language seems, indeed, to be a fit clothing for the melancholy reflections which are its chief staple, and, in spite of its unmistakable power, it is as heavy reading as the heavy class of lay sermonizing to which it belongs. Such literature, however, is often strangely popular in England, and the *Rambler*, though its circulation was limited, gave to Johnson his position as a great political moralist. He took his literary title, one may say, from the *Rambler*, as the more familiar title from the *Dictionary*."

At length, in 1755, his great work was completed, and his *Dictionary* was placed before the public seven years after his plan had been presented. This work placed Johnson at the head of the literary coterie of his time, and he now occupied the chair that had successively contained Ben. Jonson, Dryden and Pope.

In the evenings of a single week in January, 1759, he wrote the story of *Rasselas*, for which he received £100, and £25 for the second edition. It was widely translated and universally admired. On the succession of George the Third, Johnson was made the recipient of a pension of £300 a year.

He worked but little after his maintenance was assured, saying that "no man except a blockhead ever wrote except for money." His *Journey to the Hebrides* and *Lives of the Poets* were his only considerable efforts after he was rendered independent of booksellers. During Johnson's working days he did not produce much that can really be called *literature*. His *Dictionary*, though the result of seven years' labor, cannot be properly styled a contribution to English literature, and was fated, of course, to be superseded. Much of his other work was merely hack work and has passed into oblivion.

To speak of Johnson's peculiarities—of his intensely superstitious nature, his awkward contortions, his utter disregard for the refinements of society, his ungainly, uncouth appearance, of his unlimited circle of friends, his literary dictatorship, and his great conversational gifts, or rather brilliant monologues, abounding in dazzling flashes of wit, pointed repartees and apposite illustrations,—this seems quite superfluous.

From Johnson the mind quickly reverts to Goldsmith, and any one who has scanned the lights and shadows that made up the picture of the life of this gentle poet is ready to echo Johnson's estimate of his friend: "He had raised money and squandered it by every artifice of acquisition and folly of expense. But let not his frailties be remembered; he was a very great man." Goldsmith was undoubtedly the unwitting author of many of his misfortunes from his impetuous and generous disposition, and that shy, sensitive nature that so eagerly grasped for sympathy,—that, in his nervous desire to please, made him a mark for the mud that any careless hand might spatter.

Goldsmith's reputation as one of the most tender and melodious of English poets rests on *The Traveller*, *The Deserted Village*, and that "prose idyll" *The Vicar of Wakefield*. The last-mentioned work evinces all the quaint humor of the author; and the exquisite simplicity and *naïveté* of the good old vicar's narrative, with its delicate touches of real life, deservedly render it one of the most popular works in the English language. The sweet melody of the bard's verses, with their harmonious rhythms combined with the true

sentiment of poetry which was beginning to glimmer over English verse, is much more pleasing than the studied elegance of the greater classics.

The Deserted Village is one of the sweetest representations of a village and village life in the English language. Sweet Auburn—

> " When smiling Spring its earliest visits paid,
> And parting Summer's lingering bloom delayed;"

with

> " The hawthorn bush with seats beneath the shade,
> For talking age and whispering lovers made;"

and that exquisite portrait of the village preacher:

> " A man he was to all the country dear,
> And passing rich with forty pounds a year,
> Remote from towns he ran his godly race,
> And never changed nor wished to change his place,
> Unskilled he was to fawn or seek for power
> By doctrines fashion'd to the varying hour.
> Far other aims his heart had learn'd to prize,
> More bent to raise the wretched, than to rise.
> * * * * * * * * *
> Pleased with his guests, the good man learned to glow
> And quite forgot their vices in their woe:
> Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
> His pity gave ere charity began.
> Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,
> And e'en his failings lean'd to virtue's side."

The humorous descriptions of the village school-master and of the village inn are excellent, and also the simple pleasures of the villagers, which

> " With sweet succession taught e'en toil to please."

But, alas!

> " Sweet smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,
> Thy sports are fled and all thy charms withdrawn!
> Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,
> And desolation saddens all thy green:
> One only master grasps the whole domain,
> And half a tillage stints thy smiling plain."

The charm of Goldsmith's writings lies in their simplicity. He indulges in none of the poetic novelties of Pope, never dazzles by new and unexpected combinations, and never

resorts to startling metaphors; nevertheless his poems are replete with imagery, as in the two following examples:

"But in his duty prompt at every call
He watch'd and wept, he pray'd and felt for all;
And as a bird each fond endearment tries,
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

* * * * * * * * *

"As some tall cliff, that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

These illustrations of Goldsmith's are drawn from every-day life. His imagery and language are always exquisitely simple, and are consistent with his subject, pathetic but forcible.

Rasselas and *The Vicar of Wakefield* are representative works of these two men. Let us linger a little over them. Imlac, in *Rasselas*, tells us that "human life is everywhere a state in which much is to be endured and little to be enjoyed;" while the good vicar, after having been reduced from affluence to comparative poverty, observes: "In this manner we began to find that every situation of life might bring its own peculiar pleasures; every morning awaked us to a new repetition of toil, but every evening repaid it with vacant hilarity." Imlac again says: "Be not too hasty to trust or to admire the teachers of morality; they discourse like angels, but they live like men." "The world which you figure to yourself smooth and quiet as the lake in the valley, you will find a sea foaming with tempests and boiling with whirlpools; you will sometimes be overwhelmed by waves of violence, and sometimes dashed against the rocks of treachery. Amidst wrongs and frauds, competitions and anxieties, you will wish a thousand times for these seats of quiet, and willingly quit hope to be free from fear." Also the Princess Nekayah: "Every hour confirms my prejudice in favor of the position, so often uttered by the mouth of Imlac, that nature sets her gifts on the right hand and on the left. Those conditions which flatter hope and attract desire, are so constituted that as we approach one we recede from the other. There are goods

so opposed that we cannot seize both, but, by too much prudence, we may pass between them at too great a distance to reach either. This is often the fate of long consideration; he does nothing who endeavors to do more than is allowed to humanity. Flatter not yourself with contrarieties of pleasure. With the blessings set before you be content. No man can take the fruits of Autumn while he is delighting his scent with the flowers of Spring; no man can at the same time fill his cup from the source and from the mouth of the Nile."

The vicar with his unfailing courage and faith still looks upward, though sorely burdened with trouble, and in sickness, in hunger, and in prison, still exhorts those around him to count their blessings and not their misfortunes. "O, my children, if you could but learn to commune with your own hearts, and know what noble company you can make them, you would little regard the elegance and splendor of the worthless. Almost all men have been taught to call life a passage and themselves the travellers. The similitude still may be improved when we observe that the good are joyful and serene, like travellers that are going toward home; the wicked but by intervals happy, like travellers that are going into exile."

There is certainly a spirit of broad liberality and catholicity displayed by the vicar:

"We should then find that creatures whose souls are held as dross only wanted the hand of a refiner; we should then find that creatures now stuck up for long tortures lest luxury should feel a momentary pang, might, if properly treated, serve to sinew the state in times of danger; * * * that few minds are so base that perseverance cannot amend, that a man may see his last crime without dying for it, and that very little blood will serve to cement our security."

The fame of the plurality of English classical writers rests chiefly on the moral character of their works. English people demand a great deal of lay sermonizing even of the heaviest order. On this account Swift is not a very popular author, for he was more of a politician than a moralist. Addison won his enviable position in letters by the *Spectator*, Pope by his didactic poems, Johnson by his *Rasselas* and

Rambler, Goldsmith by his *Deserted Village* and the *Vicar of Wakefield*, Gray, Akenside, Young, and others, by their Christian meditations on life and death. Addison's method of teaching was the most effective, for he adapted his lessons to every condition of life. His was an intensely religious nature, but not superstitious like Johnson's; he was a true humanitarian, and the object of his life seemed to be to aid his fellow men. We find in the *Spectator* none of that dry, heavy moralizing so noticeable in the *Rambler*, and none of Johnson's pessimism. Addison recognized the love of good in mankind and sought to strengthen it, while Johnson, burdened with the sense of the universality of evil, sought to lessen that evil.

Pope indulged in a comfortable sort of philosophy, believing that "whatever is, is right;" that all things are exactly as they were ordained, and as man is powerless to effect any change either for good or for evil, he is foolish to attempt it; that the Omniscient, if dissatisfied with the order of things, will alter that order to his own pleasure. His moral essays are principally an exposition of Bolingbroke's philosophy; the remainder of his writings is of an eclectic style, picking up here a little and there a little, and inconsistent at times. We see the fatalist, the pantheist, etc., in turn, and we fear that Pope concerned himself more about his expression than his philosophy:

"Then say not man's imperfect, Heaven in fault:
Say rather, man's as perfect as he ought:
His knowledge measured to his state and place,
His time a moment, and a point his space.
If to be perfect in a certain sphere,
What matter, soon or late, or here or there?"

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;
That, changed through all, and yet in all the same,
Great in the earth, as in the ethereal frame;
Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;
Lives through all life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent;
Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,
As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;
As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns,
As the rapt seraph that adores and burns;

To him no high, no low, no great, no small;
He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all." *

In a letter to the Bishop of Rochester, Pope summarily disposes of his politics and religion. "In my politics," he writes, "I think no farther than how to preserve my peace of life in any government under which I live, nor in my religion, than to preserve the peace of my conscience in any church with which I communicate. I hope all churches and all governments are so far of God as they are rightly understood and rightly administered; and when they are or may be wrong, I leave it to God alone to mend or reform them, and whenever he does, it must be by greater instruments than I."

Surrounding the chair of the great Cham, were a group of poets and novelists who were on the out-going wave of classicism. The novelists of the eighteenth century were moulded from the classical model. Fielding, Richardson, Smollett, Mme. D'Arblay, DeFoe, Sterne, Mackenzie, Sheridan, were the principal delineators of character; and although shocking the modern sense of delicacy (Mme. D'Arblay least of all), their works were eagerly sought after. Mrs. Aphra Behn, Mrs. Manley, and Mrs. Haywood, enjoyed the peculiar distinction of writing the most immoral novels in the English language. Richardson's celebrated novels, *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*, which were read with such avidity by a past generation, and so affected the sensibilities of their readers that they could not see the print for tears; Fielding's *Tom Jones*, *Joseph Andrews*, *Amelia;* Smollet's *Peregrine Pickle*, *Humphrey Clinker*—all except *Sir Charles Grandison*—abound in libiditinous intrigues, in infamous plots against innocent girlhood. The style is heavy, though some of the scenes are powerfully drawn, and they possess little interest for the modern reader, save in their character of being the progenitors of the modern English novel—that now important feature of literature—and as showing us how some of the leisure hours of our ancestors were beguiled.

Of the poets there was Macpherson, a Scotchman, the

* *Essay on Man.*

author of the *Ossian*, a Homeric effort, being an assemblage of fragmentary legends and picturesque images set off with an abundance of rhetoric. There were the sentimental poets, Gray, and Akenside, both disciples of the exalted Greek style. The odes of the one and the reflections of the other bespeak something more than the artificial style of the former generation, in their sweet melancholy and exquisite sentiment. There were Glover, Watts, Shenstone, Smart, and many others with their serious reflections and Christian meditations; and Young, who, losing his wife and children, profited by his misfortune and wrote his *Night Thoughts*, being meditations on life, death, and immortality. The sentiment is a little morbid, but there are rich gleams of thought throughout them. There are the historians, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, whose elegance of taste, language, and style is irreproachable, whose sentiments are liberal, moderate and impartial, but who evince little sympathy with their subject—their manner being as polished and brilliant as an icicle glittering under the rays of the sun—and as cold.

But the classical mantle is being gradually discarded to satisfy the wants of a larger class than the titled patrons of literature—to reappear occasionally, indeed, and to be worn gracefully by Campbell, Macaulay and Bulwer, of the modern age. The time came when the people began to crave intellectual food. Something more was demanded than classic correctness. The spirit of inquiry was rife; consequently authors were rendered more independent, and they pushed forward in newer fields and instituted a boldness of investigation that was impossible when their success depended upon the patronage of the rich and titled individuals, whose prejudices and hobbies were to be pampered, their reward being in proportion to the adulations contained in the dedication. Now that the people were beginning to take an interest in literature, and the success of authors depended upon the appreciation of the general public, the pedantic method, with its cumbrous language, long involved sentences and "stately march and difficult evolutions," was naturally discarded, and a style employed that adapted itself to the average

sense and met that spirit of inquiry that was beginning to agitate every class. New ideas, presented in a pleasant and wholesome manner, were demanded in place of worn-out notions, be their garnishing never so elegant or magnificent.

If one takes a retrospective glance of the modern classical writers, one finds that nothing truly original resulted from their labors. Their age was one of imitation, first of the ancient classics, then of one another. Originality, beyond that requisite for the mere placing of words for a harmonious effect, was lacking. If poetry does not consist in mere metrical composition, as J. S. Mill wrote,* and possesses a peculiarity that exists in prose as well as verse, in music, painting, sculpture and architecture; if poetry is "impassioned truth," or "man's thoughts tinged with his feelings," and "is feeling confessing to itself in moments of solitude, embodying itself in symbols which are the nearest possible representation of the feeling in the exact shape in which it exists in the poet's mind," and is distinguished from eloquence which has many of the characteristics of poetry, inasmuch that the former supposes an audience and is addressed to its sympathies, and the latter is the communing of the soul with itself, and might be said to be *over*-heard—then we look in vain for poetry in much of the studied elegance in classical verse.

* *Discussions and Dissertations.* Vol. I. Essay on *Poetry.*

Art. IV.—The Hygiene of Water.

No substance in nature with which one is so familiar, is invested with a more peculiar interest than water. No substance has more excited the curiosity of scientific men in all ages nor so long baffled their powers of comprehension and analysis, as water. And well it might do all this. No substance is so widely diffused; none more essential to organic life; none so strangely interwoven with the fabric of all material things, as water. Nor does any substance exist in such variety of forms, nor undergo such mysterious metamorphoses, as water. At a temperature of 32° Fahr., it is as solid as flint and as transparent as crystal; at a temperature of 33° Fahr., it is the perfection of a limpid substance, possessing solvent properties more general and characteristic than any known liquid; at a temperature of 212° Fahr., it is a gas of exceeding rarity, possessing less than half the weight of common air, having increased its volume in becoming gaseous seventeen hundred times.

Water is associated with the grandest phenomena in nature. On the earth, it collects in deep fountains and forms huge courses and little streamlets. In the air, it exists in every degree of vaporous density, from insensible dew to mists so dense and dark as to obscure the light of the sun. In the heavens the same vapor forms clouds of great variety and beauty, producing, in conjunction with wind and sunshine, phenomena so strange, so profound and imposing as to awaken in the reflective mind the deepest sense of the beautiful and the sublime.

Water has ever been an object of profound study and curiosity. Thales taught that water was the "first and fontal element" of all material things; and he was not far from

right. In his system of physics,—if system it could be called—water was one of the original elements, earth, fire and air being the other three,—God, "the intelligence by which all things are formed out of water." * It was so regarded until Galileo's day, when the suspicion began to arise in the minds of men that it possessed a composite nature, Von Helmont, the alchemist, claiming that it could be transformed to rock. In this opinion, however, he was mistaken; the rock which he found on evaporating water being the *residua* left behind, and which had been held in solution by it. Thus the nature of this strange substance continued to baffle the ingenuity of discoverers until about a century ago, when it yielded up its secret to the genius of James Watt, the inventor of the steam-engine, and, also, about the same time to that of two other distinguished chemists and discoverers, Cavendish and the renowned but lamented Lavoisier.

Water, then, is not a simple element, chemically speaking, but a composite substance. It is composed of equal parts by weight of oxygen and hydrogen; the former being the oxidizing element of the air and the chief supporter of combustion; the latter a gas of maximum rarity and the most inflammable of any known gas. Its combustion by oxygen forms a most stable compound, viz.: water.

Water contributes largely to every fabric and compound in nature, organic or inorganic. In all organic substances it is the chief element, and in many of them it is the principal ingredient. Some of the amphibious order of creatures—the medusæ, for example—are composed of 99-100ths water. In general, it may be said that the higher and more complex the function of an organic compound, the greater is the proportion of water in its constitution. The most delicate flowers and fruits are composed mostly of water; and brain and nerve are formed chiefly of water. The material substrate of the mighty intellect of an Aristotle, a Franklin or a Kant is chiefly water. The blood of every man is four-fifths water. It has been estimated that a man whose weight is 154 pounds is made up of 116 pounds of water and only 38 pounds of dry, earthy

* Cicero's *De Naturâ Deorum*. Book I.

matter! Let us, therefore, increase our respect and consideration for water—pure, sparkling water—since our bodies and brains are little else beside that element; and since, also, no life or beauty could exist anywhere without its limpid agency. If the elements of the blood furnish a key to determine the kind of diet most suitable for man, surely water is more important than the oil of cod's liver or the elixir of bark and iron, and fruits and vegetables are greater desiderata than the grains and flesh.

Water is a universal solvent. In this respect it is superior to all known substances. There is no substance in nature that can wholly resist its dissolving properties. It is this property of water that renders it of peculiar interest in therapeutics and hygiene. Its power to cleanse rests chiefly upon its capacity to dissolve and absorb extraneous elements. The bath, therefore, derives its chief efficacy from the dissolving agency of water. The purity of the air, likewise, depends largely upon it. The sweetness, health and comfort of our homes and highways, towns and cities, have all a close dependence upon the cleansing properties and powers of this marvellous agent.

One can have no difficulty, therefore, in tracing the connection between a pure and copious water-supply and the conditions of good health. This very property of water to dissolve and absorb, so wise in design, so beneficent in result, becomes a sort of evil when ignorantly ignored or practically disregarded. The wants of the animal system require pure fresh water; water that has not already taken to itself its full of filthy débris; water that has not already exhausted its cleansing powers; water that has not dissolved quite all that it is capable of dissolving. But this is not all. Water for dietetic and physiological purposes requires a certain amount of atmospheric air diffused through or held suspended in it. Without air, water is flat, insipid, dead. Boiled water is an example of this condition. Nor is this all. Water requires the touch of the solar ray to fit it for human use. Sunlight adds some element or quality, or exerts some peculiar influence by which its vital property is enhanced. These are indispensable requisites of water for physiological uses; the absence of

them is parent of many evils usually attributed to the freaks of a malevolent agency.

There are various chemical tests for detecting impurities in water, but the most practical, as well as the most reliable, are those of taste and smell. Pure water is odorless and tasteless. Water possessing either taste or odor should be rejected as improper for drinking purposes—the odor especially indicating a superabundance of organic matter. The *temperature* of drinking water is, also, a matter for consideration. It should not be too cold nor too warm. Water of a temperature between 40° and 60° Fahr. is probably most suitable. It should be as free of chemical compounds as possible. On this point, however, the weight of authority leans to a different conclusion. The following views of Dr. Gautier, a French physician and writer, contain the average sense on this subject:

"As the water introduces not only oxygen and hydrogen into the system in proportions necessary to form water, but also such mineral substances, in solution, as are indispensable to life, it will be readily understood that absolutely pure water is not suited for the sustenance of life. There must, however, be a limit to the quantity of such foreign ingredients, under the penalty of injury to the health. Of these ingredients, carbonate of lime is the most common, and of this there may be, without inconvenience, 10-100ths to 20-100ths of a gramme to the litre. An appreciable percentage of phosphate of lime renders the water unfit for domestic and industrial uses; and for general purposes there should not be a greater percentage than 2-100ths to 5-100ths of a gramme to the litre. Small percentages of the chlorides generally affect water disadvantageously for drinking purposes. The maximum, however, should be 8-100ths to 10-100ths of a gramme to the litre. The presence of organic matter in waters has been considered one of the principal causes of any injurious qualities they may possess; to their presence being attributed the development of such diseases as diarrhœa, dysentery, intermittent fever, typhoid fever, etc. The organic residue should never amount to more than 2-100ths to 5-100ths of a gramme to the litre."

With all due deference to the views of M. Gautier, we maintain that the amount of organic or other residue in water for domestic purposes should never exceed the smallest fraction of a gramme to the litre.

One would suppose from the manner in which many

medical men write on this subject, that pure water is of the least possible consequence to the human family. The following curious paragraph, in illustration of the fact, is from Dr. Edward Smith's recent work on *Food*: "Nitrates and nitrites, perhaps in every proportion, but certainly in any quantity beyond a trace, must be derived from animal and vegetable matters, and so far excite a suspicion of their injurious qualities. It is, however, a noticeable fact, that many good and healthful (?) drinking waters contain much of these substances, and hence, however harmful be their origin, they are themselves harmless." That is a strange paradox, surely. How does the writer *know* that they are harmless? Are all substances to be considered harmless that do not produce immediate toxical effects? "This results," continues he, "from the oxidising process through which they have passed in their course through the strata of the earth, so that they have become medicines rather than poisons, or useless rather than noxious (!) Their presence is not, therefore, of great moment, although their absence might be more desirable" (p. 284). "Medicines rather than poison." Indeed! What can be the author's distinction between medicine and poison? He seems oblivious of the fact that "*Ubi virus, ibi virtus*" is a time-honored maxim in therapeutics. Drug-agents are medicinal because they are poisonous. The secret of their power to impress the nervous centres morbifically is that of their therapeutic agency, these different and opposite effects being due to the different and opposite conditions in which the same medicinal, or poisonous agent, is used.

It is an error to suppose that water is improved by the extraneous elements which it so generally holds in solution. As a medicine, such waters may possess a specific value in special and well-defined cases; but as an element of hygiene, or for hygienic purposes, their value is depreciated in precise ratio to the amount of extraneous substances with which they are impregnated. We cannot too severely reprobate, therefore, the general use of mineral waters, the trade in which has become a source of enormous revenue to a class of people who have no aim but to batten on the credulity of the public—

quacks and nostrum-venders, who pander to ignorance and perversity—for the greed of gain. All waters of that class—waters impregnated with the earthy salts and alkaloids—like medicine, are vile. Their indiscriminate use cannot but be a cause of disorder to both body and mind. We would plead for water pure and simple—water free from factitious elements, just as it is formed in the laboratory of nature; rain water, condensed from dew, or distilled from the clouds; spring water, filtered through strata of sand, fresh from nature's perennial fountains; sparkling water, that courses in tortuous streamlets over beds of rock and pebble, exposed to air and sunlight from which it has absorbed its full of radiant forces. While water from these sources is not as pure as one could wish, or as the demands of a high order of existence require, it comes as near to one's ideal of pure water as is practicable in the present imperfect condition of terrestrial things. Water of this character—water as pure as soft spring water—however, will suffice. It needs no mumbled mockery of priests, or touch of pious hands, to make it holy. It comes to us already blessed, laden with ethereal qualities drawn from the sky and air; qualities that, while they are of too subtle and imponderous a character to be weighed or measured, or otherwise estimated by any tests at present available, are yet of potent influence in the economy of life and indispensable to the well-being of sentient creatures.

A brief glance at some of the extraneous matters that are found in waters of general use, but which are regarded of more than average purity—matters wholly inimical to organic life—will suffice to satisfy the most sceptical of the importance of this subject from a hygienic point of view. There is a great difference in the quality of the water in different sections of the country, of course. Brooklyn water is one of more than average purity. Just look at a glass of it—the purest water on the planet, as Brooklyn people say! It is clouded with sand, perhaps,—it commonly is. Let that settle, and hold the glass up to the sunlight: numberless particles and threads of decayed and decaying vegetable matter are observed suspended in the fluid; and he who applies the

microscopic test to a drop of it, would lose at once whatever delight he may have had in quenching his thirst with it. Croton water is no better—indeed it is not as good. Besides the products of vegetable disintegration, which dim its transparency, there are more than traces of the earthy salts which it holds in solution, and which impair its sanitary virtues. These impurities are slight, however, in comparison with those the microscope reveals. That little tell-tale instrument brings into clear view numerous infusoria of various sizes and shapes, some of which appear, under the magnifying glass, large enough to choke any throat of ordinary capacity. An infinite number of sporules, also, swell the number of the inhabitants of the best waters and add an element of scientific interest to it for the microscopist. The ovules of a few species of insects likewise exist in them, the animal of which only leaves its mother-element when fully hatched. The horrid mosquito may be cited as an example. But it is needless to linger upon these examples of water, which are pure only in comparison with the waters of mineral springs, cisterns and surface wells, which, until modern times, were everywhere in common use. If the purest water that it is possible to obtain in the earth contains sufficient organic matter to support fishes, turtles, and other amphibious animals of visible proportions, what shall we think of the condition of the water of cisterns and surface wells, which ninety-nine-hundredths of the human family must either drink or go forever dry?

No water distilled by natural processes can be more than approximately pure. Its powerful solvent properties forbid its ever justifying its chemical formula—H^2O. If it percolate through the soil, it dissolves in its course the earthy salts and alkaloids, and the various organic remains which the soil contains; if it form courses upon the earth's surface, and run in murmuring brooks through mountain gorges, or form deep channels and veins beneath the earth, it takes up large portions of minerals and other ingredients of the soil in its tortuous way; or, if it be distilled from the clouds of heaven and caught in clear pellucid rain-drops, it may, indeed, be free of gross inorganic matter, but it has absorbed in its way, ammonia,

nitric acid, carbonic acid, and other gases, besides taking to itself a multitude of strange creatures which exist in the air, the products of every form and condition of life, which find in water a convenient nidus for transformation and development. Wherever it be found, or in whatever practicable condition it be obtained, it cannot unfortunately be otherwise than that water should be largely impregnated with things foreign and prejudicial to human life. As the evil is infinitely augmented in water that is stale, or confined in caverns shut out from sunlight and pure air, too great care cannot be exercised in securing, for human uses, water as free from extraneous elements as possible.

The ideal on this subject is, as we have observed, pure water, water uncontaminated with ponderable elements of any kind or from any source; and if water of this degree of purity be unattainable, we can, at least, make it our endeavor to attain it. The condition of the public health is therefore closely identified with the quality of water in public use. How frequently one hears of tourists having to leave certain sections of country resort because the water disagrees with them! In certain of the southern States, the water is so foul as to be completely amorphous. An unacclimated person who declines to make use of the customary antidote—whiskey—is most certain to be stricken with diarrhœas, or fevers—sometimes with both. The whiskey probably destroys or renders innocuous the millions of bacteria with which such waters are largely impregnated.

There is a growing suspicion that impure water is the chief source of typhoid fever. The experience of Boston furnishes a reasonable basis for such an opinion. Previous to the introduction of Cochituate water, its population drew their supply of water directly from the wells which receive the soakings of the soil and surface filth. During that time, typhoid fever was a continual scourge among her population, and one of the most prominent causes of her high rate of mortality. New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn and other cities, have had a similar experience—the débris of organic life being absorbed by the water of surface wells, and thus

finding free access to the systems of its hapless victims. The thought of it excites qualmishness; but no imaginary representation is adequate to reproduce a true picture of the horrid reality. This may be discovered to some extent in the mortuary returns.

A recent report of "The Medical Department of the Local Government Board" (London) furnishes some interesting facts in this connection. We quote a paragraph:—"At Terling Place ten persons were attacked with enteric [typhoid] fever, and all these persons, and these only of a large family, drank water from a particular well into which it was discovered that a cesspool leaked. At Dicken-Bonent, in Essex, a certain well was polluted, and out of eighty-eight drinkers from that well forty-two persons were attacked [with the disease]. At Nunnery, a village in Somersetshire, having a population of eight hundred and fifty-two, Dr. Ballard records seventy-six cases of enteric fever as occurring in four months. The cases were limited in a remarkable way to families who obtained their water supply from a small rivulet which received the sewage of several houses up stream. At Hawkesburg Upton, in Gloucestershire, a village of six hundred and fifty-seven inhabitants, within a short period, ninety-five cases and fourteen deaths from enteric fever occurred in groups following the excessive pollution of different wells in the village. Banbage, a village in Leicestershire, as recorded by Dr. Gwynne Harries, had an outbreak of enteric fever from the same cause last year. No one took the fever in the village except persons who certainly, or presumably, drank water from a particular pump; and every house supplied from that pump was subject to infection." These facts are highly significant, and point to no uncertain conclusion.

Apropos of typhoid fever, Sir William Guy (London), in a recent lecture on that disease at Guy's Hospital, argued that "the disease is as preventable as ague, and that the time will come when deaths from it will be as rare." He says it is caused by a virus of nature, which may get into the healthy body, increase in it, and destroy it. It is an accidental condition, and

not one of the ordinary processes of nature. The origin of the disease is somehow or other connected with drainage; it has, therefore, been called the filth fever, and to get rid of the filth is to get rid of the fever. And he insists that "no one can approach a case of typhoid fever without paying some attention to hygiene," rightly claiming that hygiene is of the greatest importance; and with it he would "prefer to carry any one through the disease by wines and soups and fresh air, rather than by the use of drugs"—a doctrine which now meets with very general acceptance by the medical profession in all civilized countries.

Dr. Parkes, in his erudite work on *Practical Hygiene*, cites many instances from various sources of the production of enteric fever by the use of impure water; and while neither he nor any other observer believes impure water to be the only source of that disease, yet most observers agree in the opinion that impure water is a most prolific cause of it. He mentions the outbreak of typhoid fever which occurred at Munich in 1860, at the convent of the Sisters of Charity, in which thirty-one persons of one hundred and twenty were attacked with that disease, between the 15th of September and the 4th of October following. The cause was traced to wells impregnated with much organic matter (and among other things typhoid dejections), and containing nitrates and lime. On the cessation of the use of the water the fever ceased.

Two years later, or in 1863, a severe epidemic of the same fever occurred in the same city among the soldiers, which was likewise traced to the use of water impregnated with fecal matter. "On ceasing to use the water the disease disappeared." In 1865, also, "a very remarkable outbreak of typhoid [fever] occurred at Baths, in Scotland, and was traced to drinking water contaminated with sewage. In 1865, typhoid fever broke out in a girls' school at Bishopstoke, near Southampton, and was traced unequivocally to the bursting of a sewer pipe in the well. The water was disagreeable both to taste and smell. Seventeen or eighteen persons were affected out of twenty-six or twenty-eight. Several very striking instances are recorded in Mr. Simons' *Reports* by Drs. Seaton, Buchanan

and Thorne; and in some of these cases analyses of the water were made, which showed it to be impure, and to contain organic matters from sewage. "A very good case," continues Dr. Parkes, "at the Garnkirk works in Glasgow, is recorded by Dr. Perry. Dr. De Renzy, the Sanitary Commissioner of the Punjab, has also published a remarkable paper on the extinction of typhoid fever in Milbank prison, and shows, from statistics of many years, that the fever has entirely disappeared since the use of Thames water was given up. The disappearance was coincident with the change in the water-supply. Two excellent cases are recorded by Dr. Clifford Albutt, and one by Dr. Wohlrab, which are free from ambiguity. Another clear case is recorded by Dr. Latham. Typhoid fever was introduced into a village and spread by the agency of contaminated water."*

Dr. Parkes thinks the evidence not conclusive as to which is the greater source of typhoid disease, foul air, or impure water. But it seems to me the decision of such a question is not important. The evidence which he brings forward amply supports the conclusion at which he arrives, namely, that the disease may be soonest engendered by impure water; "two or three days only elapsing before the symptoms are marked."

The author is of the opinion that "a very sudden and localized outbreak, of either typhoid fever or cholera, is almost certainly owing to introduction of the poison by water." † And he likewise associates many of the most fatal maladies of Christendom with the use of impure water. "Although," he observes, "it is not at present possible to assign to every impurity in water its exact share in the production of disease, or to prove the precise influence on the public health of water which is not extremely impure, it appears certain that the health of a community always improves when an abundant and pure water is given; and, apart from this actual evidence, we are entitled to conclude, from other considerations, that an abundant and good water is a sanitary necessity." ‡

The essential poison in all these epidemics of typhoid

**Practical Hygiene*, pp. 46, 47. † *Ibid.*, p. 56. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

fever appears to be associated with bacteria, an alga which is known to be numerously developed in the waters of surface wells, sewage, sinks, and stagnant pools. Indeed, microscopists are well acquainted with several varieties of them; and quite recently the eminent German microscopist, Dr. Frederick Cohn, has discovered a new alga in well-water at Breslau, Germany, which he has named *crenothinx polyspora.* *

The growing knowledge of etiological causes tends strongly to implicate this source as the chief fountain of the virulent fevers and miserable cachexias which have for their proximate cause the horrid reality of blood-poisoning. "The induction is strikingly confirmed in the history of typhoid fever and dysentery in the city where the writer lived and practised during the earlier part of his professional career. Before the introduction of water from the country rivulets, and a thorough system of street sewerage, both of these diseases, with the added one of diphtheria, were alarmingly prevalent in the beautiful city of Newburgh and its suburbs. It was a matter of grave surprise among its inhabitants that a town so beautifully located, so high above the river, with such rare advantages for drainage, as its hill-side position afforded, should not be the most salubrious spot on earth. But at the period of which we are writing (1860) the water was supplied by wells and the collections of those infernal cavernous pits called cisterns, of which no house was then regarded complete that had not, at least, one. There was absolutely no drainage except that afforded by the hill-side and the possible cesspool from the house sink. To this disability must be added the old, time-honored graveyard in the centre of the village, around which the inhabitants thickly settled, its position being a convenient plateau at a considerable elevation, and, at the same time, easily accessible to the ferry, steamboats, cars, etc. Of course, numerous wells supplied the water of the neighborhood, many of which were in close proximity to the iniquitous graveyard referred to. And even now, within a few yards of that 'city of the dead,' stands a public pump in active

* *Quarterly Journal Microscopic Science*, April, 1873.

demand among people of a certain sort, the water from it being cooler in warm weather than that from the hydrant, and possessed of some other unexplainable qualities which endear it to the palate of these people. To what extent the soakings of the graveyard with its crumbling tenements were concerned in giving the palatable flavor to the beverage it is, of course, impossible to say with any degree of precision; but it was never possible for us to ignore the suspicious connection altogether, nor to doubt that the relation of the two was that of cause and sequence." *

Meanwhile those infectious diseases, diarrhœa and dysentery, were fatally rife in the Summer months, and typhoid fever equally so in the Spring and Autumn. Indeed, there are few old inhabitants in that city who have not gone through a regular siege of those maladies; while many members of the community, of every grade and condition, have succumbed to their ravages. The most fatal prevalence of the disorders was in the immediate neighborhood of the old cemetery referred to, extending eastward to the streets below and southward to the affluent settlements. In each of these localities the mysterious visitations of typhoid Providence were of frequent and fatal occurrence, attacking doctors and their clients indiscriminately. The introduction of pure water, closing up old wells and cesspools and their allied iniquity—cisterns—and the construction of ample sewerage, have measurably dissipated those diseases from that city; and Newburgh may now justly claim a high place among the wholesome districts of the continent. The sanitary improvements, however, did not reach the antiquated graveyard. That is still retained in its midst, a pet infection, which the worship of memories holds too sacred for removal or molestation. It is impossible, however, to withstand the conviction that it is a serious offence against the physical welfare of the city. Indeed, we are fully persuaded that as long as we depend upon the distillations of the earth for a water-supply, whether by well or streams, the prevalent method of disposing of the remains of

* Cited from the author's article in the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW for December, 1873, entitled *Responsibility of Government for the Public Health.*

the dead is a mischievous one. The cemetery and graveyard must be a source of impurity to both air and water, and a serious depravation of the public health. In regard to the plague that devastated Persia in 1872, we saw it stated that "the commission which was organized for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of the plague which for so long a period ravaged certain provinces in Persia, attribute the source of the poison to caverns in the earth in which those who died of the plague forty years ago were buried, and which caverns have recently been reopened. The present plague commenced almost immediately upon the opening of these caverns. One of the persons first seized had been engaged in this work, and is said to have disinterred a quantity of human bones; another person, who likewise had removed some bones from one of these caverns, was also attacked. The plague, thus begun, spread from these sources as a nucleus; and from other facts, gathered by the commissioners, they decided that this was the real origin of the disease."*

Similar observations have been made by many writers, and the most sceptical individual cannot fail to find corroborative evidence of the evil of interring the dead in all our populous towns and cities. Naturally enough, the evil is more manifest in the Old World than in the New. In England, Mr. Chadwick's "Report on Interments in Towns," and the "Report on Intramural Sepulture," of the General Board of Health (1850), show "that in church-yards thickly crowded with dead [bodies] vapors are given off which, if not productive of any specific disease, yet increase the amount both of sickness and mortality. In some instances this may be from contamination of the drinking water; but in other cases, as in the houses bordering the old city graveyard, where the water was supplied by public companies, the air also must have been in fault. In the houses which closely bordered the old city yards, which were crowded with bodies, cholera was very fatal in 1849; and I was informed," says Dr. Parkes, "by some practitioners that no cases recovered. I was also informed that all other diseases in these localities assumed a very violent and

* *New York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 30th, 1873.

unfavorable type."* The writer is speaking of experience in London. In Paris the public health has been frequently affected injuriously, not only by exhuming the bodies of the dead, but also, if Tardieu is to be accredited, by the exhalations of graveyards.† And Fourcroy states that "there are a thousand instances of the pernicious effects of cadaveric exhalations."‡ The evil cannot but increase with the increasing age of the earth and the continuance of the present method of disposing of the remains of the dead. Sanitary science, ere long, will have to deal with it, and the sooner it does so and puts an end to intramural burials the better it will be for human life. No sentimental regard for the bodies of the dead should be allowed to compromise the welfare of the living. But, so long as the sentiment of mankind is adverse to the practice of burning the remains of the dead, it must be respected, of course. It is not too much to hope, however, that the progress of enlightenment will ultimately modify the horror which one feels in respect of cremation. It matters little in fact what becomes of the bodies of the dead,—indeed, nothing at all to the dead. Nature claims her own in the certain process of time; and man by having hermetically sealed his body in a box and buried it in the earth, only delays a process which is as right and proper as it is inevitable and certain. Moreover, by delaying the breaking-up of the body and the returning of dust to dust, consequences most dire come to it and to the bodies of the living. The worms prey upon it; offensive gases are generated; and these are diffused through the soil, and find their way into the subterranean streams that supply our wells, escaping finally in the air where they should have gone at first. How much better to hasten than to retard the requirements of nature, and give back at once to mother earth what rightfully belongs to her, and whom it is vain to attempt to cheat! Let the ancient custom of cremation be revived. The welfare of the living, we repeat, is of vastly more consequence than the bodies of the dead.

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* *Practical Hygiene*, p. 126.

† *Parkes*, p. 126. ‡ *Dict. d'Hygiène*, Vol. I, p. 517.

In an article in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1874, on the *Treatment of the Body after Death*, by Sir Henry Thompson, the writer takes exception to intramural disposition of the remains of the dead, for the reasons given above, and makes a strong argument in favor of cremation, or burning. And he quotes some recent examples of the process as practised by Dr. L. Brunetti, Professor of Pathological Anatomy in the University of Padua. "These," he observes, "were exhibited at the Exposition of Vienna, when I had the opportunity of examining them with care. Professor Brunetti exposed the residue of bodies and parts of bodies on which he had practised cremation by different methods, and the results of his latest experience may be summarized as follows: The whole process of incineration of a human adult body occupied three and a half hours. The ashes and bone earth weighed 1-70 kilo., about three pounds and three-quarters avoirdupois. They were of a delicate white, and were contained in a glass box about twelve inches long, by eight inches wide, and eight deep. The quantity of wood used to effect absolute and complete incineration, may be estimated from its weight, about 150 pounds." He adds that its cost was one florin and twenty kreutzers, about two shillings and four pence, English.

But let us return to our subject—water. The peculiarity of water, to absorb noxious and other elements from all possible sources, is not without its compensations in nature and human life. The very properties which tend to destroy its purity and inorganic simplicity produce a most wholesome influence upon the atmosphere. Many of the most noxious qualities of impure water are derived, in fact, directly from the air as we have seen. Such is especially true of some of the most deleterious gases, of which cold water absorbs many times its volume, and thus removes from the air, elements, to breathe which would be attended with consequences the most mischievous. The peculiar influence of water in purifying and disinfecting the atmosphere, and rendering it thereby the better fitted to subserve the high purposes of respiration, is not, we are confident, so generally appreciated as it deserves

to be. The subject is easily illustrated, on a small scale, in one's sleeping apartment. If a pail of pure water be left in such a room over night, the air of the apartment in the morning will be perceptibly sweeter in consequence, while the water itself has acquired a most disagreeable odor and taste. This well-known fact illustrates in a forcible manner one of the great uses of that element, and the advantages of living near large bodies of water. The air of such districts could not but be sensibly purer and better calculated to promote long life and good health. Prichard, in his *Natural History of Man*, has remarked the mental and physical superiority of people who live on the sea-coast and near large bodies of water. While he attributes the fact to the more direct influence of water upon the elements of nutrition, we believe it is also, in no small degree, owing to the influence of the water in depurating the atmosphere of many of those elements which necessarily impair its wholesome quality and vitalizing agency. "The cradles, or remains of the first nations, of those at least who became populous and have left a name celebrated in later times," says Dr. Prichard, "appear to have been extensive plains or villages, traversed by navigable channels, and irrigated by perennial and fertilizing streams. Three such regions were the scenes of the earliest civilization of the human race, of the first foundation of cities, of the earliest political institutions, and of the invention of the arts which embellish human life. In one of these, the Semitic or Syro-Arabian nations exchanged the simple habits of wandering shepherds for the splendor and luxury of Nineveh and Babylon. In a second, the Indo-European or Japhetic people brought to perfection the most elaborate of human dialects, destined to become, in after times and under different modifications, the mother-tongue of the nations of Europe. In a third, the land of Ham, watered by the Nile, were invented hieroglyphical literature, and the arts in which Egypt far surpassed all the rest of the world in the earlier ages of history."*

Due credit should also be given, in this matter, to the

* *Natural History of Man*, p. 136. London: 1848.

influence of ozone in localities bordering the seas and rivers. It is well known that ozone is present in the atmosphere of the sea in a maximum proportion, and its purifying agency can be no small factor in accounting for the superiority of sea air.

The specific uses of water in sickness and in the prevention of disease must not be overlooked altogether in this connection, although it is no part of our purpose to enter at length upon this phase of our subject. As a therapeutic agent, water admittedly takes high rank. It is nature's own febrifuge. Its value in all affections of an inflammatory character is generally recognized. In gastric disorders and derangements of the digestive system generally, pure water possesses highly salutary and remedial virtues. It is said of Burke that when he was indisposed, his great and only remedy was water, of which he drank great quantities, sometimes as much as four quarts during a morning—simply water, unmixed with any flavoring extract, acid, or alcoholic appetizer, or infusion—water as hot as he could drink it. "Warm water," he said, "would relax and nauseate, but hot water was the finest stimulant and most powerful restorative in the world." He seems to have had "water on the brain," as well as in it. But his confidence in the remedial virtues of his favorite specific was not misplaced, as physicians well know. The course pursued by him when ill was wiser that of his contemporaries, who were bled, blistered and "bolused" to death, *secundem artem*, according to the most approved practice of his time. But the medical common-sense of mankind of today is not equal to that of the distinguished Burke of the last century. If it were so, there would be fewer doctors and druggists and smaller incomes on the part of those that survived the decline of the number of nostrum-venders and nostrum-takers.

So vastly important is water from a therapeutic point of view, that a new school of medicine was established in New York, a few years since (1855), with water as its chief corner-stone (liquid). It proposed to cure all curable—and many incurable—diseases by a judicious use of water and the

adjuvants of sunlight, air, diet and other hygienic agents and influences. The broad principle on which the hydropathic system of therapeutics was founded is, that disease is remedial effort on the part of nature in the direction of health—towards restoring the normal equilibrium of the organism. Its oracles maintained that such remedial effort (disease) required wise control only, exciting, diffusing or repressing, according to the nature and occasion of the special affection. All these ends, it was contended, could be attained by water, of a temperature and mode of application which the peculiar exigencies of the individual case demanded. The rationale of morbid action thus formulated is unquestionably sound; the therapeutics is simply nonsense.

However that may be, following up the wild impulse of the one idea, having for its *raison d'être* the flagrant abuses and absurdities of the "regular" practice, increased and intensified by exaggerated reports of marvellous cures by water, the hydropathic movement gained rapidly in public favor and public patronage, bringing into its ranks many worthy members of the regular profession who were disaffected with the grovelling routine of "scientific" medicine. Medical "reform" seems to have been the dominant idea, taken up and preached by men and women who were ignorant of the first elements of medicine. For a time hydropathy became the rage of the world. Institutions, fitted up at great expense, and with most ingenious devices for applying the "water-cure," sprung up in all civilized countries, and were filled to overflowing with the diseased and infirm of every variety. The one idea of the ignorant peasant of Graefenberg, Priessnitz, swept the two hemispheres, and for a time seemed destined to revolutionize the medical sense of the time and extinguish the medical lore of ages. But a few years of actual experience with the disorders of mankind sufficed to convince the hare-brained enthusiasts who engineered the movement that the ills of the race are too deeply rooted and of a character too subtle and chronic to be washed out with a few buckets of water and a few hours' soaking between the wrappings of a sheet pack or the folds of a wet-wrapper. And thus ended a movement

which did much good and also much evil. While many were washed by it into untimely graves, the tragedies perpetrated with the lance, calomel and antimony were checked in a measure through its influence in bringing into clearer view the hygienic importance of water.

ART. V.—THE WORKING-CLASSES OF EUROPE.

1. *The Wealth of Nations.* By ADAM SMITH.
2. *Alton Locke; the Autobiography of a Chartist.* By C. KINGSLEY.
3. *Report of the Royal Commission of 1869 upon British Trades-Unions.*

IN the last days of the Second Empire, a French caricaturist, masking with his playful satire one of the deepest political truths of modern times, sketched Napoleon III as presiding over a meeting of farm-yard fowls, intended to represent the French nation. "My good friends," says he, "I have called you together to consider with what sauce you should be eaten." "But we don't want to be eaten!" objected his hearers. "Keep to the question!" replies the president, sternly; "that remark is irrelevant." For ages past, the laborers of the world's vineyard have been making the same protest to their masters, and receiving the same answer. But this straightforward cutting of the Gordian knot is no longer possible. Slowly and painfully, the logic of events has demonstrated the great truth that the strength of a nation lies not in brilliant courts and colossal standing armies, but in the hands and hearts of her working men;* and that those working men are not a mere inert mass, created solely to be fed upon by those above them, but a congeries of sentient and intelligent units, conscious that they too have rights of their own, and fully determined to maintain those rights to the utmost. One

* "I shall account myself king," said Henry IV of France, "when every peasant in my kingdom has a fowl to dine upon." Compare this just and noble sentiment with Louis the Fourteenth's famous: *L'Etat, c'est moi!* eighty years later, and the French Revolution is explained.

of the most formidable problems now confronting Europe is to determine labor's rightful place in a world originally framed, one would suppose, for the sole benefit of capital.

We say "Europe" advisedly, for in the United States this momentous question can hardly be said to exist. Free alike from the one-sided trading system of England, and from the crushing military mania of the Continent, America offers to every industrious workman what he considers his *summum bonum*—"a clear field, and no favor." In Europe it is far otherwise. The creed which branded all industry as a disgrace, handed down from days when wholesale theft and murder were the only occupations worthy of a gentleman, has survived the disappearance of robber-barons and *les droits de la seigneurie;* and although no gentleman of our time would be likely to declare point-blank that it is a degradation to support one's self by manual labor, it would not be easy to find one who could honestly affirm that he had not often felt and acted as if he thought so.

The fact is—and such a fact cannot be repeated too often, for it gives the clew to half the strikes and trade-quarrels in existence—that although the outward symbols of caste are gone forever, its spirit still lives unchanged. No tradesman can now be punished by law for "wearing bravery suiting not with his degree," nor can the patrician be distinguished by his plume and embroidery from the plebeian in his flat cap and gray jerkin; but neither has yet outgrown the fatal conviction that the other is his natural enemy. Strive against the feeling as they may, the workman is still a mutineer in the eyes of the capitalist, and the capitalist a tyrant in those of the workman. Few words have ever had a sadder significance than the grotesque compliment paid by the sturdy grenadier of George the Fourth's time to a young officer who had befriended him: "God bless you, my lord! there ain't a bit o' the *gentleman* about you!"

Hence it comes that every great European nation, instead of forming one homogeneous whole, is made up of two opposing parties, the men of means and the men of muscle. Both have their leaders, their regulations, their treasury, their

organized system of action. Their ordinary attitude toward each other is an armed neutrality known as "employment," varied at times by an open and bitter conflict, termed "strike" or "lock-out," according as it is the work of the one party or the other, the penalty of defeat being bankruptcy for this side, and death by starvation for that. In a word, the much-vaunted "universal peace" of traffic and manufacture is really a universal and well-organized civil war, waged upon certain recognized belligerent principles known as the laws of trade.

And, all the while, there are in both these contending armies men of warm heart and kindly temper, men who are honestly desirous of ending the age-long feud, and making the two hostile forces work in concert instead of in opposition. There are masters who wish to gain the good-will of their men, and men who wish to do profitable and faithful service to their masters; yet both, as if bound by some infernal spell, seem doomed to go on misunderstanding, fearing, and hating each other, from the cradle to the grave.

Is there no remedy, then, for this deplorable state of things? Undoubtedly there is; but it requires time for its application, and time is precisely what many of those concerned can least afford to give it. The banners of the relieving force may be seen waving in the distance, but while it is slowly advancing, man after man of the beleaguered garrison falls and dies. The immediate forerunners of every great social reform, like Arnold Von Winkelried, at Sempach, perish in making the breach through which their followers sweep onward to victory; but the struggling laborer of the period, be he ever so stanch and devoted, cannot quite forget his own sufferings in the promised happiness of posterity. None but those who have actually experienced it know how bitter an ordeal it is for any man to sacrifice all that makes life worth having, to the faint and far-off prospect of a deliverance which he well knows that he can never live to see. The future is very distant, the present very hard. To one who, mere machine as some choose to think him, has nerves and feelings like their own, the gnawing hunger, the fireless

hearth, the ragged clothes through which rain and wind bite so keenly—the dreary return home, tired out by long seeking for work in vain, to find his children crying for food, and his wife weeping silently in a corner of the cheerless room, long since stripped of all its scanty furniture—are grim realities, beside which the visionary glories of future liberty and happiness appear indeed too dim and distant.

A modern traveller has asserted that the higher classes of all civilized countries are very much alike, and that those who wish to find diversity of character must seek it among the common people. This is indeed true, but only to a certain extent. Climate, creed, hereditary privilege, may produce many superficial differences, but the broad foundation of human wants and human feelings is the same in each and all. In every civilized State of the present day, the sufferings of the laboring class, with their causes and their consequences, have a sad and fearful uniformity. At this very moment, Ireland and Russia, thousands of miles apart, differing in race, religion, temper, climate, language, government, everything that distinguishes man from man, are being scourged by the self-same calamity. In both cases, an impulsive and unpractical movement has been followed by distress, disaster, and a crushing load of debt. In both, the outrages of a few frantic extremists have brought undeserved odium upon a whole class; and in both, the government has aggravated by ill-judged and blundering intervention the evil that it sought to cure, which has been further intensified a thousand-fold by the rapacity of local money-lenders, ever ready to fatten upon the misfortunes of the needy. The Irish tenant-farmer holds at its original rent land which gives him barely a quarter of its original yield. The Russian peasant has been paying for years past (in addition to an annual poll-tax of 15 roubles, about $12) from 20 to 25 per cent. interest upon the purchase-money of land originally bought at 98 cents an acre, while in many cases worth barely 35 cents. The natural result has been Nihilism in the one case, and anti-rent agitation in the other.

This, of itself, would suffice to point its own moral; but even this is not all. The same causes have produced other

and far darker consequences. In the stern old mediæval days, the worst that irresponsible despotism could inflict was death or banishment. But in this "civilized and enlightened" age, numbers who can find, amid its enlightenment and its civilization, no means of keeping body and soul together, are daily inflicting either penalty upon themselves. How many men have been forced into self-banishment during the last ten years, the immigration statistics of the United States can bear witness. Of the worse horrors to which many others have been driven, one instance, out of hundreds which are only too well-authenticated, may suffice here. During the agricultural distress of 1873, a Russian peasant, whose family were starving around him, at length succeeded in obtaining a little food for them by mortgaging his whole Summer's labor to a wealthy farmer. He then humbly represented to his employer that, as he had no means of providing food for himself during the stipulated period, he hoped that it might be included in the arrangement. To this appeal the modern Shylock gruffly answered that he might "shift for himself, and be d——d, for it was no concern of his." What was the poor wretch to do? To "lay his case before the proper authorities," or to ventilate it in the columns of some influential journal, was not for a helpless drudge like him. What he actually did, if somewhat unrefined, was at least tolerably significant. He sat down by his hard-hearted employer's door, and cut his own throat. *

These, it may be argued, are extreme cases; for there are many people who apparently consider everything that occurs in Ireland an exceptional phenomenon, not to be judged by any known rule; while as to Russia, they seem to think that calamities happening at such a distance cannot matter much to any one but the sufferers themselves:

> "Mutato nomine, de *te*
> Fabula narratur."

Thirty years ago, before the flood of emigration had come to sweep away so many thousands of "surplus mouths," every

* This story is literally true, and occurred during the writer's residence in Russia.

ninth person in wealthy, commercial England was a pauper, the number of those receiving parish relief being nearly two millions! This is surely a fact worth noting; and to it may be added another fact even less easy to forget, and quite recent enough to be fresh in the recollection of many who are still young. In Manchester, at the very centre of England's manufacturing industry, among men whose colossal wealth had passed into a proverb, an English father and mother deliberately murdered one of their own children, in order (as they themselves afterwards confessed) to profit by the money which would be allowed them for the funeral! Well might the English Jeremiah, commenting upon this ghastly incident, say in his trenchant fashion: "When the worst horror which the fervent Hebrew fancy could conceive, suddenly confronts us as a fact in the life of an English household, it is surely full time that something were done." *

The vast superiority of the present age to its predecessors, and the priceless benefits conferred by it upon mankind, are a favorite theme with historians; and within certain limits, they are undeniably right. In all appliances of health and comfort, in facilities for acquiring knowledge, in rapidity and completeness of intercommunication, the nineteenth century is immeasurably in advance of the eighteenth. Lord Macaulay's famous sarcasm upon the unreasoning sentimentalism which regrets "those good old times when men died faster in our pure country air than they now die in our most crowded cities, and died faster in our crowded cities than they now die on the coast of Guiana," was not overstrained. Arguing, as usual, from a part to the whole, many admirers of the new *régime* boldly assert that the condition of the working-classes has improved as markedly as everything else, and call upon the present generation of laborers to be thankful for unnumbered blessings. The latter would indeed have good cause for thankfulness, were this rose-colored estimate correct. But *is* it so?

Let us look at the case of an ordinary English working man, who has just heard a lecture on this subject, from a

* Carlyle's *Past and Present.*

speaker whom he has every reason to believe sincere and well-informed. He hears much of the superior benefits enjoyed by the laboring classes of the nineteenth century, and the manifold troubles endured by those of the fifteenth and sixteenth. This view strikes him, as well it may. He has heard that many Russian mechanics toil fourteen, sixteen, or even twenty hours consecutively, in an overheated atmosphere, rank with poisonous gases, for a pittance which he himself would consider tantamount to nothing at all. He has seen it stated that in many parts of Germany the operatives are free-thinkers and Socialists to a man, being absurd enough to believe it somewhat hard that they should be heavily taxed to maintain an expensive court and a vast standing army, while receiving no particular privileges except the "right" of serving three years in the imperial army—a right which they would very gladly relinquish if they could. He has been told that till very recently (though this is happily being amended now) the French workmen employed in the most dangerous and destructive trades—*e. g.*, the manufacture of white lead, etc.—were often the most poorly paid of all, perhaps because, dying, as so many of them did, within the year, they were not supposed to care much whether they lived well or ill during the interval.

Bearing all this in mind, and recalling, in addition, how often he has grumbled over his own case as a hard one, our workman naturally feels somewhat curious to know what manner of men they were who, three or four hundred years ago, were so unspeakably worse off than himself. He borrows a history of England, and reads, with ever-increasing amazement, of Westminster apprentices stipulating that they should not be obliged to eat fresh salmon oftener than thrice a week, of simple yeomen luxuriating upon "chines of beef and tankards of strong ale," of the English commonalty under Elizabeth and James I being described as "the best-fed people in Europe." Small blame to him if he grow bewildered in the face of such contradictions, and begin to suspect that either the lecturer or the historian must be gifted with more imagination than veracity.

But were our enquirer to pursue his researches a little farther, he would encounter other facts even more startling than these. He would find that in 1776, three years after the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, an inquisitive gentleman named Arthur Young (one of those troublesome persons who insist upon testing a plausible statement instead of taking it for granted) travelled through England in quest of reliable information respecting labor and its wages. He found that the minimum was six shillings ($1.50) a week, and the maximum 8*s.* 6*d.* ($2.12). In 1850, Mr. Caird, going over the same ground with the same object, found that in seventy-one years the maximum had only risen to sixteen shillings, while the minimum had remained at six. Reading these figures, our workman will probably consider that they do not indicate any very rapid advance of prosperity among his class, especially when taken in connection with the depreciation of money by the Californian and Australian "gold-finds," and the enormous rise in the price of all necessaries. He may possibly reflect, too, that even the poor sixteenth-century wretches, who had to content themselves with such hard fare as salmon and corned-beef, were, after all, not much worse off than himself, whose consumption of meat (to supply the exhaustion of nine or ten hours' hard work daily) is twenty-five pounds per annum, or one pound weekly! *

The effect of these discoveries will be in no way lessened, should he happen to light upon the statistical report presented to the British Government in 1870-1, from which he will learn that at that time the maximum of wages (in Northumberland) was from 18*s.* to 20*s.* per week, while in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, the rate fell as low as seven! It is true that this estimate refers chiefly to field-labor; but none the less must it be held a somewhat noteworthy fact, that in this age of "unexampled prosperity," there should be thousands of Englishmen who are rewarded for enduring cold, wet, hard work in all weathers, and the racking rheumatism which is

* This and many other statistics cited in the text, are taken from the official returns of the last British census.

many an English toiler's life-long companion, by having to support life (and not unfrequently to bring up a family as well) upon *twenty-five cents a day.*

Compared with the Dorsetshire clown, the skilled mechanic of Lancashire or Staffordshire, on 22*s.*, 25*s.* or 27*s.* weekly, may appear fortunate enough at first sight; but when the balance is fairly struck, he will be found to have little in his favor. The farm-hand has at least sunshine, green fields, pure country air. The artisan is pent up all day in a dark, dingy, stifling work-room, amid the hissing of steam and the rattle of machinery, hot, dirty, reeking with perspiration, his eyes red and inflamed, his mouth parched, the pores of his skin clogged with cotton-fluff or iron-filings, from which no precaution can wholly free that poisonous atmosphere. His "home" is ordinarily a small, dismal, over-crowded room in some gloomy back-street, fluttering with dirty linen and tainted with soot and filth; and seldom indeed does he see anything beyond the box of smoke-begrimed mignonette upon his window-sill,* to remind him that there is still a region where God's creation is not yet defaced by man's money-getting.

"But," urges some political economist who would think himself miserably poor on a thousand dollars a year, "is not twenty-five shillings a week enough to keep any working man? What more can he want, in Heaven's name?" What, indeed? unless the working man should happen to have an ailing wife, and six or seven young children. A Malthusian, of course, would exclaim, with a righteous indignation, that such a man has no right to marry at all; but in this as in many other cases, although example may be better than precept, precept seems to be much easier than example. When a ruined marquis elopes with a portionless lady of rank, and begets sons whom he will induct into government sinecures, and daughters whom he will marry to gouty old millionaires, it is "romantic devotion." When a hard-working man takes a hard-working woman to cheer his loneliness, and "hold his house together a bit," it is "improvident folly."

* The constant appearance of these miniature gardens in the most squalid parts of Manchester, Wigan and Oldham, is, to those who rightly understand it, one of the most pathetic sights in existence.

This, indeed, is one of our most flagrant errors in dealing with the labor problem, and a point upon which the working man (who is in reality a far shrewder fellow than many of his self-appointed judges) has just ground of complaint against us. Having once spoken of him as a *working* man, we appear to set it down as an immutable law that he shall be that and nothing else. That he should, under any circumstances, become a playing man—that, in other words, he should presume to wish to enjoy his life a little as others do, seems too monstrous for belief. Whether or not his critics really expect him to go on working without intermission, like an automaton, from the cradle to the grave, they certainly treat him as if they did. If he is seen lying upon the grass on a bright Sunday morning, enjoying a momentary glimpse of God's sunshine and free air, the clergyman asks him why he is not at church, and the capitalist sneers at him as an idle dog. If he sits down to have a friendly glass with two or three of his comrades, he is denounced as a "drunken rascal, wasting his money in tippling like all the rest of them." If he frequents lectures and reading-rooms, he is suspected of being a Socialist; if he prefers beer and skittles, he is branded as an ignorant clod; if he marries and has a family, he is reviled for having burdened the State with surplus mouths, and transgressed all the laws of political economy.

Many people are fond of asserting that the advocates of labor deal merely in mouthing denunciations and vague rhetorical generalities, instead of appealing to plain facts. This is, unhappily, far too true; and the pernicious effect of such a practice in harming the cause which it is intended to help, cannot be too severely condemned. But the "plain facts," when appealed to, are anything themselves but rose-colored. Take for example the case of an employé on one of the great English railways: a man advanced in years, and with a sick wife to support—who was on duty eighteen hours daily, for eighteen shillings a week. A comrade falling suddenly ill, this man was kept at his post for *three nights together*, till he fell asleep from sheer exhaustion; and a fatal collision occurring, nothing but a timely discovery of the facts saved him from

being held responsible, and punished for "carelessness." Again, an operative employed in a cloth-factory accidentally spilt some grease upon his fabric, making a slight stain, hardly visible to any ordinary eye, though an expert would probably have detected it. At first he thought of concealing the mishap, but, changing his mind, reported it to the "overlooker," one of whose duties is to deduct from men's wages the cost of any damage done by them. This worthy eyed him for a moment in contemptuous silence, and then growled "I'll 'bate you ten shillings for the damage, and five more for bein' such a———fool as to tell me!" Such are a few of the experiences of English working men. The far sorer troubles of English working women have already been chronicled by far abler pens than mine, and immortalized by a great poet of the last generation in words which will make the *Song of the Shirt* undying as his own name.

Considering the inevitable effect of such occurrences upon the naturally combative temper of the English laborer, and the constant efforts of designing knaves to hound him on to violence for their own selfish ends, it speaks well for him that the popular outbreaks of the past half century have been so few. The "Peterloo" massacre at Manchester, the fight in the Birmingham Bull-Ring, the Wigan riots of 1848, the attack upon the Birkenhead Town-hall two years later, were undeniably frightful; but in each and all of these cases the outburst ended almost as soon as it began. "I'm noan for sheddin' o' blood," said a north-country artisan, with the hard common-sense of his class; "I'd nawther kill a mon nor hurt a mon; but I feel 'twud be low for a raisonable mon to starve to death loike a dumb craytur,' and I will'nt do't. I'm noan for pullin' doon mills and smashin' machines, for I knaw that way o' goin' on 'll niver stop invention; but I'se talk—I'se mak' as big a din as iver I can. Them that goovern us mun do some'at; they mun mak' new ord'nances, for I knaw it's noan right that poor folk should starve." This homely prophecy has already begun to fulfil itself, and to bear out the rough-hewn wisdom of this Aristotle in fustian. The "talking" has indeed proved more efficacious than the "sheddin' o'

blood." The Reform Bill of 1831 did not, certainly, usher in the golden age that many of its admirers so confidently predicted; but it gave a death-blow to one of the foulest of modern political abuses, and became, as has been justly remarked, the "Magna Charta of the common people." The "monster petition" of 1848 ended as a failure and a scoff, but nine-tenths of its more important stipulations are now the law of England.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the labor question, like every other, has two sides to it. Masters, like men, are of various kinds, and nothing can be more unjust (as the workmen are always the first to admit when left to the exercise of their own sound natural judgment) than to condemn good and bad alike, simply because both happen to belong to the same class. If the employé be pained and indignant at being charged with discontent and rebellion merely for having honestly done his best for himself and those dependent on him, the employer is not less so to find himself cursed as a "bloated tyrant, sucking the blood of the poor that he may roll in wealth," when in reality he is fighting desperately, and with an aching heart, to save the concern which carries with it all his own hard-earned savings, and the future hopes of his children. This is neither an imaginary nor an exceptional case, as many men now living know to their cost. Moreover, it happens only too frequently, that circumstances beyond the control of either party (as the present state of the Lancashire cotton trade sufficiently shows) place their rival claims in such direct antagonism, that one or the other *must* fall; and each, warped by suffering and peril, naturally lays upon his opponent the blame of a calamity for which the latter is in no way answerable. Such a situation is depicted with photographic truth and vividness by a single passage of Charlotte Brontë, who had herself lived among English workmen till she knew them by heart. The speakers are a distressed mechanic and a struggling manufacturer:

"Ye're a raight down hard'un!" said the man. "Will'nt ye give us a bit more time? Will'nt ye consent to mak' yer charges a bit more slowly?"

"And what difference would it make if I did? Am I the whole body of clothiers in Yorkshire? answer me that!"

"Ye're yourseln."

"And only myself; and if I were to stand still while others are rushing on, I should be trodden down at once. If I were to do what you ask me, I should be bankrupt within a month; and would *my* bankruptcy put bread into *your* hungry children's mouths?" *

Here, at least, is perfect openness on both sides; it would be well if the two parties could always state their respective cases to each other as frankly and fairly. While the world lasts, there must always be employers and employed; and the best thing they can do is to try to understand each other a little better, the more instructed class being naturally bound to set the example. When a French philanthropist proposed to "cease executing murderers," and to substitute imprisonment for life, Alphonse Karr observed with equal wit and truth, "Tell Messieurs the murderers, then, to cease executing *us*." Those who wish the laboring classes "to behave like men," should begin by treating them as such; and it is only fair to admit that in many cases this has already been loyally and manfully done. Any one who has been much abroad in the manufacturing districts of England, will have heard, many a time and oft, some sturdy mechanic, with a gleam of honest admiration and gratitude on his hard face, tell how "t' maister" furnished them with dining-rooms and reading-rooms, set up at his own cost, fans and "clearing wheels" to purify the air of the working-rooms, visited those of them who were sick or disabled, and never forgot to have some present ready for the children at Christmas-time. Such things sink deep into the solid Anglo-Saxon nature, slow to receive impressions, but slower still to part with them when received. Few more pregnant anecdotes have ever been told than that of the north-country manufacturer, who, riding home after nightfall during a great strike, came upon a body of his own workmen, who had turned out in the cold and darkness to stand guard around his house, lest the indiscriminate vengeance of their comrades

* *Shirley*, Chap. IX.

should light upon the man who, as they all felt, had done his best for *them*. A few more such men and such masters, and the world would have seen the last of trade-feuds and class-hatreds.

"But, after all," some pessimist will object, "what does all this amount to? Granted that some few employers do treat their employés as they ought, can they bring the emancipation of the laboring class any nearer? Does it not rather tend to show that the balance is still heavily on the other side? In all the weary centuries during which labor has been struggling for its daily bread, what has it *gained?* What has the progress of science and knowledge done for *it*, save to bring it more under the control of men whose sole object is to enrich themselves, who hold that their duty toward God is to remember Him for an hour every Sunday while forgetting him all the rest of the week, and their duty toward their neighbor to undersell him if he be an equal, and overwork him if an inferior?"

The answer to such a question is easy. Labor has gained the discovery of a power well worth even the heavy price paid for it—a power which, handled aright, can overmatch any opposition, and ward off the effects of any calamity. The name of that power is COMBINATION; and this brings us to the most important part of our subject, *viz.*: Trades-Unions, in order to obtain a clear idea of which, we must look back a little into the past.

Five or six centuries ago, the government kept the regulation of the labor question, as of every other, so completely in its own hands, that those immediately concerned had but little power in the matter; and that little, as might be expected, was wholly on the side of the masters. The first great English strike on record occurred under Edward III, immediately after the destroying sweep of the "Black Death" in 1349. Partly from discontent with their wages, and partly from the panic caused by the ravages of the pestilence, workmen of all classes deserted their occupations in such numbers, that "neither could any house be built, nor ploughshare shapen"; and even the additions to the king's own

palace (a startling fact in those despotic times) were at a stand-still like everything else.

But the man of Crécy and Calais was as prompt and unyielding with his own subjects as he had been with the armies of France. Out came the famous "Statute of Labor," which is one of the most striking examples extant of the vast difference between the present and the past in their respective views of political economy. It enacted that every man or woman, whether free or bond, within the age of threescore, not having landed property or other means of livelihood, should be bound to work for any employer requiring their labor, at the ancient rate of wages; that *no combinations should be permitted among the working-classes;* and that all artificers, servants, and laborers refusing to serve, or even venturing to leave the town or hundred to which they belonged, should be punished by fine, imprisonment, or the stocks!

This last clause has a *glebæ adscripti* flavor startling enough in the "Merrie England" which even then vaunted itself as the freest country in Europe. But even under this royal discipline, and in the teeth of civil war, riot, pestilence, arbitrary restriction, and the thousand other troubles of those iron times, the English commons grew and flourished, while the barriers raised around them by the feudal tyranny were already tottering to their fall. The devastating Wars of the Roses, in which the proudest heads of Britain fell by scores on the battle-field or the scaffold, overthrew those barriers at once and forever; and the great conflict which was the death-day of feudal England on the one hand, was the birthday of industrial England on the other. The blood of that fearful carnage had hardly dried, when the thriving condition of the English commonalty was already attracting the notice of so keen an observer as Philippe de Comines, the Burgundian historian of France, who, on returning from his visit to England, reported to his master that the common people were well-governed, prosperous, and happy, and that even the miseries of the civil war had fallen chiefly upon those who waged it.*

* "Et ainsi tombe le malheur sur ceux qui font la guerre."

Freed from its former shackles, the progress of native industry was steady and rapid; and that inscrutable Providence, which so often chooses the worst men to achieve the best objects, selected as its champion the cruel and the profligate Edward IV. Merciless as any of his predecessors, he nevertheless saw clearly what they had, one and all, failed to see, that the future of England lay not in sword and lance, but in loom, trowel, and ploughshare. Hence, although his own blood was as noble as that of any Plantagenet, he sided with the burghers against the barons from the very first; and the zealous support given to his cause, during the war, by London and the other great towns, showed that the appreciation was mutual. When the last of the barons fell, in the person of Warwick, the king-maker, the burghers felt that their time had come at last.

And so, indeed, it had. So rapidly did the resources of England develop themselves under the comparatively peaceful rule of Henry VII, that that economical sovereign (who himself encouraged native trade and industry as much as his miserly nature would let him) contrived to accumulate, in a reign of less than twenty-three years, fully $9,000,000, a sum as considerable then as $70,000,000 would be now. This was so far fortunate, inasmuch as without this reserve-fund, the splendid prodigalities of his successor would have borne heavily upon a people already straitened by the sudden rise of prices caused by the influx of precious metals into Europe from the newly-discovered mines of South America.

It might have been thought that the England of that period, torn by religious feuds, pressed by commercial scarcity, and stirred by an ever bolder and more intractable spirit of popular liberty, was the very last kingdom which a prince of Henry the Eighth's imperious temper could be expected to rule with success. But the event proved otherwise. With all his overbearing pride and monstrous cruelty, he never forgot for a moment the great truth which so many of his predecessors had ignored to their cost, that the natural enemies of an absolute monarch are not the plebeians but the patricians. Accordingly, while butchering his nobles and beheading his

wives, he contrived to be popular with the commonalty to the very last; and on the single occasion when his purposes came into direct collision with their interests, he yielded with the same genial frankness wherewith he had joined the sports of his archers around the May-pole.

This popularity was not, as has often been asserted, wholly due either to the dazzling effect of his handsome person and magnificent display, or to the hearty joviality with which he shared the exercises and pastimes of his poorest subjects. His real hold upon the affections of his people was their instinctive recognition of the fact that, despite his fierce temper and headstrong impatience of opposition, he was a thorough Englishman at heart, and regarded them not as mere nameless beasts of burden, but as free men and women. They long retained a grateful remembrance of his emphatic provision for the support of "all that bee impotent, feeble, lame, or otherwise unable to worke (such being *poore in very deede*), and lykewise their children, until they bee of age to care for themselves."

This was as it should be; but the royal John Bull had an English head as well as an English heart, and was in no way inclined to extend his charity to the able-bodied "tramps" with whom the dissolution of the monasteries and the great feudal establishments had recently flooded all England. With *them*, as he quickly showed, he had no sympathy whatever. All subsequent Vagrant Acts "pale their ineffectual fires" beside the grim, business-like conciseness of Bluff Harry's famous ordinance: "As for all sturdy, mighty and valiant beggars, which do go to and fro in this realm, craving alms for their idlesse, the first tyme they bee found so offending, they shall be soundly scourged for a publick ensample. The second tyme their eares shall bee cut off; and the thirde, they shall incontinently be put to death." Under such legislation, pauperism was not likely to be a very thriving trade.

All this time the trading "guilds" of London and the other great towns were rising upon the ruins of overthrown feudalism, to a height which the latter had never attained. The cloth-workers, whose broad pieces had paid the cost of Poitiers and Agincourt, the goldsmiths, whose "benevolences"

had replenished the coffers of Edward IV, the grocers who founded national schools and endowed national charities, the mercers and silk merchants whom Henry VII himself delighted to honor—might well consider themselves a power in the State, second to none on its own ground. Nor did they always abide by that limit. The men of the people had already begun to rival the "blue blood" on fields which the latter held peculiarly its own. The best knights of France and Italy had fallen before Sir John Hawkwood, the son of a Cheapside tailor. A city clothier's apprentice had become Sir Edward Osborne, Councillor of State, and ancestor of the future Dukes of Leeds. An Ipswich butcher-lad had risen to be the greatest man in England, and had barely missed exchanging his Cardinal's hat for the triple crown itself. Later on in the same period, an obscure Warwickshire youth, whose father was a wool-comber of Stratford-on-Avon, became the associate of princes, and the greatest Englishman of all time; while a rough Plymouth seaman, half sailor and half pirate, circumnavigated the globe with a single vessel, and bearded in their own waters the noblest hidalgos of Spain. Meanwhile, war having changed from a pastime to a trade, commerce was beginning to reverse the act of Brennus, by casting her gold into the scale to counterpoise the sword. Even the brilliant and warlike Francis I could not restore to the Montmorencys and the Rohans the power which Louis XI had transferred to curriers and silk-weavers; while the Genoese bankers' refusal of a loan to Philip II, at the instigation of their English brethren, delayed the coming of the Armada for a whole year.

The sixteenth century, indeed, may well be called the golden age of English labor. The resources of the country were amply sufficient for a population numbering barely two millions. Competition there was little or none, the demand for workmen being often greater than the supply. In those days of small capitals, any man might become a master, and any master might rise to be the head of a guild. Good food, manly sports, honest labor, frequent holidays, the discipline of service without servitude, made the English commonalty

what their bitterest enemies justly styled them, "the freest and the fiercest people in Christendom." The men who, in 1588, answered Elizabeth's call for five thousand men and fifty ships by furnishing a hundred vessels and ten thousand men, were certainly not wanting either in courage or in public spirit; and the same qualities were even more conspicuously displayed in the great civil war of the ensuing century. Despite Lord Goring's sneer at "knaves who go to battle with their yard-measures in their hands," the pikemen of the London train-bands turned the day against the best blood of England, both at Edgehill and at Newbury; and their moderation in peace was even more creditable than their prowess in war. As Lord Macaulay has truly said, "an army of fifty thousand men, whose backs no enemy had ever seen, was quietly absorbed into the mass of the population; and only by his superior industry and good behavior could any man of them be identified as one of Oliver's old red-coats."

Toward the close of the seventeenth century, when English society was already settling into the form which it still retains, signs of coming trouble began to overcast the world of labor. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and the consequent flight of the Huguenots from France, flooded Belgium and England with experienced foreign workmen, whose patient industry, superior skill, and amazing power of living upon nothing,* made the English mechanics regard their coming with much the same feelings with which a Californian of our day watches the landing of a fresh ship-load of Chinese. The "good wages" of the clothing-trade (then one shilling a day!) fell at once, and the general discontent found utterance in those rude peculiar songs which were the seventeenth-century Englishman's substitute for a letter to the *Times*. One of these may serve as a fair sample of the rest:

> "We'll make 'em work hard for sixpence a day,
> Though a shilling is what we should rightfully pay;
> If at this they should murmur, and say 'tis too small,
> We'll bid 'em choose whether they'll work at all."

* The invention of ox-tail soup is ascribed to the ingenious frugality of these refugees.

But notwithstanding these and other drawbacks, the reigns of Anne and of the first three Georges were a time of comparative prosperity for the working-class. A business could then be started with a capital which would now be absurdly inadequate. In many trades, competition was limited by a law of apprenticeship. Not a few others had a fixed standard of wages. The mutual relations, too, of employer and employé, still retained much of the friendly and paternal character which had marked them in the "good old times." The apprentice sat at his master's table, took part in his master's conversation, and not unfrequently accompanied his master's family to a merrymaking. The cartoons of Hogarth, and the writings of his contemporaries, show us that it was then considered quite a natural thing that a shrewd and industrious 'prentice-lad should become the partner and son-in-law of the man whose store he had swept, and whose errands he had run. Any brisk youth might be a Francis Goodchild, and any Francis Goodchild might become Lord Mayor of London, that *ne plus ultra* of Cockney grandeur, with which the prophetic chimes of Bow Bells cheered supperless Dick Whittington.

But with the opening of the present century came a sudden and fearful change. The crushing expenses of the Napoleonic war, and the exclusion of British goods from the Continent by Napoleon's "Berlin Decrees," had already driven the working-class to extremity, when the introduction of steam-power and machinery (which was to the world of labor what the French Revolution was to that of politics) dealt it what then appeared a death-blow. In a moment all existing laws and regulations—apprenticeship, limited capital, fixed wages, repressed competition,—were swept away, and in their stead arose the joint-stock companies, colossal funds and gigantic business establishments, of the new school. The great innovation which was destined to multiply so vastly England's productive power, seemed at first sight to have annihilated it; and the horrors which ensued can never be forgotten. On every side mills were blazing, machines being destroyed, unpopular masters killed or maimed, soldiers and "Luddites"

facing each other in combats which often assumed the proportions of a regular battle—till all culminated at length in the terrible day, when seventeen men were hanged on one gallows for frame-breaking, in the market-place of York.

Nor was even this all. In its eagerness to remedy the evil, the Government only made it worse. The mischiefs caused by the abolition of the Workhouse Test in 1815, and by the blundering administration of the old Poor Law, were aggravated a hundred-fold by the adoption of David Ricardo's false and monstrous theory that the price of labor is regulated by that of food and other necessaries, instead of *vice versâ*. This astounding heresy, although refuted in advance by Adam Smith as early as 1776, was eagerly read and believed. It formed the basis of Sir Robert Peel's home policy down to the time of the Irish famine, and the foundation of the worst error ever committed by an English Cabinet—viz.: the notorious Corn Laws (more justly styled "bread-taxes" by the famine-stricken working men) which a popular poet of the time denounced in language that has certainly no lack of vigor:

> "Make haste, slow rogues! prohibit trade, prohibit honest gain,
> Turn all the good that God hath made to fear, and hate, and pain,
> Till beggars all, assassins all, all cannibals we be,
> And death shall have no funeral from ship-less sea to sea!"*

But this bitter trial was not sent in vain. In that season of universal gloom, misery, and despair, the first germ of the coming harvest took root. The English working man now saw clearly that that which met and foiled him at every turn was the power of combination among his opponents, and that the same power might be used with equal or even greater effect by his own class. Divided, they were as loose pebbles scattered by a great wave; united, they would form the breakwater which should scatter that wave in its turn. The result was the modern Trades-Union.

The obloquy heaped upon this famous system is a striking instance of the "faulty generalization" condemned by Lord Bacon, which makes so many well-meaning blockheads excommunicate Scott and Cooper for the sins of Paul de Kock, or

* Ebenezer Elliot, *Corn Law Rhymes*.

look askance at Shakespeare because his name is associated with the dreadful word "theatre." Confounding all Trades-Unions with the vitriol-throwers of Manchester and the "ratteners" of Sheffield, many worthy people regard the whole system as a kind of unhallowed modern Vehm-Gericht, given to turning out by torch-light at unlawful hours, in black masks and other sinful paraphernalia, with Wat Tyler for its president, Jack Cade and Thomas Münzer for its officers, and the robbing, murdering, or blowing-up of all respectable and Christian householders for its avowed object.

Now, no sensible man has ever attempted to deny that the Trades-Union was at first used far more as a weapon than as a shield. Rough and uncultured men, furious with long suffering, which threatened to deepen into absolute starvation, were not likely to be very nice in their choice of means of deliverance; and direct appeals to violence were unhappily only too consonant with the spirit of the age. The national temper, rendered savage by twenty years of almost unbroken war, sanctioned and even encouraged, half a century ago, acts which would now be universally condemned. In days when George IV himself drove a common bruiser in his own drag to the scene of an impending prize-fight, and with his own august hands assisted his favorite to "peel" for the fray, a Yorkshire "artisan" might well think himself justified in knocking down the man whom he considered to have "takken t' bread out o' th' childer's mouths." That far too many Trades-Unions have, even in more recent days, abetted and even deliberately planned outrages of the worst kind, is well known to every man who has studied the subject at all, but it as little follows that every Trades-Union in existence should therefore be condemned and extirpated, as that fire should be so because it may consume a house as well as warm it. Applied mistakenly and violently, the combination system has certainly done much harm; applied temperately and judiciously, it has as certainly done much good. The question to ask is, on which side does the balance lie? On this point we have conclusive evidence in the testimony of the Government Commissioners deputed to report upon the Trades-Union

system in 1869—the very last men, surely, to err on the side of partiality. "It is a fact worthy of notice," says their report, "that the fewest disputes with employers, and the greatest steadiness in the rate of wages, have been observable in those trades which have the strongest and the most extended Unions." This statement obviously implies that, in the cases referred to, the workmen have been at once strong enough to carry their point without a struggle, and wise enough to do so with as little quarrelling and heart-burning as possible. Were further evidence needed, the history of 1878 would alone suffice to furnish it. In the April of that year, a number of Lancashire mill-owners, finding their trade falling off, judged it necessary to make a reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of their workmen. What did the men do? To a measure which their grandfathers would have answered by the instant firing of every mill, and the attempted murder of every master, for ten miles round, they replied by offering either to submit the matter to arbitration, or to compromise it by accepting a reduction of five per cent. instead of the proposed ten. Had the combination system done no more for England than this, it would unquestionably have "deserved well of the State."

But it has done more. Since it first came into operation, the whole world of labor has been remodelled. The working-classes, who had formerly no appeal save to torch or bludgeon, have now spokesmen and orators of their own, whose influence no one can deny. The passing of the Ten Hours' Act put an end to overwork. The iniquitous system which stunted, maimed, and even killed hundreds of young children every year, by forcing them into employments wholly unfit for them, is now prohibited by law. Meanwhile the condition of the laboring class as a whole, despite of its many drawbacks and much severe privation, is visibly and steadily improving. The Trades-Unions themselves, at first so few and scanty, now reckon both their numbers and their funds by hundreds of thousands. The "friendly societies," which are now studding the whole length and breadth of England, with an aggregate of 1,787,291 members, and a total capital of £8,630,525, are

largely recruited from the ranks of the working men. An Agricultural Laborers' Union has been formed on the model of the operative combinations; and although its success is but slight as yet, the fact betokens, at least, a tendency in the right direction. The statistics of the small savings-banks, always a sure criterion of the state of English labor, are even more significant. In 1863, the number of depositors was 3,080,402, and the total amount deposited £27,187,401, an average of between £8 and £9 per man. In 1873, the former figure had risen to 4,002,567, and the latter to £63,471,412, an average of nearly £16 per man; while the returns of the past year, notwithstanding the marked depression of trade, show a considerable advance in both.

These are undoubtedly great and precious results; but, as Frederick the Great said in the crisis of the Seven Years' War, "all that has been done only shows how much more is still left to do." The great work can never be pronounced complete till capital and labor shall fully understand each other; and they will do so only when the last vestige of the old feudal tradition shall have been rooted out of every land from the Caspian to the Atlantic—when the Russian peasant shall give his vote in a free national Parliament, the English laborer till a farm of his own upon the ground once occupied by a corner of "his Grace's" deer-park, and the German artisan have a voice in deciding whether he and thousands of his brethren shall be sent to rot on foreign battle-fields without even knowing why they are thus sacrificed.

ART. VI.—THE NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS.

1. *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*: *Statement and Exposition of Certain Harmonies of the Solar System.* By STEPHEN ALEXANDER, LL. D.: 1875.
2. *Système du Monde.* Par P. S. LAPLACE.

ALL changes in nature are subject to laws, which man has been able only in part to understand. The forces of the universe constantly manifest themselves in either neutralizing the action of one another in producing equilibrium, or in producing changes in the position and the physical constitution of bodies. In one department of nature we see worlds in existence, and in another organic bodies—animals and plants. Man has learned something of the nature of the life-forces, and of the laws which move worlds and regulate their motions. But he is not satisfied with this knowledge. From early times philosophers have tried to account for the existence of things, especially unorganized bodies, and they still keep the problem under consideration. This clearly proves that man inherits from nature the desire to investigate and the faculties to do so. The outward phenomena of the physical universe, if we may be allowed the expression, early attracted his attention, and many years ago he made an effort to discover the process which produced worlds and systems of worlds. The continuation of this effort has finally given us a theory of creation known as the Nebular Hypothesis, remotely connected with which is the science of geology.

The earliest cosmogony of the Indian and the Egyptian schools of philosophy ascribes the first creation of the world to an infinite Being who had existed from all eternity. He

not only created it, but he repeatedly destroyed it and all its inhabitants, and recreated them as frequently. Humboldt tells us that the Indians in South America celebrated by festivals and dancing the destruction of the world and the approaching epoch of its regeneration. All these early attempts to account for the phenomena of the visible creation, called in the aid of a divine being, to whom was assigned attributes according to the ideas of the originators of these notions. As yet, man was not sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of the phenomena of the material universe, and the laws which control them, to enable him to construct a rational theory of the formation of the world.

It appears that the celebrated naturalist, M. Buffon, was the first to propose a physical theory to account for the phenomena of the solar system. Many years before, the great mathematician, Leibnitz, had published a theory of the formation of the Earth, in his *Protogæa*, in which he assumed the original condition of the earth to be that of a burning luminous mass, and that it has ever since been refrigerating. Buffon, however, attempted to go much further back and advance a much more comprehensive hypothesis.

He supposed the sun already to have an existence, and that a great comet, from the distant regions of space, fell upon it near one side and furrowed it out to a slight depth. This passage draws off a quantity of fiery, fluid matter; and, supposing it to have met with no resistance, the parts of equal bulk, he remarks, which were of lightest material, would experience the greatest impulse, and would thus be forced to the greatest distance from the sun. These parts, he conceived, might form the larger and less dense planets, Jupiter and Saturn (Uranus and Neptune being unknown when Buffon wrote). The denser parts driven off from the sun, he thought, would concentrate themselves in regions nearer the sun, and thus form the smaller planets, the earth, Mars, Venus and Mercury.

This hypothesis of Buffon is entitled to consideration only as being a first attempt to solve a grand problem—the order and arrangement of the solar system. No evidence

exists that any comet has sufficient mass to produce the effect supposed; and, if it should, all the planets so formed must pass through the point at which they had their origin, as we know from mechanical principles, until their mutual action so changed the elements of their orbits that this could no longer take place. But even then the theory of gravitation would not only show the fact, but point out the place in the solar system where they thus had their origin. The orbits of planets formed in such a manner would be very elliptical, whereas the actual orbits of the planets are nearly circular. The influence which the planets have had on the motions of one another could not permanently alter the forms of their orbits to any great extent, for Lagrange and Laplace demonstrated the existence of the dynamical stability of the solar system, from which it follows that the eccentricities of the orbits can never increase so as to be very much greater than what they now are.* Stockwell has shown, by discussing the secular variations of the elements of the planetary orbits, that the eccentricities have always been confined within narrow limits.† Buffon's hypothesis accounts for the movements of the planets in the same direction around the sun, and for the small inclinations of the planetary orbits to one another.

About the same time, the great German philosopher, Immanuel Kant, attempted to account for the order and arrangement of the solar system upon mechanical principles. In his work, Kant expounds the principles and operations which have led, according to his hypothesis, to the development of the universe from diffuse atoms of matter possessing simply attractive and repulsive forces. He deduces a doctrine which is not essentially different from what is now known as Laplace's *Nebular Hypothesis*. He accounts for the relation of the masses and densities of the planets to their distances from the sun; for the eccentricities of their orbits; for their rotations, for their satellites, their revolutions in the same

* *Mém. Acad. des Sciences, 1784.*

† *Memoir on the Secular Variations of the Elements of the Orbits of the Eight Principal Planets: Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, Vol. XVIII.

directions, and for Saturn's rings, and the zodiacal light.* It is unnecessary, however, to follow his speculations any farther. The nebular hypothesis as propounded by Laplace, and developed by him and succeeding writers, has taken precedent of all others; and that must command our principal attention.

"However arbitrary," says Laplace, "the system of the planets may be, there exist among them some very remarkable relations which may throw light on their origin. Considering them with attention, we are astonished to see all the planets move around the sun from west to east, and nearly in the same plane; all the satellites (except those of Uranus and Neptune) moving around their respective primaries in the same direction, and nearly in the same plane as the planets. Lastly, the sun, the planets, and those satellites in which a motion of rotation has been observed, turn on their axes in the same direction, and nearly in the same plane as their motion of revolution."† To these facts he further adds the small eccentricities of the orbits of the planets; and we may also add that the planets are oblate spheroids—the polar diameter being less than the equatorial—and that they rotate on *principal* or *natural axes;* that is, the axes of rotation are steady. As we have already mentioned, it has been proved that the constitution of the solar system is such as to ensure its dynamical stability, a very strong proof that it has been evolved under the action of the forces which now regulate its motions.

Before proceeding to discuss this hypothesis, we will allude, very briefly, to several of the works which have treated upon it.

Among the earlier advocates of Laplace's nebular hypothesis was Prof. J. P. Nichol, of Glasgow, in his work on the *Architecture of the Heavens*, and also in his *Planetary System*. Although adding but little to what Laplace had already done, he brought it in a popular manner before his readers. The author of the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* has devoted a chapter to the

* See Kant's *General Natural History and Theory of the Heavenly Bodies; or, an Attempt to Account for the Constitution and the Mechanical Origin of the Universe upon Newtonian Principles*, 1755.

† *Système du Monde*, Book V, Chap. vi.

subject under consideration. He gives us some idea of the manner in which a motion of rotation in a nebulous mass might commence, by particles tending towards a centre. He illustrates the subject by quoting some of the results of M. Comte's mathematical speculations on the formation of the planets and their satellites. Prof. Daniel Kirkwood was occupied for several years in searching for new relations which he supposed to exist in the planetary system, and he finally succeeded in discovering a very remarkable approximate law, analogous to Kepler's third law of physical astronomy, now known as "Kirkwood's Analogy." A paper on the subject was presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its meeting in 1849; and the subject was discussed by several of our ablest astronomers, who regard it as bearing directly on the mode of formation of the solar system.* Prof. Kirkwood has published numerous articles on this subject, and has since brought to light other relations and harmonies in the solar system.†

Prof. Gustavus Hinrichs, of the Iowa State University, published in 1865 a very able review of the state of the question at that time. In his paper Prof. Hinrichs has entered into a profound analysis of the mathematical conditions of the hypothesis. He has attempted to show that the rings of nebulous matter from which the planets were formed were abandoned by the solar nebula at equal intervals of time, and in this way he accounts for the existence of Bode's law. The departure of the actual distances from those required by the law, he regards as due to resistance to the motion of the planets, which the ether that is supposed to exist offers in the solar system. Prof. Hinrichs had previously discussed the density, rotation and relative age of the planets.‡ It will not be amiss to remark that it is not best to base very many conclusions respecting the actual state of the planetary system, on an ether, or a resisting fluid, till it has

* *Am. Jour. of Science*, Vol. X, second series.

† *Am. Jour. of Science*, Vols. XIV, XXX, XXXVIII, and *Monthly Notices* R. A. S., Vol. XXIX, and Kirkwood's *Meteoric Astronomy*, and *Smithsonian Report for 1876*.

‡ *Am. Jour. of Science*, Vol. XXXVII.

been proved that such a thing exists; for, according to our present knowledge of the subject, we are absolutely ignorant of the existence of any such fluid.

In 1867, Prof. Jacob Ennis published a volume on the *Origin of the Stars, and the Cause of their Motion and their Light.** The author has collected in this work a vast amount of information, intended for the scientific reader, relating to chemistry, geology, astronomy and natural philosophy. Though the work is quite readable, the author is not at all times logical in his reasonings; and besides, his data are sometimes assumed instead of being drawn from observation. Numerous statements, throughout the body of the work, show that the author is not conversant with the higher departments of mathematical analysis, and that he is often obliged to take at second-hand the conclusions of the mathematicians. Still, his numerous illustrations and explanations will enable the general reader to gain from his work a very good idea of our present knowledge of the subject which it discusses. We do not hesitate to affirm that the part which treats of the nebular hypothesis proper, is the most important document that has appeared on the subject since the original work of Laplace. Several of his ideas we shall have occasion to refer to in another part of this paper.

One of the most recent works that we have seen on the nebular hypothesis, is the very elaborate memoir by Prof. Stephen Alexander, the title of which is placed at the head of this article. A good many years ago, Prof. Alexander published † an extended paper *On the Origin of the Forms and the Present Condition of some of the Clusters of Stars and several of the Nebulæ.* This paper, as its title implies, attempts to explain the present appearance of these clusters and nebulæ. Various considerations led him to conclude that the milky way has the spiral form similar to that of some of the nebulæ as figured by Lord Rosse.‡ Prof. Alexander has on

* Since then several enlarged editions have been published.

† Gould's *Astronomical Journal*, Vol. II, 1852.

‡ Prof. Hinrichs, in his paper before referred to, has given a mathematical explanation of the cause of the spiral forms of nebulæ.

several occasions read papers on the nebular hypothesis, at the meetings of the American Association. The present memoir gives his most mature opinions on the subject under review.

In 1851, Prof. Peirce published some very important conclusions respecting the motions of Saturn's rings, to which he had been led by a mathematical discussion of the problem of their dynamical stability. These results he applies to the problem presented by the zone of asteroids between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter. * In 1859 the Prize Essay† of the late Prof. J. Clerk Maxwell, on the dynamical stability of the rings of Saturn, was published. Several of his conclusions have a direct bearing on the condition of the primitive rings from which the planets were formed. To all these memoirs and works we have added our mite. We shall have occasion to refer to the more important results contained in those which we have enumerated.

Having now given a brief account of the literature of the subject, we shall endeavor to lay before the reader a general view of the present state of the problem, and of our knowledge of the question. As we proceed in our survey of the universe in all its parts, the less do we see of any special action on the part of a Deity, and the more do we see of the dominion of law. We are thus led to expect still more confidently our ability to trace with definiteness the process by which worlds and systems of worlds grew, as it were, from diffuse nebulous matter.

A careful examination of the materials composing the earth's crust has led geologists to conclude that the earth was once in a molten condition; and astronomers and mathematicians have proved conclusively that it was a liquid, before it became a solid body, since it has that figure (or form) which it should have if it were originally in the liquid state. Sir John Herschel also has shown ‡ how the earth might become spheroidical in form, if it were originally a solid sphere and covered with water, and then a motion of rotation given it.

* Gould's *Astronomical Journal*, Vol. II, No. 27.
† *On the Stability of the Motion of Saturn's Rings.*
‡ *Outlines of Astronomy*, Articles 226, 227.

But a mathematical investigation not extremely difficult shows that its form (ellipticity, flattening) would be different from that which it now has. We may hence conclude that the earth was originally a liquid; but whether it was once a gaseous body we have no direct means of knowing. We are able to show that gaseous matter actually does exist unconnected with the earth and planets; for the telescopic observations of comets prove that they are in such a condition. The spectroscope also has confirmed this conclusion, and it has shown, too, that several of the nebulæ are really gaseous bodies, probably of very large dimensions.* We are therefore at liberty to assume that real nebulæ existed long ago as well as at the present day.

Let us, then, assume the primeval existence of a nebula possessing a sufficient quantity of matter to form our solar system; or, if we choose, several such systems. Certainly most bodies, and probably all, are of such a nature that they may exist, according to circumstances, in any one of three conditions (and perhaps a fourth, the ultra-gaseous), namely, the solid, the liquid, and the gaseous. These conditions appear to be mainly due to the absence or the presence of caloric in sufficient quantity. Because a body is rendered liquid or gaseous by the action of heat, it does not follow that it gives out more heat in either of these states than it does in the solid condition. Though a nebula is held in a gaseous condition by the presence of heat, the gas is not necessarily hot according to our conception of the term. We are by no means certain that heat is absolutely necessary to the existence of a gas, though it seems highly probable that such is the case. If, by any other means, the particles of matter could be placed at a sufficient distance from one another, a gas would be the result, and heat would manifest itself as soon as the particles of matter approached one another. However, it is generally supposed that nebulous bodies are gaseous through the influence of heat, let the heat be due to whatever cause it may be. Some recent experiments in reducing certain gases to the liquid

† *Monthly Notices*, 1865, and *Am. Jour. of Science*, Vol. XL.

condition show that they retain their gaseous state under the influence of intense cold.

We have assumed the primeval existence of a nebulous body sufficiently large to form a solar system. Since our sun is but one of the many millions which compose the milky way, it would, perhaps, be better to suppose the original nebula sufficiently extensive to furnish the matter out of which all the suns and worlds of our island universe were formed. We suppose this nebula to have possessed all the properties that belong to matter. The forces which act on a body are either in equilibrium with one another, or they tend to this condition. According to Newton's law of gravity, every particle of matter in the nebula attracts every other particle, and these attractions, if the body has not already reached the conditions of equilibrium, will give rise to motion among the different parts of the nebula, and thus, in general, there would ultimately result a motion of rotation. If we exclude foreign influence, the only possible way in which a motion of rotation could commence is that which we have described—by the particles seeking conditions of equilibrium in respect to one another and to the whole mass. We can conceive of several different ways in which this motion might manifest itself, but they are all dependent on the one general principle which we have stated.* Various writers who have imagined this or that way in which the rotation began, have simply described different conditions of the general principle mentioned.

Since this motion of rotation is one of the necessities of our hypothesis, we may be permitted to call the attention of astronomers who have the use of powerful telescopes—and they are now quite numerous—to the need of observing nebulæ for the special object of detecting a motion of rotation in some or all of them. There is evidence that changes have been observed in some of them; but there is need of more numerous and critical observations of the details of the

* This fact we wish to set distinctly before the reader; for some writers, insufficiently versed in the principles of analytic mechanics, do not seem to understand the fundamental principle from which rotation begins, and that it *must* begin.

nebulæ proper, with the very best and most powerful instruments, making micrometrical measures to fix the position of different points, where practicable, so that a motion of rotation may, if possible, be detected.

When a nebula has assumed approximate conditions of equilibrium, in its process of condensation—for the attraction of gravitation and the radiation of heat will cause the nebula to decrease in volume and increase in density—if it separate into distinct parts, it will do so by abandoning rings about the equatorial regions. In the case of the nebula of the milky way, to which we have referred, it seems more likely that different and numerous centres of attraction were formed, about which matter accumulated, and that the rotary motion of the nebula caused these centres, so to speak, to separate from one another and move in independent orbits. If rings were abandoned by the great nebula, these rings must have broken up into many separate bodies, as happened in the case of the asteroids. But the evidence which we have of these primordial changes in our island universe is too scanty to justify us in pursuing these speculations farther. The truth of the nebular hypothesis, as expressing a great law of the physical universe, rests mainly on the facts which the solar system furnishes. Here we are able to say that thus far no well-established fact, which has an important bearing on the truth of this hypothesis, yet contradicts it.

Let us now direct our attention to the condition of the nebula which furnished the material for our solar system, and which we may denominate the *solar nebula.* We shall suppose it to be very much flattened, or of limited thickness, measured parallel with the polar axis, and of an extent reaching far beyond the orbit of Neptune, when considered equatorially. The equatorial outlines we may suppose to be somewhat regular. The object which we have now pictured is not altogether an imaginary one. Herschel's *nebulous stars** must be a very fair representation of the solar nebula. Lord Rosse, by examining this class of bodies with his six-foot reflector, has been able to make out many details of their

* *Phil. Trans.*, 1802.

structure.* Number 450 of Herschel's catalogue of 1833 was found to have the star-like point placed in the centre of a nebulous nucleus, and beyond there was seen a nebulous ring which appeared to be completely separated from the latter. This represents the solar nebula when somewhat farther advanced in its state of condensation than the case which we assumed. We may reasonably conclude that the central portions of the solar nebula were of considerable density as compared with the external parts, or even with the mean density.

If we suppose the density in the interior of the nebula to be proportional to the pressure, as is the case of our atmosphere—and it must have been nearly so,—a mathematical investigation shows us that the density must have varied along the plane of the equator very nearly inversely as the square of the distance from the centre of the nebula.

According to this law, the density of the external equatorial parts was one-third of the mean density, the nebula being supposed spheroidal in form. The mass of the solar nebula was equal to the sum of the masses of all the bodies of the solar system; and if we assume the equatorial diameter of the solar nebula equal to the mean distance of the planet Neptune from the sun and the polar diameter to be the one ten-thousandth part of the same distance, the mean density of the nebula will be about the one sixteen-hundredth that of hydrogen gas at the surface of the earth; and water is eleven thousand nine hundred and sixty times as dense as hydrogen. The extreme tenuity of the gas composing the nebula from which our system was formed, becomes apparent by a consideration of these numbers.

To exhibit more fully the approximate internal density of the solar nebula, we have computed the following table, which gives its density at the distance of each of the planets and at the distance of the sun's surface, the density of

* *Phil. Trans.*, 1850, p. 499 *et seq.*

hydrogen gas at the surface of the earth being taken as unity:

Density at the mean distance	of	Neptune,	0.0002115
"	"	Uranus,	0.0005187
"	"	Saturn,	0.0020971
"	"	Jupiter,	0.0070515
"	"	Mars,	0.0822200
"	"	Earth,	0.1908800
"	"	Venus,	0.3648260
"	"	Mercury,	1.2738500
"	"	Sun's surface,	2.4330843

We learn from these figures that it was impossible, from the very nature of things, for the whole nebula to rotate as a single body. They are based on the supposition that the solar nebula was regular in form; but the outlines of diffuse nebulæ, judging from observation, are in general very irregular. If motion commenced by the force of gravity levelling down the outlines—and it seems that this must generally be the case—the outer parts would finally circulate around the inner. This hypothesis, which is due, we believe, to Prof. Jacob Ennis, accounts more completely than any other for all the phenomena presented by the solar system.*

Unless the force of gravity were counteracted in some way, its action would constantly condense the nebulous matter about the central regions; and this condensation would as constantly accelerate the motion of rotation. If currents were in the first place established in the outer parts, friction would extend this motion to the adjacent parts, and ultimately, by the condensation of the nebula, the whole mass would rotate on an axis.

Heat acts as a repulsive force which exerts itself in opposition to gravity. Unless the solar nebula, however, were of the same temperature as surrounding space, it would either become warmer or colder according as it was colder or warmer than space; and since it is quite certain that it was warmer than space, it would slowly become colder by radiation, and its repulsive action would become less, and the constant action

* If all nebulæ have a density as small as the primitive solar nebula, the wonder is that they are visible even with the best telescopes. On the *Invisibility of Nebulous Matter*, see *Am. Jour. of Science*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 210.

of gravity would thus be enabled to reduce the size of the nebula and accelerate its motion of rotation, which would continue until the centrifugal force became equal to the force of gravity. This limit would cause a ring of nebulous matter to separate from the rest of the mass, and such ring would then move independently, while the remaining part of the nebula would repeat the process. The separation of the rings would take place in the equatorial regions, and owing to the small density of the material of the ring, it would be of considerable width. Indeed, we incline to the opinion that there was hardly such a thing as a separate and distinct ring, but rather that the different parts successively moved with a velocity such as to balance the force of gravity, the nebula thus revolving with different velocities in different parts. It can easily be shown that the motion of these parts would not be regulated by Kepler's third law of physical astronomy, viz.: that the periodic times are proportional to the cubes of the mean distances.

The separation of this revolving nebula into distinct parts must have been the result of the attraction of one part on another, and the disturbance of motion and place which would thus result. That something like rings would finally be formed is probable, if not certain; and the separation would occur where the attraction and the centrifugal force balanced one another; and here we can faintly see the origin of "Kirkwood's Analogy."

It would seem more than probable that the outer rings, as those of Uranus and Neptune, having so small a density, and being of great width, could never revolve approximately as a whole, but that the inner parts would have the greatest velocity in accordance with Kepler's third law. It will be seen that a planet formed from such a ring, on its breaking up, would rotate in a direction opposite to that which a planet would have if formed from a ring whose outer parts moved with a greater velocity than the inner. Such rings would naturally result where the density of the nebula was sufficiently great.

Prof. Kirkwood found* that the interval between the

* *Meteoric Astronomy*, p. 104.

principal rings of Saturn lies where the period of a body revolving around the planet would be commensurable with the periods of the four satellites, Dione, Enceladus, Mimas and Tethys. By applying this principle to the asteroids, he finds them grouped so as to leave intervals where the periods would be commensurable with that of Jupiter.* These phenomena result from the following law of physical astronomy: If the periods of revolution of two planets are proportional, or nearly so, to two small whole numbers whose difference is not over three or four, they will return to the same relative positions in their orbits and in space, after comparatively short intervals, measured by their periodic times; and thus, by repeating the influence of each other on their orbits, the form and position of their orbits would ultimately become considerably altered. If, as is the case with Jupiter and the asteroids, the mass of one is vastly greater than that of the other, the changes are thrown almost wholly on the orbit of that body which has the smaller mass. In the formation of rings from which the planets have been produced, this law must have had great influence. It is difficult to trace its exact effect; but that it had an important bearing on the relative distances of the planets, and the disposition of the masses in the solar system, can scarcely be questioned. Prof. Alexander, in his *Memoir*, seems to have got an indistinct view of this principle; but it is to Prof. Kirkwood that we owe the discovery of its great influence, by showing how it applies to Saturn's rings, and to the distribution of the orbits of the asteroids.

The rings of nebulous matter would in general break up, and the parts unite and form the planets. Even if the planets originally revolved in circular orbits, their influence upon one another's motions would change the orbits to the elliptical form; and the following consideration will show how the elliptical form would become permanent:

The attraction of every attracting mass can be resolved into a series of attractions, such that the first term will be equal to the entire mass of the attracting body divided by the

* *Smithsonian Report for 1876.*

square of the distance of the attracted point from its centre of gravity, and this, in general, will represent the principal attracting force. The second and following terms will depend on the departure of the form of the body from that of a sphere, and they will be divided by the cube and the higher powers of the distance. The first term would cause a body revolving around the attracting mass (as that part of the solar nebula within a ring or the orbit of a planet) to describe a circle or an ellipse; but the moment the orbit of the revolving body departed from a circle, the remaining terms of the attraction would act as disturbing forces, and a planet formed from a ring of nebulous matter, under the influence of these forces, would necessarily be of the elliptical form.

In the solar system it is more than probable that the interior of the sun did not begin to rotate till after the ring from which Mercury was formed was abandoned from the slowly contracting nebula, for that planet revolves around the sun in about eighty-eight days, and it requires twenty-five or twenty-six days for the sun to complete a rotation on its axis. The inter-mercurial planet, Vulcan, if it exists, and it seems very probable that it does, completes a revolution in less time than the period of the sun's rotation. A body revolving at the surface of the sun would complete its revolution under the influence of solar gravity in less than three hours, and its velocity would be more than two hundred times as great as the present equatorial velocity of the sun. Even the orbital velocity of Mercury is twenty-four times as great as that of a point on the sun's equator. The conclusion seems irresistible, therefore, that the sun rotated only to a very limited depth beneath its equatorial surface when the planet Mercury was abandoned. The surface velocity has been lost by friction, in communicating motion to the interior

After the planetary nebulous rings had broken up and become united in a single body, or planet, such planet would begin to rotate in about the same way that the solar nebula did; and each planet would pass through similar changes in abandoning rings which would in general form satellites. We shall also see that the same principle which we have shown to

apply to the sun, applies also to the planets which have satellites, and whose periods of rotation have been determined.

The planet Saturn rotates in about ten hours and sixteen minutes. According to observation, the inner bright ring occupies but a little more time in completing a revolution around the planet; and we have a right to infer that the dusky ring, as well as the inner parts of the inner bright ring, does not require any more time to rotate than the planet. A body at the equator of Saturn would revolve, under the influence of the gravity of the planet, in about three hours and two-thirds. We hence see in this case that all the velocity acquired by contraction after the last ring was abandoned, has been expended in giving motion to the interior of the planet.

The case of Jupiter is similar. This planet rotates in nine hours and fifty-six minutes; and a body at its surface would revolve around the planet, under the influence of gravity, in about two hours and twenty minutes. At least, then, a considerable part of the velocity gained by contraction from the inner satellite (which revolves in 1 d. 18h. 27 m.) to the present dimensions of the planet, must have been expended in adding to the motion of the interior of Jupiter.

The clearest proof that we have of the truth of this hypothesis, is found in the system of Mars. Prof. Hall's discovery of the inner satellite of that planet makes known the important fact that when Mars was expanded so as to have a diameter of about twelve thousand miles, the angular velocity of the equatorial parts was then greater than it is now. It is therefore quite evident that more velocity has been lost in giving motion to the whole planet than has been gained by contraction. We thus see the same result in every case that comes under observation, since the earth and the moon offer no exceptions, the velocity of the latter in its orbit being twice as great as the equatorial velocity of the earth. So far from the system of Mars being unique in the solar system, we see that, in the phenomenon under consideration, it is at best no more than an extreme case. The smallness of the mass and

the volume of Mars, is probably the cause of this apparent anomaly in relation to the inner satellite of that planet.

Mr. Doolittle has attempted to explain the phenomenon under consideration, by supposing that Mars met with innumerable meteors, and that the resistance which they offered gave rise to the present condition of the Martial system. This hypothesis would be tenable, perhaps, if we had meteors enough at our disposal; for we see that they would be required in all the secondary systems to which we have referred and also in the solar system itself. But where are the meteors now? Why do they not still continue to pour down in such quantities as to be perceptible in their action on the planetary system? According to the Newtonian principles of reasoning, we need not introduce any foreign cause to explain a phenomenon, when there is a sufficient cause in the system itself.

Somehow meteors, during the last quarter of a century, have had to bear the burden of explaining several difficult questions which the solar system presents. Prof. Peirce has recently revived the hypothesis which would account for solar light and heat. Non-luminous bodies are supposed to be distributed through space; why do they not in their motions eclipse some luminous bodies?

Some have supposed that the satellites of Mars are foreign bodies which have been drawn to the planet by attraction; but if such were the case, it is difficult to see how the orbits could lose their eccentricity as the case requires. Nor is it probable that both would revolve in the same direction, and so nearly in the same plane.

Like the theory of gravitation, every new fact in the system of the world that seemed at first to offer insuperable difficulties to a clear explanation, adds only new strength to the hypothesis of Laplace, when it is correctly interpreted. So it is always with such as are founded in the truth.

ART. VII.—INTERSTATE EXTRADITION.

1. *Commentaries on International Law.* By ROBERT PHILLIMORE. 2 vols. 8° Philadelphia: 1854–7.
2. *The Law of Extradition*, with the Conventions upon the Subject between England and Foreign Nations, and the Cases decided thereon. By EDWARD CLARKE. Second Edition. 8° London: 1874.
3. *A Treatise on the Law of Extradition, International and Interstate*, with an Appendix containing the Extradition Treatise and Laws of the United States, several sections of the English Extradition Act of 1870, and Extradition Regulations and Forms. By SAMUEL T. SPEAR, D.D. 8° Albany: 1878.

A CRIMINAL has ever been regarded as the common enemy of mankind. In the earliest times, by the most savage tribes, and among the most barbarous nations, measures were taken to prevent and punish wanton and flagrant outrages against the public peace and prosperity, and individual security and happiness. These measures and appliances have been as various as the civilizations of the different peoples.

All nations, whether barbarous or civilized, distinguish crimes into two great classes, viz.: those that undermine the foundations of the State and war against its peace and dignity, and those confined in their effects to the individuals that compose the State. All jurists look upon those crimes that militate against the majesty of the laws and bid defiance to the powers of the State, as far more heinous than the most daring and malicious attacks upon individual security and welfare.*

* 4 Gibbons, 376.

During the period when our Teutonic forefathers reigned supreme in the Albi-fatherland, a price was set upon the life of every freeman, including every wound that could be inflicted upon his person, from the bruising of his little finger or plucking of an eyelash, to the taking of his life; and every injury that could be done to his civic rights, from the theft of a suckling pig, or the killing of a fondling dog, to the armed occupation of his estate.* He who took the life of a freeman, maimed his person or otherwise wronged him, or transgressed against his civic rights, was compelled to pay the fixed price therefor,—for there was a schedule or tariff for the "traffic" in those days.†

Thorpe tells us ‡ that the righteous prince, Edward the Confessor, approved of the Anglo-Saxon proverb which declares that we must buy off the spear from our side or endure it—"Bicge spere of side oder bere". The same principle was approved and put into practice by our subjected forefathers across the seas, when they bought their life and liberty with the *Dane-gilt*, which they paid those hordes of northern barbarians that swooped down upon their peaceful abodes in search of victims and plunder. Indeed, this principle has prevailed, to a greater or lesser degree, at some period in the history of all the Aryan branches of the human family, and was carried to its highest point of development by the early legislation of the Celts, in both the Irish and Welsh tribes.

In the early forms of civilization every wrong-doer was not accountable for the wrong he had committed to the government, or to the people, as in modern and more highly-developed forms of society, but to the person or family wronged. In those times, the whole population of the various nations was divided into families, clans or *gens*, and the solidarity of these families or *gens* was complete; and among these families or clans the Levitical doctrine of "eye for eye, tooth for tooth; as a man hath done, so shall it be done unto him again,"

* Owen's *Ancient Laws of Wales*, Vol. I, p. 701 *et seq.*

† Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I, p. 177.

‡ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 467.

prevailed, and the cravings for revenge were satisfied rather than justice meted out. Instead of being looked upon as a crime against the community, a wrong was regarded and treated as a trepass upon individual rights, to be redressed by the injured individual or his kinsmen. Consequently, these early societies were rife with rapine and reprisal; and the *wer-gild* granted by the *mallum* to aggrieved or injured parties was not a compensation for any injury they had sustained, nor imposed as a punishment for any infraction of the laws, but was levied to condone and pacify the injured party or his ferocious kinsmen, and thereby to preserve peace and harmony and prevent endless warfare between hostile families.

If the wrong-doer was unable to pay the fine thus levied upon him, or the "blood-money," as it has been aptly termed, it was levied upon his kinsmen; that is, upon the family, clan or *gens* to which he belonged, and they were compelled to pay it in proportion to their relationship to the wrong-doer, to the person injured, or to his kinsmen.*

The fragments of the *Avesta* are the earliest records of Aryan legislation that have survived the wreck of time. In them, we find very distinct evidence of this mutual responsibility of the kinsmen of the wrong-doer to the person wronged, or to his kinsmen.† The ancient Hindoo code betrays, under the modifying superstructure of Braminical institutions, the prevalence of the primal system of family responsibility.‡

In those days this same schedule of tariff furnished a great source of revenue to the State§—for "the department of justice" was not long in learning to divert a part of the fine thus levied from the pockets of the wronged, or his kinsmen, into its own coffers—and this was in perfect harmony and accord with their ideas of right and wrong, justice and humanity, for the basis of these virtues is as fluctuating as the barometer.‖

With the progress from barbarism to civilization, from

* Dion. Halicarnassus, III, 10; XIII, 5. Tit. Liv. I, 26; V, 32.

† Bleek's Trans. *Vendidad*, 30-1.

‡ *Manava Dhasma Sastra*, VIII, p. 295 *et seq.*

§ Maine's *Ancient Law*, p. 358.

‖ Lecky's *History of European Morals*, Vol. I, Chap. vii.

brutality to humanity, with the growth of law and the development of the idea of justice, we have left those appliances of our phlegmatic ancestors so far behind that today we have a much greater regard for individual security than for public revenue.

It would seem from some relics of the monuments of early civilization, that ever since the dawn of that æon when the civil State was organized from barbaric chaos, steps have been taken whereby criminals, having committed crime in one country and fled to another to escape the penalty, can be returned to pay the penalty of infracted law. On the walls of the Temple of Karnak is sculptured the earliest extradition treaty that the monuments of antiquity have preserved to our time. This treaty was between Rameses II and a Khetan prince. Among other provisions there is one—the last—declaring that political fugitives shall be returned, with the following provision for personal safety, viz.: "Whoever shall be delivered up, himself, his wives, his children, let him not be smitten to death; moreover, let him not suffer in the eyes, in the mouth, in the feet; moreover, let not any crime be set up against him." *

The policy of thus returning, for trial and punishment, those criminals who have escaped from one country to another, is as manifest as it is just, and recommends itself to every enlightened age and every civilized nation.

Grotius, and other eminent jurists, maintain that a State is bound to deliver up fugitives from justice, who flee into it for protection and shelter. The majority of those who have written upon the subject, however, deny that there is any such obligation as a matter of *right* subsisting between nations, and put it on the ground of *comity*. The universal practice of all nations, ancient and modern, ignorant and barbarous, is opposed to the jurisprudence of Grotius, his collaborators and disciples.

It would seem that the various potentates of the earth would be anxious to enter into arrangements whereby they

* *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. IV.

could secure fugitive criminals who had sought safety in each other's dominions, and would readily deliver up such as had found a lodgement within their borders. Such, however, is not the case. Until quite recently, it was practically impossible for the powers of the earth to agree upon any proper international regulations, whereby the return of fugitives from justice could be secured. And, indeed, these arrangements are now limited to a few nations. When we remember that the leading nations of the world have hitherto regarded each other as implacable enemies, have labored assiduously to secure the dominion of each other's territories, and the spoils of each other's governments; in devising means of inflicting all the injuries possible upon their neighbors: when we call to mind the petty jealousies by which the majority of them are actuated, even at the present day, we cannot reasonably expect that they would be very solicitous for the domestic welfare of such neighboring nations, or very swift to assist in the enforcement of their respective laws against each other.

But between sister States, under kindred systems of government, especially with one whose genius is that of our own, there should be no jealousies nor rivalries, no want of harmony and accord. Each State should exert all reasonable endeavor in furthering the interests and welfare of the sister States; and especially should each be solicitous that those who violate the laws of any State, or of the general government, be brought speedily to justice, and thereby contribute to the preservation of the peace and dignity of the whole country.

Such seems to be the view that has ever been held by jurists on this subject; for shortly after our Pilgrim forefathers had established plantations in the new world, these plantations, through them, entered into a compact,* whereby it was provided that "upon the escape of any prisoner or fugitive for any criminal course, whether by breaking prison, or getting from the officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape was

* Winthrop's *Hist. Mass.*, Vol. II, p. 121. Hazard's *Hist. Coll.*, Vol. II, pp. 1-5.

made, that he was a prisoner or such an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrates, or some of them, of the jurisdiction where, for the present, the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grant such a warrant as the case will bear, for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him into the hands of the officer or other persons who pursueth him; and if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted unto him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof."

When the colonists organized themselves into "The United States of America," this same compact was renewed and incorporated into the fundamental law of the land. In order the better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in the Union, it was provided that the free inhabitants of the respective States, paupers, vagabonds, and *fugitives from justice* excepted, should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens of the several States; and also, that any one guilty of, or charged with, treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, who shall flee from justice, and be found in any other of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of the offence.* The only change was in so modifying the provision that the certificate of one magistrate only was required, instead of two as formerly.

After the War of the Revolution was fought and "The United States of America" had acquired the dignity of a free and independent government, in the formation of the Federal Constitution, which was to be the "faith and guide" of the nation for all time, this same stipulation was transplanted, root and branch, with the lopping of a few twigs, and in that historic document reads as follows:

"A person charged in any State with treason, felony or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in any other State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of

* *Articles Confed.*, Art. IV. 4 *Mass. Rec.*, Part II, pp. 471-3.

the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime."*

The Federal Constitution is the supreme law of the land,† and this clause, of course, is a part of the organic law of each State. The officers whose duty it is to execute the laws of said States are bound by it the same as by any other law which is not simply a dead letter upon the statute books. Yet there is no sanction to this law, unless provided by the several State legislatures, and in the absence of such sanction it is really no law at all.‡ The Federal Government has not the power of coercing and compelling refractory, obstinate or wilful governors to discharge this duty which is incumbent upon them.

Some of the State legislatures have, by special enactment, made this duty obligatory.

With this provision of the Federal Constitution the matter rested until 1793, when the attention of President Washington was called to the fact that the Constitution made no provisions for the method of authenticating charges against fugitives from justice; and also that it failed to designate from, or of whom, the demand was to be made. Washington presented the matter for the consideration of Congress, and, on the twelfth day of the following February, that body passed a bill entitled "An Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from their masters,"§ which act, with the various subsequent verbal changes, now reads as follows:

"When the executive authority of any State or territory demands any person as a fugitive from justice, from the executive authority of any State or territory to which such person has fled, and produces a copy of an indictment found or an affidavit made before a magistrate of any State or territory, charging the person demanded with having committed treason, felony or other crime, certified as authentic by the governor or chief magistrate of the State or territory from which the person charged has fled, it

* *Fed. Const.*, Art. IV, Sec. 2.

† *Vide Fed. Const.*, Art. VI, Sec. 2, *et al.*; also *Journal of the Convention* that framed the same, pp. 222, 282 and 293.

‡ Austin's *Jurisprudence*, Vol. I, Sec. 1.

§ 1793, Chap. vii, Sec. 1, Vol. I, p. 302. Brightley's *Digest U. S. Laws*, Vol. I, p. 293.

shall be the duty of the executive authority of the State or territory to which such person has fled to cause him to be arrested and secured, and to cause notice of the arrest to be given to the executive authority making such demand, or to the agent of such authority appointed to receive the fugitive, to be delivered to such agent when he shall appear. If no such agent appears within six months from the time of the arrest, the prisoner may be discharged. All costs or expenses incurred in the apprehending, securing and transmitting such fugitives to the State or territory making such demand, shall be paid by such State or territory."*

The constitutionality of such an act was at first questioned by many, but it is now settled beyond the shadow of a doubt that though Congress may not, by legislation, exercise powers outside of, and beyond, those delegated by the Federal Constitution, yet it evidently is empowered to enact laws which are absolutely indispensable to effectually secure and carry out those rights that are granted and those duties that are enjoined by it.†

This act of Congress set forever at rest many questions which the Constitution left in doubt. The Constitution provides that "any person charged with treason, felony or other crime, shall," etc., but it fails either to tell us what it means by "charged," or how the charge shall be authenticated. The act of Congress provides for the production of a copy of an indictment found, or an affidavit made, before some magistrate of the State or territory in which the crime was perpetrated. The Constitution does not make any provision as to who shall make the demand of the executive authority of the State or territory to which the fugitive has fled; the act of Congress provides that the executive authority of the State in which the crime was committed shall make such demand. The Constitution makes no provision for extradition between the territories, or between the territories and the States, and none for the extradition of fugitive criminals either to or from the District of Columbia; the act of Congress includes the territories as well as the States.‡

* *Rev. Stat. U. S.*, p. 1027, Sec. 5278.

† 13 Pet., 540; 14 *Id.*, 540; 16 *Id.*, 618 and 639. 16 Wall., 366. 3 Vroom, 146.

‡ 16 Pet., 539. *Vide contra*, *Ga. Dec.*, Part II, p. 33.

The District of Columbia, however, is not included in the Act of 1793; but in 1801 Congress passed an act in which it is provided that, in all cases where the laws of the United States provide that fugitives from justice shall be delivered up, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court shall cause to be apprehended and delivered up such fugitives from justice as shall be found within the District of Columbia, in the same manner and under the same regulations as the executive authorities of the several States and territories are required to do by the provisions of sections 5278 and 5279 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.* The courts have held that a fugitive from justice may be extradited to, as well as from, the District of Columbia, and upon the same conditions and under the same regulations as to or from the States or territories.

The provisions of the Constitution and the acts of Congress are the supreme law of the land, and the various States, or any one of them, cannot enact any law inconsistent with, or in contravention of, these provisions, or one that in any way changes or modifies the same.† But the States can pass,‡ and many of them already have passed, laws auxiliary thereto.§ By these acts of the several State legislatures, provisions are made for the apprehending of fugitives from justice in advance of the demand of the executive authority of the State or territory where the crime was committed. Even in the States where such provisions have not been made by their legislatures, the authorities, upon principles of comity, would be warranted in detaining, for a reasonable time, any person charged with treason, felony or other crime in another State, to the end

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* *Rev. Stat. U. S.*, relating to the D. C., Sec. 843.

† 5 Wheaton, 122; 5 *Id.*, 21-2. 16 Pet., 589. 2 Paine, 579.

‡ Bishop's *Criminal Law*, Vol. I, p. 133. 5 Edmonds *Stat.* (N.Y.), 167. *Statutes Cal.* (1876), pp. 1385–6. Hurd's *Stat.* (Ill.), pp. 524–5. 2 Davis' *Stat.* (Ind.), 421–2. *Gen. Stat. R. I.*, 569–70. *Rev. Stat. Me.* (1871), pp. 900–1. *Gen Stat. Ky.*, 492. *Gen. Stat. Conn.*, 544. *Code Va.* (1873), pp. 200–1. *Stat. Tenn.* (1871), Secs. 5243 to 5353. *Ga. Code*, Secs. 53 to 57. *O. Laws*, Vols. LXVI, LXVIII and LXXII.

§ Hurd's *Habeas Corpus*, 636. 14 Pet., 540. 5 Metc., 536. 75 *Mass.*, 262. 23 *Cal.*, 585. 49 *Ind.*, 436. 51 *Id.*, 10. 3 McLean, 121. 14 How. (U. S.), 21. *Vide contra*, 5 Wheaton, pp. 1, 21-2. 16 Pet., 539.

that the executive authority of said State might make the constitutional demand, and secure the criminal. *

Of the right of a State or territory to have a person, who has committed a crime while within its jurisdiction and then fled to another State or territory, delivered up for trial and punishment, there can be no doubt; the only question is as to the method of procedure. As laid down by the Constitution and laws of Congress, the matter is effected in the following manner:

There must be an indictment found or an affidavit made before a proper tribunal of the State or territory from which the fugitive has escaped, charging him with treason, felony, or other crime, † committed in the State from which he has fled, and in which the indictment is found or the affidavit made; ‡ the charge must be made in one or the other of the above-mentioned forms, not by giving the name merely, but it must be explicit in the necessary allegations of facts which would justify the finding of an indictment by a grand-jury, or warrant a magistrate in committing the accused,§ and the charge must be made in the regular course of judicial proceedings. ‖ A copy of this indictment found, or affidavit made, certified to as authoritative by the executive officer or chief magistrate of the State, must be accompanied by a demand, which is a formally-written instrument and official application of said executive officer or chief magistrate upon the executive officer or chief magistrate of the State or territory to which the criminal is supposed to have fled, and in which he is at the time found. Without this formality and demand there can be no delivery.¶ The certificate of the demanding executive or chief magistrate respecting the copy

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* *Ga. Dec.*, Part II, p. 33. 2 Johns, 477 and 479. 2 Caines, 2 to 12. 3 Zabr., 391. 4 Harring, 572. 10 Greg. and Rowle, 135.

† 24 How., 66. 16 Wall., 366. 17 *Mass.*, 515 and 547; 112, *Id.*, 409. 3 Zabr., 311. 3 Vroom, 143. 13 *Ga.*, 97. 6 *Am. Jurist*, 283.

‡ 3 McLean, 121.

§ *Loc. cit.* 57 *N. Y.*, 182.

‖ 24 How., 66.

¶ 24 B. Mon. (Ky.), 687. 49 *Cal.*, 443. Abbot's *Practice Rpt.* (N. Y.), 347. 9 Wend., 212. 28 *Ind.*, 450.

of the indictment found, or affidavit made, is conclusive as to the fact of such an indictment or affidavit, and the genuineness of the copy.*

The party demanded must be a fugitive from justice. The question that now arises is: Who are to be regarded as fugitives from justice?

It is well settled by the courts that any person who commits a crime in a State and withdraws himself from its jurisdiction without awaiting to abide the consequence thereof, or for the sake of avoiding punishment, or one who secretly commits a crime and suddenly departs from the State or territory, though he may have departed for other purposes than simply to evade punishment therefor,† or a person who is conscious of having laid himself liable to prosecution, and departs ere sufficient time has elapsed to allay apprehensions of such prosecution, or has been delivered after demand, admitted to bail, forfeited his bail, and again fled the realm,‡ may be properly regarded as a fugitive from justice, and as a proper subject of demand and extradition.

The executive officer or chief magistrate demanding a fugitive criminal from a neighboring executive or chief magistrate, appoints an agent to receive the said fugitive when he is delivered by the officer from whom he is demanded, and return him to the State from which he has fled, and to the officers of the law, for trial and punishment. This agent must appear within six months after the demand has been passed on and the accused distrained, or the latter will be set at liberty.

Upon the receipt of the demand, the executive or chief magistrate examines the papers, and if they are found to be in all respects regular, and the procedure such as the law prescribes, such officer is in duty bound to deliver the accused into the hands of the agent of the State or territory from which he has fled.

This is a summary proceeding and merely preliminary to the trial of the accused, and the executive or chief-justice has

* 5 *Cal.*, 237. † 7 *Law Rept.*, 386. ‡ 31 *Vt.*, 279.

no authority to try the accused on the question of his guilt or innocence.*

The States are justly very jealous of the rights and immunities of their citizens. In our busy world of intimate intercourse between the citizens of the various States of the Union, security of liberty and person demands that the States should mete out the full measure of their obligations, if such be required to protect even the meanest and most humble of their citizens. A case must be clearly made out and brought within the provisions of the Constitution and the laws relating to extradition, before any State will permit any one claiming a home within its borders and asking protection under its laws to be removed to any other for trial for an alleged offence.† It must be made to appear distinctly and beyond the shadow of a doubt, First: That an offence has been committed that is a crime punishable at law in the demanding State, and this must distinctly appear on the face of the papers.‡ Second: It must be made to appear in the same plain and unmistakable manner, that the person sought to be extradited is an actual fugitive from justice;§ for a person who has only *constructively*, and not *actually*, fled from justice cannot be extradited.‖

The Federal Constitution and the laws of Congress explicitly declare that when any person charged with treason, felony or other crime,¶ in any State or territory, shall flee into another, the governor or executive authority of the State or territory to which he has fled, upon *demand* of the proper officer, accompanied by the proper papers, shall deliver the person so accused into the hands of the agent of the State or territory making the demand. The Federal Constitution and laws of

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* 9 Wend., 212. 3 *Law Bulletin*, 763.

† 18 *Albany L. J.*, 371.

‡ 56 *N. Y.*, 183. 31 *Vt.*, 279. 49 *Cal.*, 434 and 436. 48 *Ind.*, 123. 9 *Texas*, 635. 3 *Law Bulletin*, 192.

§ 2 *Tenn. Rep.*, 586. Eart's *Crown Law*, 837. 4 Hill, 9. 4 Denis, 529. 12 *Am. L. R.*, 602.

‖ Hurd's *Habeas Corpus*, (2d Ed.), 512. 12 *Am. L. R.*, 603. 19 *Albany L. J.*, 113. 3 *Law Bulletin*, 196.

¶ 112 *Mass.*, 409.

Congress, as the supreme law of the land, are addressed to the common-sense of the people, and were not designed, nor are they fit subjects, for trials of logical skill or visionary speculations. Yet, some assuming executives have arrogated to themselves a power which the Constitution does not grant, nor the laws of Congress secure, and exercised what they have been pleased modestly to term a discretion.* That the duty is merely a ministerial one, and also a preliminary one; and that there *is no discretion* in the matter, is patent to the most obtuse.†

Chief-Justice Taney says: "Looking at the language of the clause, it is difficult to comprehend how any doubt could have arisen as to its meaning and construction. The words 'treason, felony or other crime,' in their plain and obvious import as well as in their legal and technical sense, embrace every act forbidden and made punishable by the law of the State. The word 'crime' itself includes every offence, from the highest to the lowest in the grade of offences; and includes what are called misdemeanors, as well as treason and felony."‡ It is plain that in this clause it was "intended to include every offence made punishable by the law of the State in which it was committed." Yet, in the face of this very obvious meaning, both in the letter and spirit of the Constitution and laws of Congress, some executives have had the effrontery, in furtherance of party prejudices, of an individual whim or perverted opinion, to assume a discretion in the matter, and say that it was intended that extradition should apply only to crimes that were recognized as such by the common law; others to crimes which are *malum in se*, and not to those which are merely *malum prohibitum;* others, to such crimes as are recognized as crimes by the laws of both States; others still, like Mr. Seward, that it was intended to apply only to such offences as were recognized as crimes by the laws of the State where and of which the demand is made.

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* 24 How., 66.

† 24 How., 103. 16 Wall., 370. 13 *Ga.*, 135. 32 *N. Y.*, 145. 51 How. (N.Y.), 422.

‡ 24 How., 66.

This article of the Constitution is the legitimate offspring of the colonial arrangements; and, as the Supreme Court has well intimated,* it was evidently intended to continue, consolidate, and perfect these experimental and immature measures.† If we observe closely Chief-Justice Marshall's first rule for the construction of constitutional provisions, and take a literal view of the words,‡ it is difficult to see how any doubt could have existed, or any controversy could possibly have arisen, as to its meaning and the character of the duty or obligation it imposed upon the States; for its language, it seems to us, is as imperative and clear as it could possibly have been made. The early colonial regulations out of which this provision of the Constitution grew, were also imperative and left no discretion in the matter. The whole history of the origin and growth of this provision, as well as the colonial administration of the principle, the opinion *pro re nata* § of Attorney-General Edmund Randolph, the friend and collaborator of Washington, and a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution, and the opinions ‖ of those good and ancient fathers,—all show unmistakably that the intention and design was that this provision should be imperative, cutting off all discretion.¶ Equally imperative and unequivocal is the language of the bill reported by Geo. Cabot, of Massachusetts, January 9th, 1793,** which became the law of the land by the signature of the president on February 12th, 1793, and has continued such to this day. ††

The letter and spirit of this provision of the Constitution and the law of 1793 impose upon the heads of the various States and territories, an obligation or duty, and that too with the exactness of a scientific formula; for the right granted to one State to demand from another a fugitive from justice who

* 24 How., 66.

† 4 Harr., 572. 10 Serg. and Raw., 127. 14 Pet., 540 and 597.

‡ 12 Wheat., 419 and 437.

§ 20 *Am. St. Papers*, 43.

‖ Madison's *Writings*, Vol. I, 66 *et seq.*

¶ *Vide* 5 Elliot's *Debates*, and 2 and 3 Madison's *Papers*.

** *Abridgements of Debates*, 417. Lodge's *Life and Letters of Cabot*, 61.

†† *Rev. Stat. U. S.*, Sec. 5278.

may have sought an asylum within its borders, carries with it the corresponding duty or obligation to deliver up to the demanding State (on its presenting specified papers) the criminal sought. If in some things unreliable, Austin may safely be endorsed when he declares that every right implies a corresponding obligation or duty.*

We think that the Supreme Court of Ohio have enthroned themselves upon an impregnable basis, as well as given to the Constitution and the law of 1793 an interpretation that accords perfectly both with the letter and spirit of the same, when they say :—

"If the governor of one State makes a requisition on the governor of another State for the surrender of a fugitive from justice, and the case is shown to be within the provisions of the Constitution of the United States and the Act of Congress on the subject, no discretion is vested in the latter governor, but it is his imperative duty to issue his warrant of extradition."†

That the duty is obligatory, the office merely ministerial and not judicial, and that there is no discretion in the matter, is the doctrine that has ever obtained among lawyers, judges and text-writers.

It has long been well settled that an indictment found or an affidavit made, a copy of which has been certified to as authentic by the governor or chief magistrate of the State or territory where the indictment was found or the affidavit made—together with the proper demand, if manifestly within the prescribed form, are absolute evidence of crime, so far as extradition is concerned, and no tribunal outside of the State whose law has been infracted has any right or power to inquire into the truthfulness or sufficiency of the indictment or affidavit.‡ And it is a duty expressly enjoined by the Constitution on all officers and all tribunals of neighboring States and territories, to give full faith and credit to these proceedings in a sister State or territory.

* Austin's *Jurisprudence*, Vol. I, Lecture I.

† 3 *Law Bulletin*, 276. 19 *Albany L. J.*, 10.

‡ 112 *Mass.*, 329 and 410. 241 How. (U. S.), 107. 5 Serg. and Raw., 62. 56 *N. Y.*, 187.

There are but three cases of any note on record in which this has not been done. Seward, while Governor of New York, and Dennison, while Governor of Ohio, each refused to honor a demand of the governor of a sister State for the delivery of an escaped slave; and very recently the governor of Massachusetts refused to honor the requisition from the governor of South Carolina for Hiram H. Kimpton, a fugitive from justice. With the first two of these three cases the public are sufficiently familiar. The facts in the last case are as follows:—

At Westfield, Massachusetts, on August 7th, 1878, Hiram H. Kimpton was arrested as a fugitive from justice, who had fled from South Carolina, and was held until the arrival from Governor Hampton of a requisition for his delivery. The requisition, together with a copy of an indictment found by a grand-jury and the certificate of authenticity by Governor Hampton, were referred by Governor Rice to Attorney-General Train to examine and report on as required by the General Statutes of Massachusetts. * This reference of the papers to Mr. Train for his examination as to their form and adequacy, was construed by him to mean a regular hearing of the case; and the learned attorney-general of that Commonwealth, sitting as judge, in a foreign State, with no evidence and without the means of procuring any, save such as the alleged fugitive and his counsel thought proper to introduce, assumed the province of passing upon the sufficiency of an indictment found by a South Carolina grand-jury. His report to Governor Rice is as follows:—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
BOSTON, Aug. 29, 1878.

To His Excellency the Governor:

SIR:—On the 10th instant I received from his honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, a communication inclosing a requisition from his Excellency the governor of South Carolina upon your Excellency for the rendition of one Hiram H. Kimpton, an alleged fugitive from justice, and I was requested to make an examination

* Chap. 117, Sec. 2.

and report under the provisions of the General Statutes, Chapter 117, Sec. 2.

In compliance with the request, I have heard fully the authorities of the State of South Carolina and the respondent, Kimpton, both parties appearing by eminent counsel. All facts deemed by them to be material were put in evidence, and a thorough discussion of the law upon the case has been had. I transmit herewith a report of the proceedings at the hearing as a part of this communication for your Excellency's consideration.

It was claimed on behalf of South Carolina that the requisition complied substantially and formally with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.* In aid thereof, the requisition is accompanied by a copy of the indictment against John J. Patterson, Miles G. Parker, and Hiram H. Kimpton, for a crime committed against the laws of that State, within the State, in March, 1872, which indictment was found in August, 1877; also, an affidavit that Kimpton is a fugitive from justice of that State, and is within the limits of Massachusetts, and the papers are certified by the governor of South Carolina to be duly authenticated; and therefore it was claimed there was no discretion reposed in your Excellency, and that it was your imperative duty forthwith to issue a warrant of extradition, and cause respondent to be delivered to the agent of South Carolina. Should I adopt this doctrine, and so advise your Excellency, I must assume the statute of Massachusetts, which has now been in force for a period of seventy-five years, in aid of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States for the rendition of fugitives from justice, to be an unconstitutional law. Many of the States have no statute on this subject, while many of them have a statute substantially like our own, and it is not improbable that a statute by a State upon this subject is unnecessary. But I shall not presume to declare so ancient a law as our own to be unconstitutional, nor to disturb the practice under it, which is now well settled and thoroughly understood.

The authorities which are relied upon by the learned counsel of South Carolina are entitled to great consideration, but they are controlled by a more recent decision in the case of Taylor *v.* Taintor,† in which it is distinctly held that the executive of the State may exercise discretion in the rendition of a fugitive from justice. I am bound by the law of that case, as well as by our statutes, to inquire and report whether the party whose rendition is required is held in custody or is under recognizance to answer for any offence against the laws of this State, or of the United States, or by force of any civil process; and it is clear that if a party is so held, the executive may, at his discretion, decline to comply with the requisition. It is worthy of remark that in none

* *Rev. Stat. U. S.*, Sec. 5275. † 16 Wallace, 366.

of the cases cited was the question of executive discretion before the court, and its discussion is incidental, so that the doctrine claimed has never been judicially decided. The uniform practice of yourself and your predecessors, so far as I can ascertain, has been to exercise discretion in such cases, not only as to matters specifically named in the statute, but as to any matter which might or ought to control the judgment of the executive. A familiar illustration is to be found when a requisition is made for a party charged with the crime of obtaining property by false pretences. If it is manifest that rendition is sought to enable the prosecutor to collect a debt, and not with the intention of convicting an alleged fugitive of a crime with which he is charged, the uniform practice has been not to comply with the requisition. So, when an indictment has not been sought or found for several years after the alleged commission of a crime, unless satisfactory reasons appeared for a delay, and when an offence is so trivial in its character that it would be a perversion of this great power to put it in exercise, and when it appears that a requisition has been improvidently issued, or that it is for a purpose other and different from that which appears upon its face, a warrant of extradition has always been denied. Other illustrations might be given of the exercise of discretion by the executive in this behalf, but those already given are sufficient for my purpose.

As I have already said, the practice has been uniform since the passage of the first statute, in the year 1801, and the practice in other States of the Union, as I am advised, is the same.

Upon the most careful consideration which I am able to give the question presented, I feel bound to advise your Excellency that Chapter 177 of the General Statutes is constitutional, and that it is your duty to exercise sound discretion in its administration. In the present case, I find, and so report to your Excellency, that the requisition is in due form of law, and that Kimpton is not held in custody, or under recognizance to answer for any offence against the laws of this State, or the United States, or by force of any civil process. Were this the whole of the case, I should advise your Excellency that a warrant of extradition might properly issue, but I find, further, that the crime with which Kimpton stands charged, was committed in April, 1872, and that no attempt was made to prosecute him or his codefendants until August, 1877; nor does it appear that there is any present intention to try them upon the indictment. It does appear that, for many months, negotiations have been going on between the authorities of South Carolina and this respondent, under which he was offered immunity if he would return to that State and volunteer as a witness in her courts, and that this offer was renewed after his arrest here.

Upon all the evidence, I am of opinion that the indictment, when found, was for an ulterior purpose, which does not appear, and not for the purpose of trying him for any supposed crime

against the laws of that State. I, therefore, advise your Excellency that it is not expedient to comply with the request.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
CHARLES R. TRAIN.*

Governor Rice declined to honor the requisition, because in his judgment—which was in accord with that of the attorney-general—it was not the object in procuring the indictment to try the fugitive for the crime charged, but for another purpose—not because the requisition was in any way defective—as fully appears from the following letter to Governor Hampton:

To His Excellency, Wade Hampton, Governor, Columbia, S. C.:

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a requisition from your Excellency, bearing date the 8th day of August, instant, requesting the rendition of one Hiram H. Kimpton, an alleged fugitive from justice. The requisition was referred to the Attorney-General of this Commonwealth, in compliance with the statute thereof, to examine and report whether the same was in due form of law, and whether, upon the facts, the same should be complied with; and that officer has reported to me, after a thorough examination of the law and of the facts in the case, that the practice of the executive of this Commonwealth has uniformly been to deny a requisition when it appears that the purpose of the requisition is other than, and different from, the trial of the alleged offender upon the indictment, a copy of which is annexed and made a part of the requisition. In the present case, in my judgment, the object in procuring the indictment against Patterson, Parker and Kimpton does not appear to be for the purpose of trying Kimpton for the crime charged against him, but for a different purpose. I feel it to be my duty, in the exercise of a sound discretion, to adhere to the practice of my predecessors, and I therefore respectfully decline to accede to your request.

I have the honor to remain
Your Excellency's obedient servant,
ALEXANDER H. RICE.

The evidence adduced before the learned Attorney-General Train, was in substance to the effect that Hiram H. Kimpton, Miles G. Parker and John J. Patterson were jointly indicted in August, 1877, for a conspiracy in 1872 to bribe members of the South Carolina legislature; that in October, 1877, a requisition from Govornor Hampton was honored by

* *Daily Advertiser* (Boston), September 22d, 1878.

Governor Robinson, of New York, as was also a second requisition, sent by another agent in January, 1878; that Governor Hubbard, of Connecticut, honored a similar requisition made in March, 1878; that Kimpton knew of these warrants being out, and fled to Canada to escape arrest; that Kimpton, through one D. T. Corbin, in June, 1878, endeavored to secure immunity for himself, by making overtures to the authorities of South Carolina; said authorities, agreeing, if Kimpton would return to South Carolina and tell all he knew about the financial affairs of the State, and if said testimony should prove of any service in bringing any criminal to justice, and should be used, that all indictments against him should be dropped; but if such testimony should prove to be of no service to the State, and should not be used, that he should be permitted peaceably to return to the north, and things should remain as they were before. This proposition Kimpton rejected.

Kimpton and his counsel conceded that the requisition was regular and in due form; that the Massachusetts courts, and all others before which the question has come up, have held that whether the indictment is good is a question to be determined by the courts of the State sending the requisition. Their defence was that the object of the State, as shown by the negotiations of her authorities, was not to prosecute him for any crime he was supposed to have committed, but to secure him as a witness before the "Bond Court," which was created for the purpose of passing upon the bonded indebtedness of the State. This assertion was denied by South Carolina, and the attorney-general of that State, who was present at the trial before Mr. Train, expressly declared that he intended to try Kimpton on the indictment which had been found against him, and that he did not want him for any other purpose.

Ignoring the declaration of his brother in office from the south, Mr. Train says: "The crime with which Kimpton stands charged was committed in April, 1872, and no attempt was made to prosecute him or his codefendants, until August, 1877; nor does it appear that there is any present

intention to try them on the indictment." * * * "I am of opinion that the indictment, when found, was for an ulterior purpose, which does not appear, and not for the purpose of trying him for any supposed crime against the laws of the State."

The fact that the crime for which Kimpton was indicted was committed in April, 1872, and that no attempt was made to prosecute him until August, 1877, is considered by Mr. Train a sufficient "train" of circumstances to warrant him in impugning the motive of the State, and in doubting or denying the express declarations of her authorities. But for the calm and judicial mind, they fall short of the required standard. Men of ordinary intellect, who are versed in the laws of language, skilled in dialectics, and familiar with the rules of evidence, are at a loss to understand what the declaration of the attorney-general meant; what the telegrams of Governor Hampton to Governor Rice, after the arrest, asking him to hold Kimpton until the arrival of the requisition, meant; what the indictment and attempted arrest meant, if they did not mean that Kimpton had transgressed the laws of the State, and that for this transgression the State sought to try him.

In the light of all the facts in the case, the conduct of Governor Rice is a violation of the principles of equity which ought to subsist between the States of the Union. He refused to perform an unmistakable duty, imposed upon him by the supreme law of the land, but which there is no sanction to enforce; while he assumed judicial powers which the Constitution does not grant and the laws of Congress do not secure; and impugned the sincerity and good faith of a sister State, which is expressly prohibited by the laws. These laws guarantee full faith and credit to all acts of the courts of the various States and territories.

But, let the bearings of the Hampton-Rice controversy be what they may, it is indispensable to the order and stability of society, as well as to the existence of comity between the State governments, that the provisions of the Constitution relative to interstate extradition of fugitives from justice should be recognized as the law of the land and preserved inviolate.

ART. VIII.—THE NEW EASTERN QUESTION.

1. *Official Returns of Egyptian Trade, 1870–79.*
2. *Egypt as it is.* By J. C. McCOAN.
3. *Afghanistan.* By A. G. CONSTABLE.
4. *Central Asia and the Russian Possessions There.* By CAPT. L. KOSTENKO.

ALL great political problems have a tendency to embody themselves in some one tangible symbol; and the so-called "Eastern Question," having once adopted the emblem of Constantinople, is popularly held to signify that and nothing more. But, in reality, the struggle of the Tartar and Slavonic races for the possession of the Bosphorus is only a small part of the mighty question at issue, viz.: the future destiny of the whole Oriental world. The real problem which now confronts Europe is simply this: "Given three hundred millions of men—to find a place and a use for them."

It is a trite truth, that the decay of a great system is often more formidable than its fullest vigor. A growing oak offers shade and shelter to all who approach it; the same oak, when it falls, crushes to death every living thing within the radius of its overthrow. It needs no demonstration to show that the long duel of armed Christianity with armed Heathenism has ended in the triumph of the former, and that the latter's strongest champion, Turkey, has virtually ceased to exist as an independent State, all its movements being either directly or indirectly controlled by Christian sovereigns and Christian statesmen. But this, far from being the end of the Eastern difficulty, is only its commencement. The impulse that once carried the followers of Mohammed into every capital from Jerusalem to Grenada, is indeed dead forever; but the ablest

political experts are still in doubt as to the best mode of disposing of the body.

There was a time, indeed, when this question involved no such perplexities. To the straightforward intellect of mediæval Europe, the one self-evident mode of dealing with non-Christian humanity was the simple method of extermination. "Death to the infidel!" was the watchword of every Christian warrior, from the Teutonic knights of the Vistula to the pious hidalgos of the Guadalquivir; and any one who had presumed to think otherwise, would have been either laughed at as an idiot or burned as a heretic. But this Cromwellian reform measure is no longer possible, and the aim of modern policy is not to destroy, but to utilize. The European Samson has rent in twain the lion of barbarism, and the bees of colonization, traffic, and industry, are beginning to hive in the carcass. Christian France has conquered Moslem Algeria. Christian Russia has annexed Pagan Tartary. Christian England is mistress of both Bramin and Mohammedan India. Even the countries which still remain independent—fire-worshipping Persia, bigoted Egypt, "Suni" * Afghanistan, Buddhistic China—are all beginning to feel the universal influence; and the new world, like another Æneas, is supporting the decrepit age of the old world upon its strong shoulders. The haunting "Eastern Question" has embodied itself in a new form. It is no longer "Who shall have Constantinople?" bnt "Who shall have Egypt and Central Asia?" In the former case, the rival claimants are England and France; in the latter, England and Russia.

It must be owned that such prizes are worth contending for. Since Alexander the Great changed the course of the world's commerce by substituting Alexandria for Tyre, the value of Egypt, whether as an important strategic centre or as a great commercial highway, has never been more conspicu-

* The Shiah sect, which is strong in Persia, reveres as a saint Mohammed's son-in-law Ali, who is rejected by the Sunis. To such a height has this feud been carried, that an Afghan chief, when entreated by an English officer to spare the life of one of his Persian captives, replied sternly: "Were this dog only an unbeliever, Sahib, you should be obeyed; but, being a Shiah, he must die!"

ous than now. Its soil is preëminently fertile. Its northern provinces are traversed by seventeen well-constructed railroads. The possession of the Nile gives it a direct and commodious highway into the very heart of Africa. Its situation between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, within two days' voyage of Italy and three of Constantinople, makes it the natural thoroughfare of east and west, just as Syria was in the days of caravans. What such a country might be in capable hands, it is difficult to overstate; what it is in non-capable hands, those who have seen it can judge for themselves. To it, even more justly than to Spain, may be applied the bitter old Spanish proverb, "God gave it a bad government, lest the angels should forsake heaven to settle there."

The late czar's attempt to use Egypt as a bribe to secure England's connivance at his designs upon Turkey in 1853, showed how its importance was then appreciated; but it had been even more markedly recognized by the first Napoleon, who, in 1798, made Lower Egypt the base of the most colossal of all his schemes of conquest. Marching toward Syria along the coast, and reducing the seaboard fortresses one by one, he meant to raise all Asia Minor in revolt against the sultan, to overwhelm Turkey with levies of native troops consolidated by his French veterans, and then, seating himself upon the throne of Constantinople, to fall with all the might of the revived Byzantine Empire upon England's Asiatic possessions. But these mighty possibilities vanished like a dream before the hard, practical logic of Sir Sidney Smith's defence of Acre, and Nelson's victory at Aboukir; and the same scheme, revived on a smaller scale in 1839, by the restless genius of Egypt's greatest ruler, Mehemet Ali Pasha, was a second time shattered by the sword of England, whose chief ally on that occasion, singularly enough, was her former opponent France.

And now, in the fulness of time, the affairs of Egypt are under consideration once more, and France and England are again the presiding judges. It is natural enough that "the key of the East," as the Nile valley was justly styled by Napoleon, should be jealously watched by the two great

powers, and that neither should be willing to let it pass absolutely into the hands of the other. Of the two, England has undoubtedly the best claims, whether as the mistress of India, or as the owner of the lion's share of Egypt's foreign trade. But France, too, has rights of her own, which are not to be despised. The Suez Canal was a purely French enterprise, and is still partly in French hands. On the roll of Egyptian commerce, France stands second to England herself, and far above every other nation, not excepting even Austria.

The official returns of native traffic for 1878 give a total of $22,465,000, of which England is credited with $12,905,000, and France with $4,040,000. The exports during the same period amounted to $63,750,000, of which England's share was $45,280,000, and that of France $7,820,000. Moreover, the French empire in India actually preceded that of Britain, and the countrymen of Lally and Dupleix still retain some fragments of their once magnificent Oriental dominion; nor have they ever wholly relinquished the hope of one day enlarging these into something not altogether unworthy of their former consequence in the East.

To effect any compromise, where both parties are so deeply interested, may well appear difficult; but it is possible nevertheless. England has already annexed Cyprus; France wishes to annex Tunis. Were the two powers, thus holding a flanking position on either side of the disputed territory, to establish a joint protectorate over it, supported by a powerful allied cruising squadron in Levantine waters, a permanent barrier would be opposed to Russian ambition, and the lives and property of Oriental Christians secured far more effectually than by any Turkish "guarantee," made only to be broken. The projected Euphrates Valley Railroad might then, like the Suez Canal, be held in common; and the down-trodden fellaheen of Egypt and Syria would hail with joy the advent of a government which would neither grind out their last *para* by over-taxation, nor kill them by inches with forced labor. *

* This is no figure of speech. The famous Mahmoodieh Canal, by which Mehemet Ali connected Alexandria with the interior of the Delta, was con-

To elevate the imbruted native population, indeed, will undoubtedly be a hard task; but it is worth attempting. Men of superhuman patience and frugality, trained from childhood to obey without hesitation, and to bear the sorest hardships and sufferings without complaint, have in them the material which forms good soldiers and good citizens. What they can do in the former capacity, under a competent leader, was amply shown by the wonderful campaign of 1839; what they may be in the latter, under a competent administration, the world may hereafter learn to its amazement.

Nor are these the only benefits derivable from a European protectorate of Egypt. Such a measure would break the very main-spring of the ferocious Moslem propagandism which, within the last twelvemonth, has kindled the flames of a fierce though short-lived rebellion in every country from Syria to Morocco. Islam, like Christendom, has a Nihilism of its own, similar in organization, although diametrically opposite in purpose. The European Nihilist aims at overthrowing the established order of things; his Mussulman counterpart perils limb and life to preserve it. All reforms, all improvements, are a deadly offence to this gloomy conservatism, which is even more bitter against Moslem rulers suspected of being under Christian influence (such as the ex-khedive of Egypt) than against the Christians themselves.

The machinery of this formidable system is composed of five secret societies, viz.: the Khowan, which has its seat at Mecca, the Abd'-ul-Kader of Bagdad, planted in the city whose name it bears, the Bektashi and Issawiye, which centre in Yemen, the southernmost province of Arabia, and the terrible Darkawi (justly styled the Jesuit order of Islam) which has appropriately fixed itself in that hot-bed of Moslem bigotry, the miniature Empire of Morocco. All these societies, like the mediæval Templars and the modern Jesuits, have been gradually transformed from purely religious

structed in this way, and cost, on the lowest estimate, upwards of twenty thousand lives. The writer, himself, when crossing Lower Egypt, in 1870, saw thousands of Arabs, including many gray-headed men and not a few children, laboring to repair the breach made by a flood in the Nile embankment, and lashed without mercy by the whips of their native overseers.

brotherhoods into formidable political engines; and many of their directors are themselves freethinkers of the boldest type, while stimulating and utilizing the religious enthusiasm which they despise. Every year the deputies of the five orders meet at Mecca to arrange their future operations, brought by Christian steamers and Christian railways to plot the ruin of Christianity, and concert the murder or deposition of any Moslem ruler who may have dared to think of reform. The central position of Egypt, and its nearness to their great rendezvous at Mecca, render it a chosen field for the operations of these political Thugs, whose plots, almost unimpeded by the feeble and capricious rule of the late khedive, require the strong hand of European discipline to check them; and this want would be most effectually supplied by the joint protectorate already suggested.

The question of the final disposal of Central Asia (which represents the centre of Mohammedanism in the east as Egypt does in the west) is much less easily settled. In this latter case the conflicting claimants are mortal enemies instead of friendly rivals; and whereas Egypt is in no case to make any resistance to European intervention, the opposition likely to be offered by the fierce mountain-races of the Hindoo-Koosh will not be easily overcome. Overcome, indeed, it must ultimately be; but whether by England or by Russia, the future alone can decide.

It is worth while to notice, however, the strange and almost ludicrous manner in which the present difficulty has evolved itself from an arrangement that had apparently settled the affairs of the East once and forever. The power of Britain was supreme as far north as the Himalaya, that of Russia as far south as the Oxus; and it would certainly have been difficult to find two natural frontiers more strongly marked or more easily defended. Between them lay the savage mountain tract of Afghanistan, which, poor, unproductive, lawless, possessing no advantages that could repay the cost and labor of its conquest, seemed formed by nature to be a neutral zone between the two great masters of Asia. For a time, both were content to leave it such; but this wise

policy was soon abandoned. In 1872, the Ameer Shere Ali, frightened by the real or imaginary support given by Russia to the claimants of his crown, applied to England for help. Russia at once took the alarm, suspecting England of intending to interfere actively in the affairs of Afghanistan. England, in her turn, conceived the same suspicion of Russia; and the mutual distrust thus engendered was heightened by every new precaution adopted on either side, till at length the reciprocal attitude of the two powers realized to the letter Thackeray's famous definition of the War of the Spanish Succession, as "two kings perpetually running away from each other."

But, however commenced, this strange dispute must inevitably be carried through to the end. Nothing can now push back the two rivals to the status of 1871; and both are working vigorously to secure the ground which they have severally gained. England has projected a railway from the western border of India, through the Bolan Pass, to Quettah and Kandahar, which would enable her to pour her troops at will into the very heart of Afghanistan. Russia is preparing to open herself a direct military highway into the interior of Central Asia, by once more diverting the Oxus into the Caspian Sea. She has likewise despatched two expeditions against the great caravan centre of Merv (the nominal capital of the Tekke-Turkomans), which, whether as occupying the sole habitable spot in the great central desert, or as commanding the only direct approach to Herat from the north, down the valley of the Moorgh-Ab, is unquestionably one of the most important strategic points on the Afghan border.

In conducting this advance—ostensibly aimed at Merv, but really at Herat itself—Russia has shown her matchless powers of diplomacy more strikingly than ever. England has been repeatedly warned of the vital importance of securing Herat, and has at length begun to awake to the necessity of doing so. Such a step would have checkmated Russia's designs at the very outset; and it thus became indispensable to divert the efforts of England into another channel. This purpose was admirably served by the Kabul tragedy of last Autumn. The

guilty city at once assumed an exaggerated importance in British eyes, and England concentrated all her energy upon a secondary and comparatively worthless object, while Russia strode forward to the real goal, which, but for her unforeseen defeat by the Turkomans at Geok-Tepe, she would in all probability have reached already.

The prestige of Kabul as the nominal capital of Afghanistan (which has in reality no capital whatever) has invested it with an importance more properly due to Herat; but this factitious consequence is literally the only recommendation which it possesses. Lying in the midst of an open plain, it is completely exposed to any advance of Russian troops from the north-west, while its sole direct line of communication with British India lies through a succession of gloomy and terrific ravines, swarming with fierce guerrillas, and liable to be rendered impassable by a single heavy snow-storm.

With Herat the case is far otherwise. As a strategic point, its central position on the great southern road from Merv into the interior, three hundred and sixty miles west of Kabul, and one hundred and ninety south-east of the great Persian city of Meshid, gives it the command both of eastern Persia and western Afghanistan. As a centre of traffic, it is the meeting-point of four great commercial highways, and the recognized mart for the wares of Russia, Turkey and Persia on one side, and those of China, Afghanistan, and British India on the other. As a fortress, its commanding position upon a rocky plateau twenty-five hundred feet above the sea, and the once formidable though now ruinous walls that surround it, have enabled it to hold out more than once against a force which had subdued every other part of the country. It holds the direct route to Kandahar (three hundred and fifty miles distant), the natural, and formerly the actual, Afghan metropolis. In all ages, Herat has been the chosen basis of an advance upon India from the north, and the first point aimed at alike by native insurgents and foreign invaders.* Such a prize is well worth striking for;

* Herat has been twice besieged by the Persians, who actually got possession of it in October, 1856, but were compelled by England to restore it six

and there can be no doubt that, were Russia to yield to England, in exchange for it, not merely Kandahar and Kabul, but all the rest of Afghanistan likewise, the bargain would still be greatly in her favor.

That such is Russia's own conviction, her recent utterances prove beyond a doubt. A few months ago, she intimated to England her willingness to "permit the destruction of Kabul," while at the same time demanding an assurance that England "will not occupy Herat"—a fair index, indeed, to her own estimate of the relative value of both cities. This opinion is manifestly shared by another power which may yet become formidably important in the pending contest, viz.: Persia. The acquisition of Herat has for years been the latter's main object, both from its own intrinsic value, and as a means of dealing a heavy blow to her hereditary enemies, the Afghans. The mutual hatred of the two races, embittered by the religious feud already mentioned, is the growth of centuries; and neither the Afghan conquest of Persia in 1720, nor the crushing counter-stroke of Nadir Shah ten years later, can be easily forgotten by either.

Such an ally, so situated, is just what England requires. Years ago, Mr. Edward Eastwick, a man who knew Persia thoroughly, urged upon the British Government the importance of securing the friendship of a State which holds toward Russia in India the same formidable flanking position that Austria holds in Europe. But England neglected the golden opportunity, and Russia seized it. The capture of Tabriz, and the humiliating treaty of Turkmentchai, reduced the shah to the dependent position in which he still remains.

Even now, however, it is not quite too late. Persia, conquered and humbled, has no love for her conqueror, and would readily turn against her if assured of powerful support from without. An offer on England's part to guarantee the shah the possession of long-coveted Herat, would be amply sufficient to secure the latter's coöperation; and an Anglo-

months later. It was also the centre of the rebellion kindled in 1874 against the Ameer Shere Ali by his sons Yakoob and Ayoob Khan, the latter of whom still holds his court there.

Persian alliance, supported by a British subsidy and a British contingent, would serve at once to repress the Afghans on the one hand, and to checkmate the Russians on the other. But Russia is quite as well aware of all this as England herself. It was not by accident that the former paraded all her power and splendor before the shah's wondering eyes in 1873, immediately *previous* to his first visit to London. It was not by accident that one of her leading journals recently proposed to give Herat to Persia in exchange for a strip of terrritory south of the Attreck, which might facilitate an advance upon Merv from the Caspian—thus anticipating England in the use of the very weapon which the latter might herself have employed against Russia. Nor does the cabinet of St. Petersburg rely solely upon its diplomatic abilities, wonderful as they are. The same Russian journal which lately announced that "the influence of Britain was believed to be supplanting that of Russia at the Court of Teheran," significantly added that troops were being massed in the Caucasus, "as a precaution in the event of a possible rupture with Persia."

The foregoing facts may suffice to show that Gen. Roberts' recent successes, so far from being the end of the Anglo-Afghan difficulty, are merely its commencement. Kabul is again taken, the treacherous ameer virtually a prisoner, the blood-stained citadel a heap of ruins, the Afghan throne without an occupant. But, with all this, the troublesome problem is as far from a satisfactory solution as ever. Indeed, the mere question of the succession (now that Yakoob Khan has himself resigned the thankless eminence at which he grasped so eagerly a few months ago) is no slight difficulty in itself. The natural claimants are three in number—Ayoob Khan, Yakoob's brother, Abd'-ul-Rahman, his first cousin, and Ahmed Ali, his nephew.

The first named of this trio, Ayoob, is also the least important, having been, from first to last, nothing more than a tool of his designing brother the ex-ameer. When the latter, suspected of complicity in the revolts of Abd'-ul-Rahman and Mohammed Isa Khan, fled in 1870 from the court of his father, Shere Ali, to Herat, he was accompanied by Ayoob,

who sided with him during the subsequent rebellion, and even held Herat for him after its failure.* But both in resolution and in natural ability he is immeasurably inferior to his nephew Ahmed Ali, the son of Shere Ali's eldest son Mohammed. The latter, now a handsome, intelligent, and well-educated youth of twenty, is already spoken of as the probable choice of the British Government, his only brother being disqualified by the fact of his having been born deaf and dumb. To such a selection, however, Russia would infallibly oppose Abd'-ul-Rahman, who has become pretty thoroughly Russianized during his prolonged residence at Tashkent, where he has lived upon a yearly pension of $15,000 allowed him by the Russian Government, ever since his expulsion from Afghanistan by his uncle Shere Ali in January, 1869.

All these complications, however, are merely the natural and inevitable result of England's ill-judged attempt to unite two incompatible agencies, material coercion and moral obligation. Not without reason did Machiavelli assert that "nothing is more unwise than half-way severities, the only safe blows to inflict upon men or nations being those which are too heavy to be avenged." The force brought to bear upon Afghanistan last Winter was just sufficient to exasperate without subduing it; and hence the necessity of doing the work over again. Left to itself, Afghanistan would probably have troubled the masters of India but little; completely conquered and beaten down, it would have troubled them still less. But to think of binding the fierce Kabulis by "moral guarantees," or to expect a treacherous murderer like Yakoob Khan to keep his word under any suasion less potent than that of levelled bayonets, matches the crowning freak of Philip of Burgundy. That great ruler, we are told, baptized his pet leopard, and then allowed it to run at large, in the firm belief that it would never again molest its biped fellow-Christians, till a sudden demonstration against his own anointed person scared him into supplementing the baptism with a bullet.

* Of Shere Ali's five sons, Yakoob and Ayoob are now the only survivors, two of the others having been killed in battle, while the father's special favorite, Abd'-Allah Jan, died in August, 1878.

The fact is, that this wild region has been mistaken by its British neighbors for a homogeneous State, whereas it is merely an incongruous medley of diverse and not unfrequently hostile clans. Any English statesman who, a century ago, should have treated the Highlands of Scotland as one organized whole, would have committed a precisely similar error. The subjugation of the Ghiljies of Ghazni and Kabul will have as little effect upon the Duranis of the Hindoo-Koosh, or the Kiptchaks of the Kashgar-Davan, as the overthrow of the Campbells would have had upon the Camerons or the Macdonalds. It is this which makes the Afghan problem so formidable. To march upon the capital of a civilized State, is like facing a wild beast which can be killed by a shot through heart or brain; to battle with a nation of guerrillas is to strike at a jelly-fish, which has neither blood, brain, nor heart, and must be dismembered piecemeal. The capture of Paris overthrew France at a blow; but with hostile garrisons in every city from Badajoz to Pampeluna, Spain still fought on. Afghanistan is the Spain of Central Asia, and its present condition shows how little "decisive victories" have availed the invaders.

English officialism still deprecates the idea of actual conquest; but it can hardly be expected that Britain should waste blood and treasure, year after year, in sending her troops to repress the disorders of men whose yataghans are at every English throat the moment a bayonet is withdrawn from their own. "The conquest of Afghanistan," says the St. Petersburg *Golos*, the most accurate and far-sighted of Russian semi-official journals, "has now become a fatal necessity;" and the rebellion kindled last September in the three northern provinces by Russia's influence, shows that she is well-disposed to make it as fatal to the conqueror as to the conquered. In fact, what Russia really desires is to avoid both the trouble of holding Afghanistan herself, and the danger of letting it fall to England, by keeping it as a neutral zone between the two frontiers, under a ruler ostensibly independent, but secretly controlled in every action by Russian diplomacy.

It is precisely in such points as these that Russia shows

her superiority. Both nations began their career in the East with a full recognition of the important axiom, that an Asiatic must be regarded *as* an Asiatic, and not as a European. But while Russia has steadfastly adhered to this principle from first to last, England has long since departed from the wise policy that gave her the empire of India. Lord Clive and Warren Hastings met craft with superior craft, force with superior force; and the result was the victory of Plassey and the conquest of Bengal. Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough and their successors, attempted to conciliate human tigers, relied upon the pledges of men to whom falsehood was a second nature, and imposed "moral obligations" upon a class which had as little moral sense as a crocodile. The result was the Khoord-Kabul massacre of 1842, and the Sepoy mutiny of 1857.

That diplomacy should be tried previous to force, is the maxim alike of common-sense and humanity. But while England was driven to appeal to force as a remedy for the blunders of diplomacy, Russia only employed force to secure what diplomacy had already won. Not a shot was fired to coerce the Georgians of 1801, or the Kirghiz of 1862, into seeking her protection, and calling themselves her subjects; but when once they *had* done so, ball and bayonet were freely used against all who attempted to molest them. Had General Ignatieff been Viceroy of Kabul in 1841, instead of Sir William McNaghten, the destruction of the British army would never have occurred. Had Sir William been sent to negotiate General Ignatieff's treaty of 1857 with the Ameer of Bokhara, he would have drawn upon himself the same fate that overtook him in Afghanistan.

Nor are these startling contrasts to be wholly accounted for (though they may undoubtedly be so to a considerable extent) by the hackneyed theory that the Russian is a born diplomatist, and that his semi-Asiatic nature gives him a peculiar aptitude for dealing with Oriental races. All this is true enough; but surely any man of average intelligence can discover for himself, without being either a diplomatist or a semi-Asiatic, that men are wont to prefer those who respect

their feelings and opinions to those who are perpetually contradicting and affronting them. The former has been Russia's habitual method; the latter, most unfortunately, has been that of England.

Why this is so, may be seen at a glance. To the sturdy common-sense of the Anglo-Saxon, proud of his freedom from all "humbug," and somewhat too prone to stigmatize as humbug whatever differs from his own ideas, nothing can be more absurd than the spectacle of a man who thinks the eating of a beefsteak more damnable than fifty murders, shudders at the thought of being contaminated by drinking from the cup of a European, singes off a tiger's whiskers to prevent its ghost from haunting him, and reveres monkeys, oxen, and the waters of a river. But although such things may be called trifles, even trifles are worth noticing when they can produce such a convulsion as that of 1857. To an educated Russian, the childish superstitions of the Oriental are as contemptible as to any Englishman; but he has nevertheless the tact to humor them, and herein lies the secret of his success. While holding fast the substantial advantages which are precious to *her*, Russia wisely concedes to her vassals the all-important trifles which are so precious to *them;* and thus both parties are equally satisfied. This sagacious policy is very aptly exemplified by the remark of a noted Russian officer, who has for a long time held an important post in Central Asia. A friend having expressed some surprise at the popularity which the general, despite his proverbial severity, manifestly enjoyed among the natives, the latter quietly answered: "Well, you see, whenever any native comes to me with a complaint, I let him say his say out to the very end, without interrupting him; for I find that these fellows prefer a little oppression to having their words cut short."

Such, then, is the situation. That the affairs of Central Asia can be finally settled without some actual trial of strength between its two rival claimants, seems almost impossible; but whichever may remain the conqueror, the gain to civilization will unquestionably be immense. Allusion has already been made to the Russian scheme of turning the Oxus once again

into the Caspian Sea, and the British counter-project of a railway from the Anglo-Indian frontier through the Bolan Pass to Kandahar. The importance of two such enterprises—the one bringing the very centre of Afghanistan within easy reach of British India, while the other throws open its northern and more inaccessible portion to a direct communication with European Russia—can hardly be overrated. The extinction of independent Mohammedanism in Central Asia, thus caught as it were between two fires, would then be a mere question of time; and the last great stronghold of eastern barbarism would be laid open, once for all, to the advance of western civilization.

Granting the power of the Oxus, after so many years of progressive diminution, to furnish a volume of water capable of traversing the additional length of channel assigned to it, the Russian project is feasible enough; and its accomplishment will put the coping-stone to the great edifice which she has been rearing so long and so laboriously in the far East. Up to the present time, local conditions of soil and climate have forced the conquerors of Turkistan to cling to the few rivers that break the savage sterility of the great central desert; and thus the territory actually held by Russia bears the same proportion to the whole country as the rind to the apple. Between and around the two great arteries of the Syr-Daria and the Oxus—which converge toward each other like two outstretched hands meeting at the finger-tips—lies a boundless waste of steppe, over which the Kirghiz and the Turkoman roam at will; and in order to complete the structure of Asiatic Russia, these void places must be thoroughly filled in.

The means of achieving this—the studding of the eastern shore of the Caspian with military posts, the connecting of it with the Black Sea by prolonging the Poti-Tiflis railway to Baku, the conquest of Khiva, and its conversion into a stepping-stone toward Merv and Badakhshan—have been present to Russia's mind for years past. Already the hardest part of the work is accomplished. Khiva and the lower Oxus are in Russian hands. The great plain of Ust-Urt, lying between them and the Caspian, has been pretty effectually "pacificated" by

constant raids from the posts of Mangishlak, Krasnovodsk and Tchikishliar. The pending advance up the Attreck to Merv (about five hundred miles in a direct line) offers no natural obstacles worthy of mention, except the passage of the Merv desert itself, while the opposition of the robber-tribes of Khorasan may be laughed at by a well-appointed Russian detachment. Merv once occupied, its communications with the Caspian established by a chain of forts along the Attreck, and the Oxus traversed by Russian gunboats, Russia will have an admirable post from which to observe Afghanistan and India, while her control of Persia will enable her at the same time to watch England's progress in the Euphrates valley.

The natural base for these operations is, of course, the Caucasus, formerly the Afghanistan of eastern Europe, and seemingly the most impregnable of all the remaining centres of independent Mohammedanism. But Russia's tenacity has proved more than a match for even the fierce energy of fanaticism, and her hold upon this wild region is now sufficiently firm to leave her no excuse for resorting to the cruel precaution of a wholesale deportation of the native tribes to some distant region. Another Schamyl is as impossible as another Mohammed; and the ill-concerted and abortive revolt of 1877 shows that the time for such attempts has gone by for ever. Already a splendid military road, practicable for artillery, crosses the very backbone of the great range from Tiflis to Vladikavkaz; and when the completion of the North-western Railway *via* Stavropol shall connect both points with the Don valley and Moscow (rendering it possible to reënforce at will the one hundred and sixty-seven thousand troops that garrison the Caucasus) Russia's new base will be complete.

Nor is the commercial aspect of the scheme less inviting than its military side. The diversion of the Oxus into the Caspian, if successful, may be supplemented by a realization of M. de Lesseps' famous project of an "Orenburg-Samarcand Railway," bridging the Kirghiz steppes from the Ural to the mouth of the Syr-Daria, and thence following the course of the great river itself. The men and machinery

which they have so long lacked would then be supplied to the rich mines of iron, lead, copper, silver, and coal, in the mountains dividing Turkistan from China. The Oxus, navigable as far as the junction of the Ak-Sarai, near the town of Koondooz in north-eastern Afghanistan, would serve as an admirable highway for the trade of Bokhara, which even now has an annual value of nearly $30,000,000. The embryo silk-factories of Khodjent, the undeveloped mines of rubies and lapis-lazuli in Badakhshan, would be fairly opened at last. Kashgar, now once more in Chinese hands, would readily accord to Russian merchants the privileges that they formerly sought in vain from the watchful suspicion of its Mussulman usurper, Yakoob Beg; and Russian Turkistan, hitherto only a source of enormous expense, might become one of the most profitable among the eastern possessions of the czar.

The Kandahar Railway, again, although perhaps more important from a strategic than a commercial point of view, will undoubtedly, when completed, become a most efficient pioneer of civilization. Nor does it present any natural obstacles that can be regarded as serious by a generation which has seen the Mont Cenis Tunnel and the Suez Canal. Its total length will be barely three hundred and thirty miles, for the most part through a perfectly practicable country, the real difficulty being the passage of the famous Bolan Pass, which forms the southern, as the Khybar forms the eastern, gateway of Afghanistan.

The natural starting-point of the line is the city of Shikarpoor (Hunter's Town) on the right bank of the Indus, and about forty miles from the frontier of Beloochistan, the easternmost angle of which interposes itself at this point between Afghanistan and India. The intervening country is an alluvial plain, intersected by the countless tributaries of the Indus; but beyond the frontier the spurs of the Hala range break up the surface into a rugged and hilly tract, about one hundred miles in width, culminating at length in the formidable precipices that wall in the Bolan Pass.

The steepness and ruggedness of this famous gorge (which, with a length of 50 miles, has an ascent of 90 feet in the

mile, and rises at one point to a hight of 5,793 feet above the sea) combine with the dashing and foaming of the turbulent river that rushes through it, to make its difficulties appear more formidable than they really are. How easily they may be surmounted, has been shown by the successful passage of the defile, during the Afghan campaign of 1839, by a British detachment with a considerable train of artillery. Once past the fortress of Quettah, which commands the northern entrance of the gorge, the rest of the work is easy enough. A few small rivers to be bridged, a few rocky ridges to be crossed—and the way is clear to Kandahar, towards which the railway is advancing at the rate of a mile daily.

The importance of this city to the future masters of Afghanistan is evident at a glance. Its situation in the midst of a fertile plain, with an abundant supply of water from two canals, marks it as an excellent site for a standing camp. It forms a natural "half-way house" to either Herat or Kabul, lying three hundred and fifty miles to the south-east of the former, and two hundred and twenty to the south-west of the latter, while the prolongation of the railway to either point is a perfectly feasible undertaking. Finally, it has a special importance in the eyes of the Afghans themselves, as their metropolis during the most glorious period of their national history—bearing, in fact, the same relation to Kabul as Moscow to St. Petersburg. The establishment of direct communication between British India and this great national centre, opening up at one stroke a country as large as Germany, must infallibly work wonders for the cause of civilization. The railroad has already proved itself, in every part of the world, the most powerful of all civilizing agents; and it may safely be predicted, that the exclusiveness of creed will avail as little against it in Afghanistan, as the exclusiveness of caste has availed in British India, where the high-class Bramin may now be seen travelling side by side with the Sudra workman, whose very presence he would once have regarded as an inexpiable contamination.

With this great national highway once opened to the south of the Oxus, and the Orenburg-Samarcand line in operation to

the north of it—with a railway from the south seaboard of the Caspian to Teheran, and thence eastward *via* Meshid to join the Afghan system at Herat, while Russian steamers periodically descend the Volga and ascend the Oxus—Asia would indeed have a chance of development such as she has never had before. Nor is this picture by any means visionary or Utopian. The project of a railway through Persia has been repeatedly discussed, and the shah is understood to look upon it with favor. The Anglo-Indian lines have already overcome obstacles far more formidable than any which present themselves in Afghanistan or Central Asia; and the strong hand of western discipline may be trusted to overmatch any opposition which eastern lawlessness or fanaticism may offer.

In Mohammedan Africa, again, a similar movement is making rapid progress. Lower Egypt is already one great network of converging lines, which is gradually extending itself up the Nile. A railway now runs parallel with the Algerian coast, linking Oran to Algiers, while Constantine, the eastern capital of the province, is similarly connected with more than one of the principal seaports. Another line is being carried eastward to the frontier of Tunis, to meet the western railway in process of construction from the capital of that State, which France makes no secret of her intention to annex sooner or later. Tunis once annexed, Tripoli must inevitably follow, and the influence of Christendom will thus become predominant along the whole African seaboard from Syria to Morocco.

Even these colossal results, however, are very far from solving the question of the future destiny of the Moslem world. The Mussulman nations of Africa and Asia, although they may cease to be independent, cannot cease to exist; and a few plain statistics will suffice to show how weighty a responsibility the bare fact of their existence will impose upon their Christian rulers. The British possessions in Asia, including Farther India and the adjacent islands, contain, in round numbers, 210,000,000 souls. The portion of Central Asia lying north of the Oxus has a population of 18,300,000, of which 10,730,000 belong to the actual dominions of Russia,

and the remainder to the districts which are still nominally independent. The population of Afghanistan is variously rated at from 4,000,000 to 7,500,000, the former being probably the more reliable estimate. Turning from Asia to Africa, we find that Egypt—including, of course, the recently annexed territory in the Soudan—musters 8,000,000 inhabitants. Tripoli contributes 750,000 more, Tunis 2,000,000, Algeria 2,921,241; and an aggregate of these figures gives us the formidable total of 245,971,241 human beings, who either are, or shortly will be, under the control of Europe, differing widely from each other in race, religion and habits, often bitterly hostile to one another, but always at least equally so to the "infidels" of the west. It needs no very profound sagacity to perceive, that the governing and civilizing of so vast and incongruous a multitude will prove a far harder task than their subjugation has been.

Some critics, it is true, with the fluent readiness of utter ignorance, settle this complicated question easily enough. "All that we have to do," say they, "is to make laws, and then enforce strict obedience to them." This is easily said, without doubt; but it is not quite so easily done. Ancient Rome tried the same method with the Jews, and the result was the bloodiest rebellion chronicled in history. The Papacy tried it with mediæval Europe, and the result was the loss of half its empire by the great schism of the Reformation. England tried it with her Asiatic subjects, and the result was the nameless horrors of Delhi and Cawnpore.

Nor must it be forgotten that to "make laws" is by no means the perfectly simple matter which these *coup-de-main* politicians seem to imagine it, especially when we consider for whom, and by whom, those laws are in the present case to be made. Laws made by a Hottentot would hardly be calculated to meet the requirements of an Esquimau; and such an idea is not a whit more paradoxical than that of an ordinary nineteenth-century Englishman legislating for the benefit of a race which thinks, speaks, and acts precisely as its founders did four thousand years ago—which swears by "Ganges water," regards the killing of a cow for food as the blackest of all

crimes, shrinks from the very touch of a man of inferior caste, and holds a creed in which there are actually more gods to be worshipped than there are men to worship them.

Nor is this the sole or even the chief difficulty to be encountered. The obstacles of alien blood and religious bigotry, sufficiently formidable in themselves, are tripled by that indomitable pride of race which made the Tartar rulers of Turkistan refuse to receive envoys from Russia, and which, during the great convulsion of 1857, sent so many brave and honorable men into the ranks of the mutineers, in the vain hope of restoring the vanished glories of the Mogul dynasty. With all his overwhelming power, the Anglo-Saxon conqueror of the East is still a mere upstart in the eyes of Hindoo princes whose forefathers wore the crown before the birth of Solomon, or of Moslem warriors whose countrymen were bearding the Greek emperor in his own palace, in days when the ancestors of Lord Salisbury were munching acorns amid the forests of the Elbe, and when those of Lord Beaconsfield were being pelted home to their dens by the rabble of Constantinople.

What, then, should be done? Precisely what is beginning to be done now, and what, but for human folly and short-sightedness, might have been done equally well a hundred years ago. That the Eastern world may be properly governed, it must be made to feel an influence which it has never felt yet —that of supremacy without tyranny. Once fully convinced that he is in the grasp of an irresistible power, equally able to protect him against any enemy while he remains loyal, and to punish him despite the aid of any ally, should he prove disobedient, the Oriental, steeped in fatalism from his very birth, will resign himself to the inevitable as readily as he has always done, and none the less so when he finds himself, for the first time, under a rule which can be strict without becoming oppressive. It is true that both time and labor are needed to obliterate the fatal conviction, branded into the soul of every Asiatic by centuries of cruelty, that those who treat him with kindness must necessarily do so from *fear*. But even this prejudice must ultimately yield to the constant spectacle of a

power which sustains the weakest while overmatching the strongest—a spectacle not less convincing in our own day than it was, ages ago, in the person of Shah Nushirvan, or of Mahmoud the Ghaznevide.

So much, then, for the government of the future empire, a subject upon which we have already touched elsewhere.* It remains for us to notice, as briefly as possible, the most efficacious means for its civilization.

It is not less true of a nation than of an individual, that the best education is that which fits it to educate itself. Little or nothing has yet been achieved in this way among the imbruted proletariat of Tartary, or the savage guerrillas of Afghanistan; but in British India the good work is already begun. Not a few of the native princes have been so far wrought upon by European influence and European culture, as to admit the superiority of western civilization over their own, and show signs of adopting the former in preference. With such a lever, rightly employed, the whole Oriental world may be moved. Whenever the chiefs of a nation's political life, and the champions of its religion, begin to imbibe foreign influences, the nation itself (more especially if composed of Asiatics) is tolerably certain to follow their example sooner or later. The spectacle of a man like the present Maharajah of Gwalior (himself a high caste Bramin, and renowned both as an able ruler and as a distinguished warrior) deliberately adopting European habits and principles from a conviction that they are preferable to those of his own countrymen, will have more effect upon the popular mind of India than a whole volume of proclamations and enactments.

To educate the native princes by travel and instruction—to introduce, by their means, the necessary reforms which the people would otherwise spurn as innovations, and thus to train the East to governing itself—this is undoubtedly the best, although perhaps not the easiest, solution of the great problem. The mere expediency of such a policy has already commended it both to Russia and to Britain. The Khans of Khiva-

* See "The Battle-Field of England and Russia," in the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW for January, 1879.

and Khokand, the Ameer of Bokhara, the Prince of Shekhri-Sebz, still sit upon the thrones of their fathers, although Russia is now supreme from the Ural to the Oxus. Scindiah of Gwalior, the Gaëkwar of Baroda, the Maharajah of Cashmere, and others too many to name, still bear rule in Hindostan, although the English flag now waves over it from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya.

With such examples before them as that above quoted, the native population of India will not remain long in their present state of ignorant and helpless abeyance. Many of them are thoroughly anxious to learn; and for those who really wish to do so, there is no lack of opportunity. National schools—the statistics of which are far too extensive to be given here—are multiplying themselves in every direction. The education of both Hindoo and Mohammedan women (a thing hitherto absolutely unheard of in the East) is progressing apace, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the more bigoted party. Many young Hindoos have emigrated to England, tried their fortune, not unsuccessfully, in various professions, and returned home to take their share in the good work of elevating their countrymen. Above all, the public press, that great developer of popular intelligence, has begun to make its power felt among the natives. "The vernacular journalistic literature of British India," says a recent and well-informed writer on the subject, "is daily assuming wider proportions; and both in Calcutta and Bombay the native newspaper press may already be called a power, while even in Madras it is visibly gaining strength. In Calcutta, the Bengalis have what we should call a farthing daily paper, published in the vernacular, while the Parsees of Bombay have a *bonâ fide* "Punch" of their own. The number of native journals of every kind—daily, weekly and monthly—is already very great, and so rapidly increasing that were the statistics of the Hindoo press to be published today, they would have to be corrected and expanded to-morrow." With such potent agents at work, it must be conceded that India, if not yet adequately educated, is at least on the high road to become so.

The same thing, unhappily, cannot yet be said of the foreign dominions of either France or Russia. The French are naturally conquerors rather than colonists, and, having once subjugated Algeria, trouble themselves very little about the condition of the natives. Russia, again, deems it politic to keep her vassals as ignorant and dependent as possible, forgetting that this very ignorance makes them liable to be stirred up to rebellion and massacre by tricks which any educated man would despise.* Neither in Asiatic Russia nor in northern Africa is there any established system of education, the few schools which exist being wholly due to the self-sacrificing energy of a handful of missionaries. Popular journals are unknown, and the masses have absolutely no recognized political existence whatever.

But even this evil must sooner or later find its remedy. France and Russia will discover that it is easier to govern men than to coerce brutes, and that they must follow the example of their neighbor if they do not wish the latter to outstrip them. Prejudice and superstition will vanish with the ignorance which produced them, and the world may yet see the noble spectacle of a civilized East officered by civilized Orientals, and learning from western Christianity other and better lessons than those of theft, falsehood, and intoxication.

Since the above was written, the sudden and formidable assertion of Afghan strength which (till the victory of Dec. 23d restored the balance of fortune) threatened the safety of Gen. Roberts' whole army, has fairly committed England, for the first time in 127 years, to a policy of avowed aggression. Warren Hastings butchered the Afghans because the King of Oude gave him $2,000,000 to do so; Lord Beaconsfield butchers them for the crime of defending their own country. The first phase of creation is destruction, but this fact cannot excuse the wanton destroyer. "It must needs be that offences come; but woe unto that man by whom they come."

* The formidable riot of 1871, at Kette-Kurgan, in Central Asia, was caused by a report that vaccination was intended to mark the people for military service.

Art. IX.—A Southerner's Estimate of the Life and Character of Stephen A. Douglas.

If the American system of government be indeed the best that human wisdom has devised; and if the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson be the true philosophy; and if, again, the apothegm, "Truth is mighty and will prevail," be a fact as well as a phrase, Stephen A. Douglas is destined to fill a lofty and prominent niche in the Temple of Republican Liberty. He was not appreciated at his full value by most of his contemporaries: even many of his associates did not know and rightly estimate his real worth. Posterity, it is believed, will more justly weigh and appreciate him. He was far more than the mere politician; he was a philosophic statesman at the age of twenty-five. All the elements of statemanship were mixed in him in ample, rare and harmonious union; and they matured earlier in him than in any other American statesman—Hamilton, his political antipode, alone excepted.

The convictions of his young manhood were those of his riper years: time, reflection, experience mellowed, but did not rot, the fruit. Biographical annals may be searched in vain for a more consistent and conservative public life than that exhibited by his record of eighteen consecutive years of conspicuous and brilliant service in the Federal Legislature. In faith, feeling and forecast, he was the same man, when, in 1861, he died a senator, that he was in 1843, when he was first elected a member of the House of Representatives. If the principles he espoused and maintained so earnestly, so steadfastly, with so much power of argument and illustration, be true, the fact of his uniform and unfaltering adherence thereto, through evil and through good report, establishes his

title to the rank we have assigned him—not a mere politician, but a mature statesman. The contrast between the two classes is admirably drawn in Hillard's celebrated eulogy of Webster: "The difference between them is like the difference between the artist and the mechanic. The statesman starts with original principles, and is propelled by a self-derived impulse. The politician has his course to choose, and puts himself in a position to make the best use of the forces which lie outside of him. The statesman's genius sometimes fails in reaching its proper sphere, from the want of the politician's faculty; and, on the other hand, the politician's intellectual poverty is never fully apprehended till he has contrived to attain an elevation which belongs only to the statesman. The statesman is often called upon to oppose popular opinion, and never is his attitude nobler than when so doing; but the sagacity of the politician is shown in seeing, a little before the rest of the world, how the stream of popular feeling is about to turn, and so throwing himself upon it, as to seem to be guiding it, while he is only propelled by it. A statesman makes the occasion, but the occasion makes the politician."

Jefferson was the veritable archetype of Douglas—the Gamaliel at whose feet he was brought up. Nor does the disciple do discredit to the master. The copy is an enlarged reflex of the original, intensified somewhat, by the altered circumstances of the times: still, all the lines and features, all the shades and colorings of the original, are plainly visible—boldly and distinctly marked—in the copy. The difference was of degree, not in kind. Jefferson was a pioneer democrat; Douglas was a progressive democrat. Both were earnest men, of deep and honest convictions, of indomitable will, of high civil courage, of wonderful sagacity in judging of men, of almost prophetic ken in predicting events from their causes, and of that rare social power, called, in the cant of the day, "personal magnetism," which asserted itself in all circles and which avouched its presence and potency in the pervading influence they wielded over those that approached them. They were *born* party leaders—Agamemnons in state-craft. Each had studied and interpreted man as the individual;

each had weighed him as a constituent of society; each had measured and apportioned his importance as a factor of government; and the conclusion each arrived at was—unfailing faith in the honesty of the masses and their capacity to govern themselves. They both felt, with all of martyr-conviction, that "the great soul of the universe is just," and that "the voice of the people is the voice of God." They were thorough democrats, "after that most straitest sect" which believes man is better fitted to rule himself than to govern his neighbor; and hence their unfaltering adherence to the doctrine of local self-government. Either would have gone to the stake sooner than renounce it.

No American statesman, of so meagre academical opportunities, without the adventitious aids of wealth, influential friends, family prestige or powerful connections, ever sprang so suddenly and so conspicuously into the blaze of honorable public notoriety as did Judge Douglas—unless there be a solitary exception, perhaps, in the case of Mr. Clay. Douglas, scarcely warm in the *toga virilis*—had not been a resident of Illinois eighteen months, nor a lawyer twelve months, before he was elected, by the general assembly, Attorney-General of the State. Within a year thereafter, we find him the youngest, the ablest and the most influential member of her legislature; within two years after, Register of the Land Office at Springfield, under presidential appointment; and, before attaining eligible age, the democratic nominee for Congress. All the fair fields of civic trust and honor, so tempting to young ambition, seem to have demanded his service; nor was any one allowed to monopolize, or retain him long. In December, 1840, he was elected Secretary of State; two months later he was Judge of the Supreme Court of the State; two years afterward, he was elected member of the United States House of Representatives; four years after, he was chosen United States Senator, an office which he filled by consecutive elections until his death—a brilliant series of civic promotions more varied and rapid than any other to be found in our political annals. Twice he met with defeat before the people; once, in his first contest (for Congress)

when, by sheer quibble and practical fraud, he was "counted out" by five votes in a poll of over thirty-six thousand; and again, in the last he ever made (for President), when he was defeated through the insensate dissensions and divisions in the ranks of his own party. Then he was slain in the house of his friends —another Actæon killed by his own hounds; and that, too, when he had given no offence to Diana.

The Americanism of Douglas was at once intense and catholic. He felt a more joyous pride in being an American citizen than the old Romans experienced in being called Roman citizens. He gloried in our system of government. He esteemed it the best in theory ever devised; and he believed its practical operation, if faithfully and wisely directed, the easiest of control, and the safest and surest means whereby to attain the true ends of civil government—those ends being, preservation of order, protection of property, and the securing the greatest good to the greatest number without doing injury or injustice to any. He had full faith in the efficacy of the American system to accomplish these results. It made him a propagandist—a propagandist as full of courage as Luther, and as full of zeal as Ignatius Loyola. Among the bright dreams of his young and ardent manhood was the "Vision Beatific" of an ocean-bound republic: among the darling hopes of his maturer years was to see our free institutions spread all over the continent—the stars on the flag numbered by hundreds instead of scores. The one he lived to see; of the other, he "died without the sight"—perhaps without the hope.

Mr. Douglas was, *ab imo pectore*, a patriot—sincere, zealous, devoted. His unselfish love of country was an active emotion and a sentiment. He loved his whole country —as much of pride as of tenderness mingling in the passion. He was proud of her traditions, of her history, of her achievements in arts and in arms, of her grand triumphs in the cause of man; and he saw, or thought he saw, in her future, unrivalled opportunities of greater glory—possibilities of a national grandeur more splendid than was ever wrought or seen by man. It was simply impossible, therefore, that he

could be, from his stand-point, sectional, in feeling or through policy. His predilections and his principles alike forbade it. He was the grand type of a national man—an American citizen and statesman—whose patriotism was broad enough in its sweep, and capacious enough in its affections, to include all sections and all men beneath the shadow and shield of the flag. The very instincts of his nature shuddered at the thought of the "geographical party." He predicted, as a consequence of its success, the disruption of the Union, the overthrow of free institutions, and, most probably, the eventual loss of citizen-liberty. Whether the prophecy will yet ripen into history is among the dark uncertainties which are

> "——wrapped in the future's misty veil
> That mercy weaves."

Mr. Douglas was among the first of that noble band made illustrious by such names as Clay, Webster, Cass, Dickinson, Choate, Stephens, and their patriot-compeers, who strove to strangle that party in its cradle. None dealt it heavier blows, nor waged against it more persistent and inveterate warfare than did Douglas. He was aggressive in the fight from the first; nor was it till he "carried the war into Africa" that he discovered *Hannibal was at home*—under luckier stars, too, than beamed upon the old Carthagenian at Zama. When thrown on the defensive, he disputed every inch of ground with a constancy and courage which inspired his friends with fresh zeal, and wrung reluctant admiration from his bitterest foe. One of the latter is reported to have said: "What whalebone-stuff Douglas is made of! The government will never fall into our hands till we slaughter him!"

The completest triumph of his life was won at Chicago, in 1850. The compromise measures, so-called, of that year, had passed Congress; each of the five had received his support—stanch, unqualified, hearty; three of them, indeed, he had originally drafted. The Fugitive-Slave Law, framed by Senator Mason, of Virginia, was particularly odious to many—at the start, perhaps, a large majority—of his constituents. His

biographer says: "When Mr. Douglas arrived in Chicago, he found the city in a state of rebellion against the recent acts of Congress. The city-council, in their official capacity, had passed resolutions denouncing them as a violation of the Constitution and of the higher law of God, and those senators and representatives who had voted for them, as Benedict Arnolds and Judas Iscariots. In order to make their resistance effectual, the city-council passed resolutions releasing the citizens, officers and police of the city from all obligation to assist or participate in the execution of these laws, and declared that they (the laws) ought not to be respected by any intelligent community. On the next night a mass-meeting of the citizens was held for the purpose of approving and sanctioning the action of the common-council, and organizing violent and successful resistance to the execution of the laws. A committee reported to this meeting a series of resolutions more revolutionary in their character, and going to a greater extent in resisting the authorities of the Federal Government, than those of the common-council. Numerous speeches in support of the resolutions were received with boisterous and furious applause—pledging their authors to resist even unto the dungeon and the grave. At length, Mr. Douglas, being the only member of the Illinois delegation then in the city, appeared upon the stand, and said that, in consequence of the action of the common-council, and the frenzied excitement which seemed to rage all around him, he desired to be heard before the assembled people of the city in vindication of each and all of the compromise measures, and especially of the Fugitive-Slave Law. He said he would not address them that night, because the call for a meeting was not sufficiently broad to authorize a speech in *defence* of the measures, but he would avail himself of that opportunity to give notice that on the next night he would address the people of Chicago on those subjects. He invited men of all parties and shades of opinion to attend and participate in the proceedings, assuring them he would answer every objection made, and every question which should be propounded touching those measures, including the Fugitive-Slave Law. * * * In the meantime, the ex-

citement continued to increase, and the next night, October 23d, a tremendous concourse of people assembled, before whom Mr. Douglas delivered a speech, some impression of the power and effect of which may be formed from the fact that the meeting resolved unanimously to carry into effect the provisions of the laws of Congress (the Fugitive-Slave Law included), adopted resolutions repudiating the action of the common-council, and then adjourned with nine cheers—three for Douglas, three for the Constitution, and three for our glorious Union. On the next night, the common-council of the city assembled and repealed their nullifying resolutions by a vote of twelve to one."

When Faneuil Hall was barred against Daniel Webster, and he went out "in the spacious temple of the firmament" to vindicate the political morality and prudence of the 7th of March speech, and rebuke the "prejudices" of Massachusetts, his attitude was indeed noble—a model for the pencil of a Raphael, or the chisel of a Phidias. Yet, he did not conquer those prejudices. When Edmund Burke stood before the electors of Bristol and said: "I did not obey your instructions. No! I conformed to the instructions of truth and nature, and maintained your interest against your opinions with a constancy that became me"—he rose to the full stature of a rare and glorious manhood. Yet, the tide of popular feeling swept him from the platform. When, in 1813, a Virginian mob assembled to drag John Randolph from the hustings, he awed the ruffian band into sullen silence with the brave words: "I understand that I am to be insulted today if I attempt to address the people —that a mob is prepared to lay their rude hands upon me and drag me from these hustings for daring to exercise the rights of a freeman. My Bible teaches me that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, but that the fear of man is the consummation of folly." Yet he failed of his election. Douglas weathered the fury of a popular tempest more terrible than any of these. More than that, he calmed the storm—not by pouring oil upon the waters,—but by stilling the winds that had lashed them into rage. He appeased frenzy, dissipated prejudice, convinced the reason, and won the

hardest of all triumphs possible for man to achieve—a triumph over the pride of opinion—that opinion not only freely expressed, but solemnly recorded.

It is idle to imagine that this result came of chance or whim. The masses change not so totally and so suddenly by mere impulse. If they seek not for a sign, they at least require a reason. Lift up the brazen serpent and they will look and live. It may be said of Douglas, as Wilberforce so finely said of Pitt when he breasted the torrent of Jacobin principles: "He stood between the living and the dead, and the plague was stayed!"

It has been urged against the consistency of Mr. Douglas' political course that he changed ground respecting the most absorbing, if not the most important, question with which his congressional life is identified—slavery in the territories. The point is more specious than true. So long as the Missouri Compromise, proposed by Mr. Thomas, of Illinois, supported by the opponents of slavery restriction, and accepted by the South, was observed in good faith—so long as it was treated as a "sacred compact"—Mr. Douglas was willing to abide by it. But it was upon the principle of a division of the public domain between the sections, that he sanctioned and adhered to it. When it was repudiated by the attempt to apply the Wilmot Proviso to all the territory which might be acquired from Mexico, he considered the bargain broken on one side, and, therefore, not binding on the other side. The question of congressional power over slavery in the territories then became an original question. He recurred to first principles, brushed away the rubbish from the old landmarks, and fell back on what he had always believed to be the true constitutional doctrine of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the territories. If there was any inconsistency in this, he shared it with many of the conservative and able men of all sections—whigs and democrats alike—with men whose services, in cabinet and camp, shed unfading lustre upon the American name.

Non-intervention was of the essence of the compromise of 1850—which, for a time, gave peace to the sections. It was

the soul of that great adjustment. It was incorporated in the platforms of both political parties in the presidential contest of 1852; it was reaffirmed in the Kansas-Nebraska legislation of 1854; it received popular indorsement in the election of Mr. Buchanan in 1856. And is it too much to believe, that if the democratic house had not divided against itself, if the large body of the southern democracy, encouraged by the Federal Administration, had been content simply with the Cincinnati platform of 1856, whereon Mr. Buchanan entered the presidency; if the flush of victory had not inspired a feeling of aggression, perhaps of arrogance, which demanded congressional *protection* of slavery in the territories, a large majority of the people would have stood by the doctrine of strict non-intervention in 1860—and so given a new lease of life to the old Union, and postponed the evil day of secession, at least for another generation? Mr. Douglas knew better than most men that "such is the condition of humanity, that the noblest politics are but a compromise; an approximation; a type; a shadow of good things—the buying of great blessings at great prices." Hence, his statesmanship, more concrete than abstract, strove to postpone what it could not prevent. No man better knew than he did, that the direct conflict between free labor and slave labor would some day come; that—in the language of Mr. Seward—"the conflict is irrepressible—all the States will become free or slave." Two separate and antagonistic systems of labor, each working out distinct and irreconcilable forms of society, could not grow up and flourish together under a common government—the one or the other must disappear. And while, like Mr. Jefferson, he was opposed to African slavery, he hoped to see the institution peacefully and gradually fade away—not violently, or of a sudden, extinguished. He had read the prophecy of Mr. Jefferson and shuddered at the possible horrors that might attend its fulfilment: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction

between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degree, as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors. This precedent would fall far short of our case."

Mr. Douglas deemed Mr. Seward's view of the problem, microscopic; Jefferson's, telescopic:—the one, looking through a lens capable only of magnifying the object near the eye—proximate results; the other, standing upon a higher elevation and sweeping in a wider horizon with his larger glass, discerned things afar off—ultimate results. He believed that the only wise and safe way of getting rid of the institution was to leave the business exclusively in the hands of those most nearly affected by it, in all its relations—moral, social, economic—those who lived beneath its dark penumbra; and if the unfriendly hand of foreign interference were stayed, that they, themselves, would eventually destroy it—that it would melt away like frost-work under their own sun, and the civilized world thus be spared the spectacle of seeing it quenched in the blood of fratricidal war. It is unquestionably true, that, until maddened by what the southern people deemed the obtrusive intermeddling of a malignant philanthropy, the general drift of public sentiment was in opposition not only to the spread of African slavery, but to its existence anywhere. Many of the leading southern statesmen were its pronounced opponents. Even as late as 1832, Judge Gaston—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—addressing the literary societies of her university in presence of the educated mind of North Carolina, said: "On you, too, will devolve the duty, which has been too long neglected, but which cannot with impunity be neglected much longer, of providing for the mitigation, and (is it too much to hope for in North Carolina?) for the ultimate extirpation of the worst evil that afflicts the southern part of our confederacy. Full well do you know to what I refer; for on this subject there is

with all of us a morbid sensitiveness which gives warning even of an approach to it. Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry and represses enterprise; it is fatal to economy and providence; it discourages skill, impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain-head. How this evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is indeed a difficult and delicate inquiry, which this is not the time to examine, nor the occasion to discuss. I felt, however, that I could not discharge my duty without referring to this subject, as one which ought to engage the prudence, moderation and firmness of those who sooner or later must act decisively upon it." That Commencement address met with great popular favor; it went through five editions and received special and unqualified commendations from such southern-born men—slave-owners—as John Marshall, Nathaniel Macon, John Randall, Henry Clay, James L. Petigru, and others scarcely less influential and distinguished in public and professional life.

It is needless to advance, because impossible to determine, the question, whether African slavery would have been voluntarily abolished by the States in which it existed—each acting for itself. It was certainly worth the trial. One thing, however, is undeniably true: it was abolished in the worst possible way for all the sections and both races. Apart from the blood spilt, the bad passions kindled, the outrages perpetrated against citizen-liberty by both governments, the almost universal demoralization wrought by the strife—men are pretty well agreed now that the best of good bargains was hardly made when so many billions of not unproductive capital were exchanged for so many billions of public debt. Did four millions of slaves gain as much by the war as thirty millions of freemen lost by it? Time only can answer the question. The balance sheet is not yet made up; nor will it be for generations to come.

Why any friend to the compromise of 1850 should have opposed the congressional territorial legislation of 1854, is a

puzzle to plain men. The fundamental, the animating principle involved in and controlling each case, was one and the same—absolute non-intervention. The identity of the cases is whole and perfect. The one was not the logical consequence merely of the other, as some have it; but the one *was* the other, and the other, the one—a common *corpus*, with the same root, trunk, stem—without a single new or additional shoot. It would baffle the dialectics of the schoolmen and tax to discomfiture the genius of the legal fraternity to vindicate the consistency of those that held up the hands of Mr. Douglas in 1850—then turned and hung him in effigy in 1854. How it was that such a total change came over the spirit of their dreams is more a matter of curious speculation than of profitable inquiry. Certain it is, he himself was the same man—unchanged in all respects, save in normal and healthy growth.

Four years later, the great body of the southern democracy, backed by the Federal Administration, advanced their line. They not only denied the right of the people of a territory, in their territorial legislature, to prohibit slavery, but a portion —the controlling portion—went farther and demanded congressional intervention to *protect* it until the people met in convention to frame a State Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union. That demand—for any practical purpose utterly futile to affect slavery one way or the other—disrupted the national organization. Mr. Douglas could not accede to it. He stood fast by the doctrine of strict congressional non-intervention, as he had proclaimed and maintained it since 1850. He was now as bitterly assailed by the ultra southern wing of his party, as he had before been by the northern extremists. The arts of flattery and of intimidation were alike impotent to seduce him from his propriety or drive him from his principles:

> "In sight of mortal and immortal powers,
> As in a boundless theatre, he ran
> The great career of justice—
> And through the mists of passion and of sense,
> And through the tossing tide of chance and pain
> He held his course unfaltering."

The Douglas-Lincoln canvass for senatorial honors in 1858 is without parallel in our history—whether considered in point of the intense and general interest and anxiety it excited; the ability, energy and acrimony with which it was conducted; or the immense importance of the stake at issue. The odds against Douglas were indeed fearful. The estrangement of the southern ultras, engendered of his course in the Lecompton business and the insensate cry against "squatter sovereignty"; the apathy—not to say hostility—of the Federal Administration; the doubting Thomases among his professed friends, were dead weight—so much extra lead—tied to his heels. To win success in such a struggle, required a combination of parts, qualities, faculties, rarely vouchsafed to mortal man. The occasion exacted, and he supplied, them in ample measure. It was the severest trial in his political career—a very *experimentum crucis* applied to his metal. He knew it and met it manfully, bringing to his aid all his resources of body and mind. In the contest, he exhibited a power of physical endurance that seems incredible. The amount of mental labor he performed bordered on a psychological marvel; the courage of every type he displayed was more than Spartan; while the "faith he so sternly kept with his country and with his fame" is among the imperishable glories of the republic.

The United States Senate, during Douglas' term of service there, first and last, was made illustrious by a series of the greatest names on the roll of American statesmen and orators. It was the Golden Age of our senatorial glory. Without the emotional nature of Clay, the eloquent feeling of Webster, the metaphysical power of Calhoun, the prodigious learning of Benton, the ripe and bountiful culture of Berrien, the decorous and stately logic of Cass, the elaborate rhetoric of Sumner, the scholarly accomplishments of Everett, the ready subtle acumen of Seward, the intense passion and robust, fiery magnetism of Toombs—Douglas was a more formidable debater than any of them. He was in the American Senate what Charles James Fox was in the British House of Commons —not as accomplished or attractive in debate, possibly, but equally as powerful and effective—certainly more successful

He was not afraid of the drudgery of legislation; he never shunned nor slighted the irksome work of the committee-room; for impatient of, and averse to, that sort of employment as he confessedly was, he met his appointments with rare punctuality. His labors there, though more obscure, were more useful; and the influence he exerted, in shaping and securing legislation, was greater than in his public displays in the senate-chamber. Always intent on carrying his point, and perfectly content with doing so, he adopted the surest means of reaching it; little caring whether he himself should appear in the foreground or the background of the picture—before the lights or behind the curtain.

Still, he was unusually susceptible to downright flattery. Praise was extremely grateful to him; he coveted fame; he loved power; he was willing to sacrifice anything, save truth, for triumph. Possibly, he was sometimes over-eager in its pursuit. But it was the just consciousness of his own powers and parts that made him "not unmindful of the opportunities of glory," which others had laid hold of and turned to account —just as the trophies of Miltiades disturbed the dreams of Themistocles. Yet it was a "noble and austere ambition" that stirred the divinity within—the ambition of Camillus, not of Cæsar. He aspired to the presidency, and made no secret of it. The office was not above his capacity or deserts. In it, he would have asserted himself the full equal in administrative talent and tact of any incumbent since the days of Jefferson. That he would have attained it but for the inopportune and unhappy disruption of the democracy at Charleston in 1860, we firmly believe.

Mr. Douglas cared as little for money as Sheil said Lord Norbury cared for life. He despised affluence, for affluence's sake—"not setting the value of a pin's fee on it." Yet, while almost prodigal in spending money, he was as just as he was generous—rare alliance of diverse dispositions and habits. He gave away more to others than he spent on himself. His charities—often indiscreetly, always indiscriminately, never ostentatiously bestowed—were circumscribed only by his means; nor would he let his left-hand know what his right-hand

did. S. S. Prentiss was not more easily, and scarcely more repeatedly, made the dupe of the imposter or professional sponge than was Mr. Douglas. It is said that the latter honored, to the last, even the drafts of Beau Hickman. It was not in his heart to say, even to him, as the late Governor Crawford of Georgia—his patience, and purse too, nearly exhausted—once said to a constant tease for "the *loan* of a little cash": "Here, take it, but quit living on your friends eternally; forage on the enemy for a while."

No man of his time had a stronger hold on the hearts of the young democracy of the country than Douglas. They deemed it a privilege to do homage before the altar where their great high-priest officiated. The charms of his social nature, so genial, so free, so attractive, so irresistible—won their attachment as strongly as his intellectual supremacy commanded their admiration, and his iron will challenged their respect. And, we incline to think, their impatient haste and imprudent zeal in pressing his nomination for the presidency in 1852, largely contributed to his defeat before the convention of 1856, when Mr. Buchanan was nominated. That he was entitled to it before Mr. Buchanan, or any one else—if able advocacy and efficient service in upholding the prime principles and live issues laid down in the platform adopted, entitled one to party recognition or reward—seemed to be clear enough. It was a mistake to bring him forward at all in 1852. He was young enough to wait; and by waiting, he might not have called down upon him the concentrated opposition of all the politicians who had been so long on the line. At least, they would not have been so unmistakably "put on notice"—as the lawyers say. They did combine against him. His unclouded dawn and splendid promise excited their envy, and drew upon him their united fire. Forewarned of his strength at Baltimore, they had four years wherein to marshal and muster their forces against him at Cincinnati. Nor was the time unimproved. *Carpe diem* was their common motto and watchword. They marshalled all their cohorts; and the unbroken phalanx defeated his nomination, when, we are persuaded, he was the

second choice (where he was not the first) of all the rank and file, except those under the absolute control of the *old* field-officers. And such a set of old field-officers! Most of them never had been fit for service at all; and many of the rest ought to have been put on the retired list, years before—without pension. But "Young America,"—too eager and too impetuous—forgot, for the time, that senility begets a fellow-feeling wondrous kind; that old men, of all callings and pursuits, commonly work together; that they little relish the notion of being pushed off the stage by the rising generation before their time; that a certain *esprit de corps*, which at once flatters their pride and feeds their vanity, prompts them to stand by an old comrade rather than promote the aspirations of a *novus homo;* and that when their own personal ambition is left without hope, it is some satisfaction to say: "Well, yes, I and the president served together for a series of years in Congress; I was among the first to discover his parts and advance his interest; he was my right-hand man in committee (the committee whereof I was chairman); our terms of personal intimacy were such that, *I know*, next to himself (for he was always ambitious, while I never was), he would sooner, today, see me president than any man in America." Such men could feel little sympathy for Pitt, when he fleshed his maiden sword in Walpole's sneer at "the atrocious crime of being a young man."

Popular leaders, generally, are good talkers. Douglas had wonderful colloquial talents. Had he possessed the affluence of scholarly acquisition and accomplishment which so much enhanced the charm of Sir James Mackintosh's conversational powers, it is hardly extravagant to say that he would have rivalled him as an entertaining and instructive talker. His excessive intellectuality kept his brain always on fire. All his resources of information, illustration, anecdote, wit, repartee were as readily called up in social colloquy, as were his powers of logic and eloquence when, inspired by large numbers, an absorbing topic and befitting occasion, he entranced listening senators. The American excelled the Scotchman in one quality—pretty essential to him who would,

omnium consensu, be prince of the coterie. Douglas' ear was quite as attentive as his tongue was ready; Sir James was not a patient listener; his tongue incessantly wagged in any company. Like Burke's, his mind was so full that it must find vent in talk.

What could be apter or more crushing than Douglas' unpremeditated reply to the Swedish ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, when the latter, in the course of conversation, so stoutly condemned the conduct of Captain Ingraham in the Koszta affair, and so absolutely denied the right of any government to naturalize the subject of another: "*Your* royal master, King Oscar, himself the son of a king, cannot deny that right without beforehand abdicating his throne; for he cannot have forgotten the fact, that his own father, Bernadotte, was a marshal of France, when, over the emphatic protest of Napoleon, he was naturalized by the Swedish government. He became king; Oscar, your master, is his son!" This *argumentum ad hominem* vanquished the ambassador—and, like the Pennsylvania Quaker, when the Texas "bully" gave him the lie, he prudently "waived the topic." And when the Russian nobleman rallied to the support of the nonplussed Swede, how readily did Douglas silence him by referring to the monument at Odessa, erected to the memory of the French Duke de Richelieu: "*Your* master, the czar, must tear down that beautiful monument before he dare deny the right of naturalization. Richelieu was a French exile whom Emperor Paul naturalized and made a Russian general; Alexander made him Governor of Odessa, and his subjects testified their gratitude to all by building that splendid monument." The nobleman "confessed judgment" and "paid costs" by ordering wine for the party. Douglas' *sub*-toast to Governor Cobb, at Senator Toombs' celebrated dinner party, given to the Georgia delegation in Washington, while on their way to the National Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, has become almost historic. Quite a number of magnates were present, among them some aspirants for the presidential nomination, Messrs. Cass, Douglas, Buchanan, Cobb, and others. When wit and wine had had their turn and the company were about to disperse,

Mr. James Gardner, chairman of the Georgia delegation—his glass full of sherry and his heart full of kindness—offered as a toast: "Gentlemen, may you all live to be President of the United States!" Douglas incontinently exclaimed: "Well, Cobb, here's a long life to you!"

We know not the authority for the statement we have seen made, that Mr. Douglas approved of the coercion policy of Mr. Lincoln respecting the seceded States. We believe it would be as hard to find as the grave of Moses. So firm and stalwart an advocate and defender of State sovereignty as he had ever been, could not have so totally changed his most cherished principles and blurred the proud and brilliant record of a lifetime. No man personally knew him more intimately, or sympathized more thoroughly with his political convictions and sentiments on that subject, than did Alexander H. Stephens. In his work on *The War Between the States*, Mr. Stephens says: "Either you are, or I am, greatly mistaken if you suppose Mr. Douglas ever took back or modified, in the slightest degree, a single phrase or word in the speech from which I have quoted (the speech of March 15th, 1861, in the United States Senate, advocating the withdrawal of the United States troops from Forts Sumter, Pickens, etc.). It is true, as I understand, that under the influence or impression, produced by the telegram to which you refer, purporting to give the substance of what Mr. Walker said on the occasion alluded to,* Mr. Douglas did advise Mr. Lincoln to convene Congress, and did approve of all proper steps being taken, *for the defence of the Capitol* against what he considered a threatened attack upon the Government of the United States, and a war of invasion. He did not, however, so far as I have ever seen, utter a word in modification of what he said as to the powers or duties of the president under the circumstances. He certainly did not give these measures I have been commenting upon, or the general policy of Mr. Lincoln, either before or

* It was telegraphed from Montgomery that Mr. Walker, the first Secretary of War of the Confederate States, had made a speech after the fall of Fort Sumter, in which he said, "the Confederate flag would float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May" 1861, and "eventually over Faneuil Hall itself."

after the events at Fort Sumter, his cordial endorsement or support. * * * He never could have held that Mr. Lincoln was obeying either the laws or the Constitution in the usurpations of power to which I have referred. * * * In October, 1860, he did most emphatically endorse the Georgia platform of 1850, before at least twenty thousand freemen at Atlanta. This platform distinctly claimed the right, in the contingency of a breach of faith of the other confederates, to sever, in the last resort, every tie that bound her to the Union. This right he fully recognized. * * * Mr. Douglas was no changeling in principles or opinions. Of all the men I ever knew, he was about the last who might have been expected to take back anything he had said. I knew him well for sixteen years. We went into Congress together, in December, 1843, and a more unyielding and inflexible man in his positions and matured opinions, I never met with."

In the course of his 15th of March speech, above alluded to—seven States having already seceded—Mr. Douglas, addressing the republican senators especially, used this language: "In my opinion we must choose, and that promptly, between one of three lines of policy: First, the restoration and preservation of the Union by such amendments of the Constitution as will ensure the domestic tranquillity, safety and equality of all the States, and thus restore peace, unity and fraternity to the whole country. Second, a peaceful dissolution of the Union by recognizing the independence of such States as refuse to remain in the Union, without such constitutional amendments, and the establishment of a liberal system of commercial and social intercourse with them by treaties of commerce and amity. Third, war, with a view to the subjugation and military occupation of those States which have seceded, or may secede, from the Union. I repeat, that, in my opinion, you must adopt and pursue one of these three lines of policy. The sooner you choose between them and proclaim your choice to the country, the better for you, the better for us, the better for every friend of liberty and constitutional government throughout the world. In my opinion, the first proposition is the best and the last the worst."

We cannot indorse the opinion of Mr. Hallam, flaunted forth with so much of flourish in his *History of the Middle Ages:* "Fame is more partial to sucessful aggression than to patriotic resistance." The statement is a libel upon human nature—bad as it is, in some of its exemplifications. Success is the criterion of ephemeral fame only. Truth, in the long run, is the sole standard whereby to measure real merit. Often assailed, sometimes baffled, always courageous, it has hitherto, in all its conflicts with error, finally emerged crowned with garlands of laurel or of oak. Never yet did it yield to victor or take on the chains. And is it taxing an honest credulity too severely to believe that truth is as mighty now as ever before—that it is invincible—and in the future, as in the past, it will go forth, clad in mailed armor, prepared to turn the edge of every sword and blunt the point of every bayonet that may ring upon its harness?

> "Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again—
> The eternal years of God are hers."

And this assured hope it is, which fixes our faith in the bringing back of the Federal Government to its former self; to its primal principles; to the Constitution of the Fathers; to a Federal Union of consent, not a nation of constraint; to "a government of laws and not of men"—as Harrington so tersely and so nobly expressed it. When that auspicious day shall dawn, Stephen A. Douglas will be accorded his proper pedestal among the apotheosized in the Pantheon of republican liberty.

He was comparatively young when the curtain fell and closed his career. His sun went down suddenly—alike in glory and in gloom—while it was yet day. For the growing man he was, he had not reached his meridian, the grand climacteric of his mental strength. That the distractions of his country hastened his end, we do not doubt. He could not be a pall-bearer to the corse of his country and of his hopes. He lived to see the gathering clouds, the first flashes of their lightning, and to hear the angry mutterings of their thunder; but it was graciously spared his eyes to behold the

result. Was he not, therefore, as fortunate in the time of his death as in the opportunities of his life? He died younger than many others who have left footprints on the sands of time—to be effaced only when the last memory of America shall vanish.

ART. X.—REVIEWS AND CRITICISMS.

PHILOSOPHY.

On Mr. Spencer's Formula of Evolution, as an Exhaustive Statement of the Changes of the Universe. By MALCOLM GUTHRIE. 12° pp. 267. London: Trübner & Co. 1879.

ONE of the first elements of profitable discussion is to agree on the premises of the subject discussed or to be discussed. Were premises agreed upon or adjusted, there would be less grounds of difference on subjects of philosophy—none at all, indeed, between men of equal information and logical ability.

Much of the controversy in respect of the bearings of systems of philosophy of the present day—nearly all of past days and times—has been devoid of utility for want of a proper understanding of first principles. Men have engaged in polemics very much as they have entered into physical combat, apparently for the love of it, regardless of the truth to be established, or the error to be overthrown or refuted. It is not for us to say that such controversy, or such physical warfare, is entirely without utility in the economy of nature. In the broader view there can be no act without a certain kind of recompense attached to it, or accompanying it, just as these walking or rowing matches, while they tend to dehumanize the mental character, augment the development of the victim's calves. But, if any one will show us any advantage to be derived from a controversy between an evolutionist and a Presbyterian—between a typical Herbert Spencer and a typical John Calvin, other than that which is due to an exercise in polemics, we will undertake to show the utility of Great Britain's raid on the Afghans, or that of the war of the United States on the frontier Indians.

Another requisite of profitable discussion is a mutual understanding of the definitions of terms. To discuss a subject, or to attempt to controvert an opponent, in ignorance of the precise meaning of the terms which he uses, is like attempting a surgical operation without a knowledge of the instruments one is to use, or prescribing medicines when ignorant of their actions on the normal organism. All these things are common enough, unfortunately, and one finds it hard to say which is the most stupid proceeding.

The latter may be more disastrous to human life than the former—for, surely, polemics never *hurt* anybody; but both proceedings should be relegated to the domain of doubt and uncertainty, or classed with the practices of the ignorant and foolish.

It should not be overlooked, however, that there are many terms in science and philosophy that have various meanings—abstract terms, such as life, mind, soul, as well as the method that treats of them—science and philosophy. It is a curious anomaly that thinkers are not agreed as to the nature of life, the commonest thing that one meets with. Nor are they any more agreed as to the nature of mind. And in respect of the nature of soul they are still more widely at variance, many doubting its existence altogether. While the use of the term is sufficiently common in philosophy, it has not yet secured recognition in science, its use being superfluous in interpreting the phenomena of the universe; at least, according to the scientific method, or the formula of evolution. The definitions of philosophy, even, are at variance. According to Mr. Spencer, "philosophy is completely-unified knowledge," by which we suppose him to mean, the facts of existence reduced to order, and rationally interpreted. Pythagoras, who first introduced the term, gave it a different signification, one implying method of thinking—speculation. Hence, in his day there were as many kinds of philosophy as there were systems or schools of thought. Dr. Whewell's view of the subject is not inconsistent with that of the father of the term, viz.: "Right reason and facts to reason upon." In this sense knowledge and philosophy are identical.

The author of the critique on Mr. Spencer's "Formula of Evolution" finds fault with the latter's definition of philosophy for the reason that it comprehends only "the summary of our knowledge," while the critic implies that philosophy ought rather to be "a representation of the changes of the universe." The point seems to us a hair-split one, for it is correct observation of the changes of the universe that constitutes our knowledge of it. So also in respect of the definition and interpretation of the hypothesis of evolution. Most critics of Mr. Spencer's formula, from the theological point of view, fail rightly to apprehend its precise meaning. Mr. Spencer has himself defined its scope, limiting its application to the knowable, and implying that outside that limit there is a vast beyond into which finite faculties cannot penetrate. The fierce opponents of the hypothesis, however, by a strange, but no uncommon, mental perversity, give insufficient attention to the limitations of Mr. Spencer's philosophy, and proceed to point out its insufficiency to explain the "Unknowable!" No one who reflects upon the course of things needs to be reminded that the abstract nature of anything is inscrutable. The First Cause—if such a conception be admissible, which we do not believe—is no more past finding out than is the nature of the tiniest speck of dust that floats in the air and is made visible

by the solar beam. The recognition of this truth by Mr. Spencer forms the bulwark of his hypothesis, against which his opponents cannot prevail, from the very nature and limitations of their faculties; unless, indeed, some new and unknown quality of vision is awakened within them, which shall enable them to get behind the vail of the finite and probe the mystery of the Infinite.

We by no means underrate the merits of Mr. Guthrie's critique. The author presents the deficiencies and limitations of Mr. Spencer's formula of evolution with judicial fairness, and exhibits excellent analytical powers; but, at the same time, not without making certain *défauts*, a few of which may be briefly noted.

The formula of evolution given by Mr. Spencer is as follows: "Evolution is an integration of matter, and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." It is seen therefore that matter and motion are the factors on which the hypothesis is based. "Matter *and* motion," be it observed, not matter *in* motion, as Mr. Guthrie puts it. Matter in motion cannot be two factors.

Again: matter in motion implies matter at rest; according to science there is no such condition as the latter. But Mr. Guthrie is not satisfied with these two factors, and thinks it would enlarge the scope of the hypothesis if consciousness were added, making a third factor; and further on he discovers that another factor must be added, in order to escape a difficulty which, however, he himself makes, viz.: the behavior of atoms towards one another. This other factor is gravitation. Here, then, is the beginning of things, according to Mr. Guthrie: matter, motion, consciousness, gravitation. Does not Mr. Guthrie perceive that consciousness predicates every relation between the human mind and outward nature? Yet the mind can think of nature apart from itself. And we are compelled to believe that the forces of nature were at work, æons before organism existed, in the same way as we perceive them now. As for gravitation being a factor, it simply expresses the relation between matter and motion. It cannot, therefore, be a factor. The fact of atoms being in a different position one towards the other would vary their force, and this variation brings about a condition which we call gravitation. To our mind, Mr. Spencer's chapter on the "Instability of the Homogeneous" clears up the difficulty; but although Mr. Guthrie gives copious citations from it, he does not consider it satisfactory. He says: "The only cases where heterogeneity ensues upon the homogeneous is where internal influences produce it"— implying that there is no external influence acting on the imaginary first assemblage of atoms. But can Mr. Guthrie imagine a mass of moving atoms, without also imagining a something rarer than themselves, which they move about in? This something is external influence.

The first part of this book contains a great many minor criticisms, and besides them a few axiom-like expressions, such as "the tendency of motion is to go on moving at the same rate." Similarly one might say the weight of a ton of coal is very heavy.

In Part II, Mr. Guthrie spends many chapters and much argument on Mr. Spencer's non-usage of the term *force* in the formula, and his free usage of the term in the elaboration of the formula. We think Mr. Guthrie would have no further trouble if he were to regard force as a generic term, and also as a generalization. Matter is force in its statical aspect; motion is force in its dynamical aspect; it would be out of place, therefore, to use the word in the formula. The "force" employed in the first few chapters on "The Knowable" represents the power anterior to matter and motion, for however far the mind goes in its search for ultimates, it is bound to think of something beyond, call it cause, God, or force, as one pleases. The context clearly shows that Mr. Spencer uses the word force to express what is beyond.

Mr. Guthrie puts some strange questions, such as "Does the scope of philosophy include times anterior to and subsequent to the existence of organized conscious beings? If so, did force exist before, and will it exist after such a period?" Again: "What are forces?" (p. 85) "Is heat a force?" (p. 92.) These questions are repeated in different forms, for what purpose it is difficult to see. They surely cannot be asked for information.

The philosophy under discussion does not pretend to explain all the changes from the first atoms to the greatest genius. It cannot show the transformation from the homogeneous to the organic, from the organic to consciousness. Because of this limitation the critic regards it as a failure. Mr. Spencer, of course, acknowledges these things to be mysteries; whereupon Mr. Guthrie declares that "really this is most puzzling!" Of course, they are mysteries, and must be, for reasons already stated. The formula of evolution cannot account for the nature of things. Nor is it possible for science to do so. The theories of gravitation, light, heat, as modes of motion, did not explain all the phenomena which were due to these forces as soon as they were announced. The function of philosophy is to interpret the universe, and as the instruments of investigation become more perfect, the interpretation will naturally be more comprehensive. But Mr. Guthrie seems to think that the function of philosophy is omniscience. "But if we do not know all the effects of force in the cosmos, then philosophy is impossible," he observes.

Mr. Guthrie requests special attention to his criticism on "The Composition of Mind." He affirms that "Mr. Spencer shows the parallelisms which exist between the evolution of mind and the evolution of matter. But it is a parallelism only and cannot be included in the terms of the formula of evolution." He makes the same criticism in another form, when he asks: "What is the concomitant force with integration of society, thought, language,

science, industry and art?" If the critic will reperuse the chapter on "The Integration of Correspondences" (Vol. IV), and the few following chapters, he will find an explanation of what he deems an insurmountable difficulty. At the opening of the chapter just alluded to, Mr. Spencer says: "We have to note how, out of coördination there grows up integration. The coördinated elements of any stimulus, or of any act, ever tend towards union; and eventually become distinguishable from one another only by analysis. Further, the connection between stimulus and act also becomes constantly closer; so that at last they seem two sides of the same change." We observe, that thought is an attribute of the human being, and evolution of thought means the evolution of the human being in the direction of thought. This is true of all the products of mind, such as language, music, art, etc., etc. Thus it happens, as Mr. Spencer says, "that out of savages unable to count up to the number of their fingers, and speaking a language containing only nouns and verbs, arise at length our Newtons and our Shakspeares." This is an example of evolution to which its formula has been applied.

As Mr. Guthrie well says, the problem of philosophy remains unsolved, that is, we do not know what life or mind is; but it would be illogical to conclude from that, that Mr. Spencer's work is a failure. An hypothesis which comprehends the vastness of nature, which seeks to reconcile all the facts of existence and relate them, as does evolution, must command the respectful attention of every investigator of truth.

Studies in Theism. By BORDEN P. BOWNE. 12° pp. 444. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1879.

PROFESSOR BOWNE'S *Studies in Theism* is a rather discursive contribution to the subject of teleology, or final causes. While avowedly aiming to show the futility of the attempt to construct the universe without the theistic postulate, the real object of the author's present effort is to controvert what he is pleased to call "the vulgar conception of Darwinism and Evolution, which gets the living from that which is nothing but the dead, and man from that which is nothing but the brute" (p. 164). The author deals with the highest problems of philosophy—teleological problems—with such confidence in the sufficiency of rational principles to support his position that he deigns not to seek the aids of Revelation and the intuitional faculty. He writes like one who has thought out the problem of final causes for himself—certainly to his own satisfaction—leaving nothing to be done by those who are to succeed him. Like "Pepin" in *Theophrastus Such*, his paragraphs are imbued with the air of a mind "too

penetrating to accept any other man's ideas, and too equally competent in all directions to seclude his power in any other form of creation, but rather fitted to hang over them all as a lamp of guidance to the stumblers below."

The author's studies are too abstract to be of interest to the average reader, for whom he professes to write, and too popular to be of service to the student of philosophy. His thought is bright and his conceptions, for the most part, are clear; and yet his definitions of abstract terms are often lacking in precision, and his conclusions frequently vitiated by being overdrawn. Take, for example, the author's characterization of the position of those who accept the hypothesis of evolution: "They explain nothing," he says, "they assume everything, and merely describe to us the successive phases of the first assumption. The great cycle rolls on forever, manifesting all the varied phenomena of the living and the lifeless, of life and death. * * * We can do nothing but watch its successive phases and record them. This is the only position which the anti-teleologist can take which shall be in harmony both with the phenomena and with the necessary principles of mechanical science" (p. 170). While we have no purpose of controverting the author, we must pause to express our surprise that any one with finite faculties should assume to be able to do more than this.

The animus of the author is frequently disclosed in passages like the following: "The universe is set to developing minds, and to stocking them with proper notions about itself; and although it does this under the law of necessity, and under every possible obligation to tell the truth, it proceeds to give a garbled account of itself, and makes no account of the truth whatever. We must reckon this among the many mysteries which the evolutionists have bequeathed to the world" (p. 58). Such statements, and such writing, may do for extemporaneous speech, before a popular audience, but they can hardly be counted among the excellencies of candid discussion, or classed with the results of profound studies. One is tempted to ask, on what more rational hypothesis could one account for the egg becoming a chicken, or the embryo a man, than on that of evolution? The author vigorously combats the proposition that the present is an outcome of the past. "The higher is never deduced from the lower," he asserts; "but both lower and higher are but the several phases of the basal fact thus assumed" (p. 168). Nevertheless, such a statement does not debar him from evolving as good evolution doctrine as the evolutionists themselves, as for example, the following: "Every thing which is to mount above itself must have in itself the tendency to, and provision for, that higher plane. When, then, nature manifested nothing but mechanical or chemical phenomena, it was not merely mechanical and chemical, but more, and was already on the way to the realization of that more. When nature could show nothing higher than the brute,

nature was not merely brute, but more, and the advent of that more into explicit reality was approaching. Without this assumption no scheme of development is for a moment tenable. Every new increment would be a creation, and something would arise from nothing" (p. 169). Certainly.

We have said the author's definitions of abstract terms were often lacking precision. As an exemple, we cite his definition of knowledge—which shows a want of clearness of conception, and upon his own statement, would justify us in declaring him in this instance devoid of knowledge, since he is wanting in "certainty of conception"—viz.: "Knowledge is the certainty that our conceptions correspond to the fact or truth" (p. 23). "Certainty of conception" is certainly the first requisite of knowledge; but we submit that it is rather a condition essential to knowledge than knowledge itself. One may possess the requisite certainty of conception, and still be ignorant, never having brought his faculties into use. The definition of Dr. Whewell is preferable to this, though even his is defective, viz.: "True knowledge is the interpretation of nature; and therefore it requires both the interpreting mind and nature for its subject; both the document and the ingenuity to read it aright."—*History of the Inductive Sciences.* Vol. I, p. 43.—"Interpreting nature" implies something done; it is incorrect as a definition of knowledge, for the reason that knowledge is a substantive, implying something *possessed* by the mind, rather than an *act* of the mind. What is that something? Manifestly, understanding, or a conception of the proper relation of things. From this point of view, truth and knowledge are nearly synonymous.

It is impossible, for want of space, to follow the author step by step through his long argument from the molecule and its interactions, up to God and his attributes. That the existence of an Omnipresent and Designing Principle—God—should be reached by his argument at last was inevitable from its beginning, notwithstanding his admission that "the theist does not claim to demonstrate the existence of God, but only that the problem of the world and life cannot be solved without God" (p. 4). The author is quite correct in regarding the prevailing agnosticism as speculative rather than a conclusion based on psychological studies. The result of one's thought on the subject of final causes is largely determined by one's habit of mind, early bias, the school one has been trained in, and the philosophical opinions of one's favorite authors. There is a peculiar fascination in the demonstrable which few are able to resist; and when we add to that the preposterous dogmatism with which the inane arguments of theologians have been presented, followed with dire anathemas on such as could not, or would not, accept them, it is no wonder that the rational sense of mankind turns away from them as from "disagreeable conclusions."

Man's Moral Nature. By RICHARD MAURICE BUCKE, M. D. 12° pp. 200. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.

THE essay on the basis of *Man's Moral Nature* is anomalous in some respects. Its subject is one of absorbing interest to most people; and our interest in the treatment of it was enhanced by the fact that the author of the essay was presumably a doctor of medicine, and therefore possessed of qualifications which peculiarly fitted him for his task. Of all men, surely those whose business it is to measure and weigh brains, hunt up the ganglionic centres, and trace their connections with the physical and mental functions, are best entitled to speak with authority concerning the physical basis of the moral nature. The reader will judge of our surprise, therefore, when we turned over the pages of the essay under notice! The author writes on this beautiful and prolific subject, like one who has just awakened from a Rip Van Winkle sleep. He appears to be ignorant of the labors and demonstrations of physiologists of the last quarter of a century, and writes of things well known to the physiologist of the day as if they were guesses of his own. Had he written them in tolerable English, we should feel constrained to regard the author as an exceptional genius, and excuse the infliction of his book on a long-suffering and forbearing public. But since he writes in disregard of the Queen's English and violates the proprieties of literary taste, we shall not excuse him. The public has rights in this matter which are entitled to respect. No one should spread before the public the wild vagaries of his brain without having some reasonable assurance of their utility. In the present instance the author, according to his own modest assertion, rolls the heavy burden of his thought upon the public, for the sole purpose of easing his own "ganglionic centres." He confesses that he is in doubt as to its value. Indeed, he disclaims all responsibility for it. The thought which the book embodies, he says "grew in me, but I had nothing to do with it—I had absolutely no control over it. It has grown into this book as independently of my volition as the oak is independent of the *will* of the soil." What the "will" of the soil is we do not know and shall not hazard a guess. But we do know and feel that no one should foist a book on the public, dealing with an important subject, without a due sense of personal responsibility. It is idle for a sane person to disclaim responsibility for his ideas; and if one really feels none for them, it is incumbent upon him that he does not allow himself to become a filter through which the half-digested "stuff" of others may find its way to the public.

Der Zweck im Recht. By RUDOLPH VON IHERING. Vol. V. 8° pp. 567. Leipsic: BREITKOPF and HÄRTEL.

THE present volume is the offspring of another and still incomplete work—*Der Geist des Römischen Rechts*—a book which accomplished the complete reconciliation of the historical and philosophical schools of jurisprudence. The historical school, strange to say, had produced no able history of the Roman law. Ihering declared that the reason lay in the fact that the school was one-sided; it lacked the philosophical element. He undertook to supply the deficiency. His work was an attempt to trace the history and development of the legal idea, not merely to fix the date of certain statutes, and relate the course of legislation. The central thought of his masterly production was, that the true philosophy of law is the philosophy of its growth, and the true history of law is one which traces legal institutions back to their sources in the social conditions and habits of thought peculiar to the times which gave them birth. The battle-cry of the historical school that "Law is an unconscious development," died away into an echo before this onset. "In nothing," said Ihering, "is a nation more clearly conscious of its needs and purposes than in the domain of law." Legal reforms are born in pain and conflict. But when men struggle, it is with a view to gain some desirable end. In this seeming platitude lay the pregnant apothegm inscribed on the title-page of the book now before us, as a motto and key to the whole system—*Der Zweck ist der Schöpfer des ganzen Rechts.* "All law is framed toward a certain end." This end or purpose which it is the function of law to realize, is the subject of the present inquiry. With genuine German thoroughness he begins with first principles and reasons somewhat as follows: Matter is governed by the law of causation, *causa efficiens;* mind is subject to the law of purpose, *causa finalis.* The law of causation, however, is but the working rule of matter; the world was created by an intelligent being and the law of purpose is the ultimate law. The will is a faculty of independent and original action, and acts always with a purpose. The mind of man, being thus a self-determining agency, a spring of independent action, may become a discordant force in the universe, and counteract the plan of nature. Nature has, therefore, enlisted the coöperation of man in her purposes, by rewarding his compliance with pleasure, and punishing with pain any disobedience of her laws. The same is true of brutes; and it is in the actions of animals that we can best observe the process of volition. Take the example of a brute drinking. The sensation, thirst, is nature's exhortation to drink. Notwithstanding his thirst, a well-trained hound will not drink if his master forbids it. Here we have *self-determination*, as the first element. He drinks because he feels a

want; that is to say, the ground of the purpose is in the subject himself. Again, he sees in the water a means of satisfying his craving; that is to say, he is dependent upon this external instrument. His existence is thus conditioned in the purpose to drink. These last two elements make up the idea of interest, or self-interest, which is the spring of all action. Yet the so-called "disinterested actions" are not impossible. Some purposes are egoistic, *i. e.*, self-aggrandizement is the primary object, and any good which may result to others is purely secondary. Other actions involve self-sacrifice; the good of others is the sole design, and the joy which comes from seeing them happy is the only subjective inducement to the act. Duty and love are the springs of disinterested action. Self-interest of a certain sort is there, *i. e.*, the personality of the action is, to a certain extent, conditioned in the purpose; but it is of a different kind from the self-interest which amasses wealth and feeds ambition. In both cases, it is an effort at self-realization (*Selbst-behauptung*.) This is the highest generalization of human purposes. Every action is in some sense an attempt to effectuate the design of nature in man.

Of the two subdivisions, the egoistical, and the ethical or "disinterested" purposes, the latter will be treated of in the second volume, which is soon to appear. The egoistical purposes are: 1st, the preservation of physical existence (*Physische Selbst-behauptung*); 2d the accumulation of property (*ökonomische Selbst-behauptung*); property is also indispensable, as a means of gratifying other and higher dispositions than physical cravings. 3d, the maintenance of legal rights (*rechtliche Selbst-behauptung*). The first purpose is dependent on the second for its certain accomplishment, and these two necessitate the third. Life and property are secure only when guaranteed by law and the State. Man exists in a dual relation, for himself as an individual, and for others as a member of society. Society has, therefore, an *d priori* existence, and the *pactum unionis* of Rousseau becomes superfluous. The social constitution embraces three propositions: 1st, I exist for myself; 2d, others exist for me; 3d, I exist for others. The individual has a claim upon society because his existence is conditioned in that of others; society controls the individual because her interests are bound up in him. The so-called state of nature is therefore simply one of barbarism, where men have not yet discovered what nature really ordains. Speaking abstractly, men's interests coincide, but do not conflict. The individual, however, is not always wise, and, since his personal desires are strong and immediate, he is sometimes tempted to pursue his own purpose, at the cost of his fellows. How is society to reconcile these warring interests and make the individual a willing coadjutor in her general plan? The answer to this question requires an analysis of the whole social mechanism. Such an analysis is the truly magnificent design of the present work. Society plies the individual with motives,

egoistical and ethical. The consideration of the latter class of motives is reserved to the second volume.

The egoistical levers in the social mechanism are commerce and law. In commerce, society seeks to realize the conditions of its existence by a system of rewards. In trade, the individual receives an *equivalent* for all that he is called upon to give or perform; he contributes to the accomplishment of grand social purposes, because he thus gains the means of effectuating his own. The rewards which men receive are sometimes economic, as money and other objects of wealth; sometimes ideal, as honor, power and fame. Society honors none but those who have labored in her service. She does not require them to abjure the ambitions and covetings of individuals, but insists merely that their labor shall be of great benefit to her, and then she crowns them with laurels. Self-interest is the immutable foundation of commerce. Like the coral insect which lives only for itself and, dying, leaves its contribution to the mighty reef, so self-interest, its whole activity centred in the individual, has achieved, by indirection, the marvels of modern civilization.

The second lever is coercion, applied through the instrumentality of law and the State. The State is society as possessor of the power of coercion (*Der Staat ist die Gesellschaft welche zwingt*). There is no arbitrary division of society into sovereign and subjects, as in the systems of Austin and Bentham. These latter writers seem almost to have assumed for the State an *d priori* existence. Ihering regards the State as a growth, and as the product of enlightened self-interest. It is the organization of society for the purpose of actualizing the conditions of social existence by means of coercion. The government is simply a portion of the community to whom has been entrusted the task of executing the design of the State. Social or civil law is regulated force. It is a comprehensive expression for those interests which society is prepared to maintain by coercion. It need not be enacted and announced in the form of a *lex;* though in this way alone can it be surely distinguished from custom. It binds the subject legally and the sovereign morally; for it is of the essence of law that it be constant and certain, both in its substance and in its administration. Justice is another name for the common interest; it is that rule by which all may stand and prosper. Any act which society declares dangerous to the conditions of her existence, is a crime; and punishment is not a matter of philosophical retribution, but is a practical expedient to deter men from crime.

The foregoing brief summary gives but a slight hint of the wealth of novel and profound thought which this book contains, and none whatever of the perspicacity of statement, eloquence of diction and skill in illustration which characterize Professor Ihering as a writer. Enough has been said to show that his view of law, while philosophical, is utilitarian. There are many points of similarity between his system and that of Austin; but

in no sense can he be called an imitator of the latter. His work is undoubtedly the most profound and satisfactory contribution to the science of legal philosophy, since the days of Austin and Bentham.

HISTORY.

The North Americans of Antiquity; their Origin, Migrations, and Type of Civilization Considered. By JOHN T. SHORT. 8° pp. 544. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1880.

IT IS commonly thought that America possesses no historic antiquity, no heroic and legendary period, no culture-heroes like those of prehistoric Greece, of legendary Scandinavia and Britain. Until recently it has been the custom of Europeans to taunt us with the lack of a grand past, with the absence of noble monuments of our early ages; and to this day even Americans themselves, in general, have but a faint conception of the grandeur and beauty which the slowly dissolving veil of antiquity is revealing to their sight.

Americans have at length, however, caught the enthusiasm which is making all the ancient seats of Europe and Asia to ring with the sound of the pick and the spade. Schliemann, Cesnola, Layard and Smith are emulated on the western continent by discoverers as ardent and indefatigable as themselves. European archæologists and historians are nobly matched by Squier, Stephens, Foster, Bancroft, and a host of lesser lights, who are digging deep into the soil of centuries and reaching far back into the darkness of the ages, to bring to light the remains and records of our prehistoric civilization. Especially has the last named of these—Hubert Howe Bancroft—produced a work that may well be called monumental, a labor of enthusiastic love and devotion that has insured him an immortality in the memory and annals of his country. Vast, however, as has been the toil of these men, and valuable as are the results, the progress of discovery is so rapid that their writings constantly need to be supplemented with records of the researches of more and still more recent explorers. It is to this fact that the great worth of the volume now before us is partially due, though its chief value lies in the admirably comprehensive, compressed, and faithful manner in which it summarizes the stores of information that have been brought forth by all the previous workers in this domain.

It must not be inferred that Mr. Short is merely a compiler. He has, himself, spent many years of earnest labor in the field,

and every chapter in his volume bears unmistakable impress of original research and study. While drawing largely from the acquisitions of his predecessors, he very frequently adds the wealth of his own discovery, and often, even in important particulars, differs from the conclusions of others. Nor is this ever done without stating with remarkable justness the position of his opponents, and setting forth amply his grounds of dissent. Designing that his volume should serve as a manual of information relating to the earliest period of North American antiquity, and as an introduction to ancient American history, he devotes the most of his space to presenting a comprehensive view of the civilization of the mound-builders, cliff-dwellers, and Pueblos; while that most fascinating branch of the study—the traditional history and architectural remains of the Mayas of Yucatan and the Nahuas of Mexico—has received only such attention as could be given to the probable origin and the most remote growth of these ancient peoples. We believe the time is coming when the poets of America will desist from imitations of Hellenic rythms, or revamping the tales of ancient Europe, and sing the legendary glories of their own country in resonant epics whose very themes will make them grand. The poetry of the Quiché cosmogony the fall of Xibalba—the American Troy, which went down in blood and darkness—and the life and teachings of the saintly Quetzalcoatl, must yet be hymned in song that shall give us our *Iliad*, our *Nibelungenlied* and our *Morte d'Arthur*.

Notwithstanding all that has been thus far accomplished, the origin of the prehistoric Americans is by no means settled; but there is a strong probability that the ancestors of the Nahuas were closely connected with some Asiatic race. The facts arrayed in Mr. Short's volume show, almost beyond dispute, that northern Asia was the original home of most of the North American tribes. The autocthonic hypothesis, so enthusiastically advanced by Dr. Morton, and apparently so strongly supported by Agassiz's theory of the separate creations of races, seems to be wholly untenable, and, indeed, is rapidly losing ground among scholars. There are many indications that the mound-builders were preceded in this country by men of a much lower type; but there is, as yet, insufficient evidence to prove anything more than that they were contemporary with these people of a lower order. Dr. C. C. Abbott made a startling discovery, a short time ago, of numerous stone implements in what appeared to be undisturbed drift, at Trenton, N. J. Professor Shaler, however, after examining the deposit, concluded that, while it is of glacial origin, it was subsequently modified by water-action: but he asserts that "if these remains are really those of man, they prove the existence of inter-glacial man on this part of our shore." Dr. Abbott, it must be remarked, believes that the Esquimau is the surviving representative of palæolithic and glacial man in North America. But it seems to us that,

considering the uncertainty attending every such discovery hitherto made in America, there is at present no warrant for asserting the existence of man upon our continent at so early an epoch. Unfortunately, too many important discoveries are made by unskilled and unlearned men, and by the time the scientist reaches the spot, it has become forever impossible to make much scientific use of the discovery; or the story rests on the evidence of a single observer, who may have been mistaken or untruthful; or the "finds" are the work of an enthusiast—like Dr. Koch—whose zeal to support a theory renders his statements unreliable. It will be remembered that about the year 1840, Count Pourtales found human remains, as stated by Agassiz, embedded in a calcareous conglomerate, forming part of a Floridian coral reef. Agassiz thought this reef must be one hundred and thirty-five thousand years old, and the human remains ten thousand years old. Among other noted geologists, Sir Charles Lyell accepted this statement implicitly. But afterwards, Count Pourtales asserted that the relics were not found in a coral formation, but in a fresh-water sandstone, associated with fresh-water shells of species still living in the same lake. Considering the weakness charged upon theologians and metaphysicians by the scientists, the latter should exercise special care against hasty theorizing.

This question of the existence of inter-glacial man in America, however, does not affect the study of historic or legendary man on our continent. It is very probable, as we have said, that man, as we first know him in America, migrated from foreign shores. The traditional history of the Mayas and the Nahuas points to an old world origin. If the traditions of the Mayas have any worth, these people must have originally come from some Mediterranean country, while the Nahuas explicitly and persistently asserted that they themselves came from the north and north-west. Much of the Nahua cosmogony very closely resembles the traditions of the Asiatic peoples. Mr. Short very pertinently asks: "Why should the traditions of the ancient Americans be less reliable than those of the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, or Hindoos?" In this he follows the learned Becker, who forcibly says in his "Migration of the Nahuas" (*Congrès international des Américanistes*. Luxembourg, 1877. Tome I, p. 342): "Why should the Aztec priesthood and nobility, a class bred and educated in the understanding of traditional lore and an elaborate system of picture-writing, be considered as a set of metaphysical lunatics who did not know or did not mean what they said?" In the case of the Aztecs, we have the same and the only data which are relied upon so explicitly in tracing the migration of peoples through Asia and Europe, viz.: traditions, language, and architectural remains. And as far as advancement in civilization is concerned, these data are as valuable and trustworthy in the latter instance as in the former—as we shall presently show. The languages, especially, of

the Mayas and the Quichés display affinities to the west European and African tongues, as well as to those of the West Indies and the Antilles. It is clearly proven that this Maya-Quiché family spread its civilization from Panuco on the north to Honduras on the south; and Señor Orozco y Berra—a competent authority—believes that they originally migrated from Florida to Cuba, and thence to Yucatan.

The Nahua migrations appear to have been effected from Asia to our north-western coast; thence, having grown to large proportions, across the water-shed between the sources of the Columbia and Missouri rivers and down through the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, where the Nahuas established a great empire and attained a good degree of civilization. It seems, too, that the host must have divided, a part going into Utah, where their remains are found in the famous cliff-dwellings of the San Juan valley. Yet this belief rests solely on linguistic and traditional evidence, there being no similarity between the works of the cliff-dwellers and those of the mound-builders. There is no substantial reason for believing that these mound-builders were autochthones, while there is much probability that they were Nahuas. The mound crania, pottery and sculptured portraitures of the facial type, added to the indications of commercial intercourse—such as the discovery of the Mexican obsidian in the mounds of the Ohio valley—make the evidence connecting the mound-builders with the Nahuas almost decisive. The civilization of the mound-builders, moreover, was considerably advanced. Their settlements were wide-spread, and they evidently had a vast and well-governed empire, otherwise they could not have erected works which approximate the proportions of the Egyptian pyramids. They were both an agricultural and a manufacturing people, and their manufactures show that they well understood the value of the division of labor. Home culture and domestic industry were considerably developed, as is proved by the contents of the mounds. They mined copper extensively, they quarried mica for mirrors, and they worked flint and salt mines. Their trade was wide-spread, extending from Lake Superior to Mexico. They even connected the lakes by canals, and some of the bayous in Louisiana are pronounced to be the work of their hands. Altogether, it is probable that the great Hue hue Tlapalan (old red land) which the early Mexicans never tired in talking of, bordered on the Mississippi valley. The proof can never be complete, however, until some one shall compare the Aztec language with those of the southern Indians.

But if the Mayas and the Nahuas migrated hither from the old world, their civilization, at least, was entirely indigenous. It grew up from the soil, and was the result of the circumstances and requirements of the continent. Every possible effort has been made, often with wonderful persistency and ingenuity, to discover marked resemblances between the civilization of these peoples and of the

peoples of the old world. But the success has been very small, and the field is now deserted by all save enthusiasts and visionaries. There are occasional analogies, as the serpent worship and phallus worship, common to the American aborigines and the people of India. The calendar systems of both Mayas and Nahuas are somewhat like those of the Persians and Egyptians, and it seems probable that the groundwork of the Nahua system was actually borrowed from the latter. Perhaps the most remarkable fact connected with the early Americans—and one that should utterly discomfit those scholars who sneer at the value of this study—is the fact that the system of the Aztecs was so perfect that when Cortes arrived he found the Julian calendar, as compared with the Mexican, to be ten days in error. The Aztecs had reckoned the true length of the year to within two minutes and nine seconds. No one thing proves so indisputably the high degree of civilization which the Aztecs had reached, unaided by any of the appliances which had been known in the old world since the time of Caliph Almamon.

The only revolting feature in this ancient civilization is the introduction of human sacrifices. "Still," says Mr. Short, for we will quote the words with which he concludes his volume, "when we reflect upon the Druidical horrors of the Britons at the time of the Roman conquest, and realize that our Anglo-Saxon ancestors in the sixth century sold their relatives and even their own children into slavery, and were but slightly removed from the condition of cannibals, if they were not actually such, the ancient American civilization with its many humane features and advanced culture rises up in splendor before us, in marked contrast with our barbarous origin. Although this civilization was indigenous and peculiar to itself, we find all of the American tribes possessed of certain arts and traditions which seem common to mankind in all parts of the world. The character of flint weapons and implements is the same among all primitive peoples. The modes of producing fire by friction and of grinding grain differ little, if any, in America, from those employed by ancient peoples elsewhere. The first efforts toward the development of the architectural idea all round the globe, seem to find expression in the rude mound and then in the more perfect pyramid. These and other considerations, which have been noted in the preceding pages, lead us to the conclusion that at a remote period, before racial and national characteristics had been well defined, this continent received its population from the old world, at different times and from different quarters. The uniformity with which the human mind operates in all lands for the accomplishment of certain ends, has in many instances resulted in the independent development of institutions common to several peoples. This fact, together with the probability that occasionally foreigners were cast upon the American shores, will be sufficient to account for many features

which have been discovered in Mexican and Central American architecture, art and religion, presenting analogies with the old world. The fact that civilizations having such analogies are developed in isolated quarters of the globe, separated from each other by broad seas and lofty mountains, and thus indicating a uniformity of mental operation and a unity of mental inspiration, added to the fact that the evidence is of a preponderating character that the American continent received its population from the old world, leads us to the truth that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men.'"

With regard to the *externals* of the volume, the publishers have given it all the beauty of dress for which they are justly so famous. Every page is a delight to the eye. The illustrations are very profuse, and, in point of execution, leave nothing to be desired. We wish, however, that greater care had been expended on the index. An index is nothing, if not accurate. Yet we find here, after only a few moments' examination, such errors as these:

"Antiquity of man—testimony of geology, 102," instead of 112; "antiquity of man in Europe, 24, n. 1," should be n. 2; "analogies Scandinavian and Mexican, 464," should be 466; "ancient forts of New York, Col. Whittlesey and Foster on, 28," instead of 29; "Bancroft on Aztec language, 476, n. 2," should be *Farrar* instead of Bancroft; "Brinton, Dr., Buddha and Quetzalcoatl compared by," should be *Humboldt* instead of Brinton.

Four Lectures on some Epochs of Early Church History. By CHARLES MERIVALE, D.D., Dean of Ely. 12° pp. 212. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Company.

DEAN MERIVALE is profound authority on that fruitful age which clusters around the establishment of the Roman Empire, whether we regard its political or its ecclesiastical history. In his later writings, however, we miss something of that peculiar vigor which distinguished his *History of the Romans under the Empire*, and of that brilliant analysis there displayed—as, for instance, in his treatment of the Emperor Claudius. In the little volume before us, he disavows all pretension to special research or originality; yet so eminent a scholar and thinker cannot discuss themes of such import as are here treated, without stamping the discussion with the impress of his learning.

The first lecture deals with the outward, the objective, the visible Church of the century following the conversion of Constantine; it describes the political establishment of the Church, and its union with the Roman Empire. St. Ambrose is selected as the central figure of this epoch. The parti-colored religious aspect of the age of Constantine, the anomalous position of

Christianity, the hopefulness of Paganism even in its death-struggle, and the moral dissoluteness and religious indifference of the people, are all graphically and vividly portrayed. The adoption of the Christian faith by Constantine did not make that faith in any sense the religion of the empire. Even the Edict of Milan only gave to Christianity a legal toleration. While Constantine was personally a believer, he well knew that he could not rely, for the government of the world, upon so small a fraction of his subjects as were the Christians. Yet, among all the causes assigned by historians for Constantine's desertion of Rome, Dr. Merivale decides that he withdrew because of the religious difficulty which he foresaw would constantly increase. The author's opinion on such a question is one of great weight. Constantine's final reliance upon the Christians was due to the fact that they were honest, faithful, fearless and devoted—in short, the stuff of which empires are constituted.

After a rapid preliminary sketch of the condition of the Church, Ambrose is introduced, when the throne of the western Cæsars was definitively settled at Milan, in the last half of the fourth century. With much skill, the author seizes upon the dramatic incidents in the life of Ambrose, as well as in the career of the notables who form the subjects of the remaining lectures—and that, too, without warping his argument from its true course. He considers as mythical the famous story that Ambrose was made bishop through the exclamation of an unseen child; gives a graphic picture of the refusal of the Pagan pontifical robe by Gratian, and of the great dispute between Paganism and Christianity, in the persons of Ambrose and Symmachus. Of the argument of Ambrose, in this latter case, the learned and liberal-minded dean holds a very poor opinion, in which we think he has the support of all save the ultramontane historians. Honest and indignant, moreover, is the judgment pronounced upon Ambrose's persecution of the Jews,—the first of the long and horrible series which disgraced the Christian Church. The acts we have thus mentioned formed the successive encroachments made by the Church upon the State, and by which Ambrose prepared the way for the one bold and resolute stroke that placed the Church above the State as its spiritual controller,—the open rebuke inflicted on the Emperor Theodosius. In distinction from many historians, Dr. Merivale considers this bold act as thoroughly genuine and honest on the part of Ambrose, and rejects the idea of its having been previously arranged for theatrical effect. In either case, however, its meaning was the same. Unfortunately, while its immediate effect was salutary, the act has been made an example by the Church of Rome, which has since drawn from it many audacious corollaries. The bishop of Milan sowed the seed of that spiritual arrogance which has been so intolerable for centuries past. After this, the step was short and rapidly taken that united Church and State. Theodosius made Pagan worship unlawful, although it still

continued, audaciously or furtively, and for many years to come even seduced Christians into the practice of its rites. Not until the sack of Rome by Alaric, was Paganism finally extinguished.

The second lecture takes for its theme the life and teachings of St. Augustine, as fitly representing the inner life of the Church, its religious views and sentiments. The author gives a rapid and vivid *resumé* of the wonderful *Confessions*, concerning the spirit and sentiment of which he holds views eminently salutary. These "confessions" are a signal instance of the self-conscious, self-accusing, self-tormenting spirit which often breathes in the autobiographies of converts to a vital faith; but the spirit is one of temperament rather than of reason and reflection, and its influence is baneful. A fine comparison is drawn between these confessions of Augustine and the *Meditations* of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus. In reflecting upon the lofty sentiment of Paganism, when at its best, it is worth noticing that the conversion of Augustine was brought about, primarily, through studying the *Hortensius* of Cicero. This conversion gave to the early Church its strongest man. From the year when he became a bishop, until his death, his influence constituted in fact a papacy. In the three mighty struggles of the age—the Arian, Donatist and Pelagian—he was the head and front of orthodoxy, the champion of the western Church. Dr. Merivale's summary of these contests is admirable, setting forth in brief yet clear terms the essence and tendency of each heresy, the issues at stake, and the arguments of the great bishop of Hippo. St. Augustine's course was the same in each instance; having passed, during his own growth, through nearly all of the existing heresies, he based his arguments and opinions on his own deep personal experience. Dr. Merivale thinks that the rise of Arianism was allowed by Providence as a means by which the Pagans might be brought gradually to the discipline of the Christian faith. As against the Donatists, whom he calls the Puritans of that time, he feels that Augustine was not wholly right; and we are glad to see so distinguished a prelate of the formal Church of England emphatically insisting on the subjective character of a true saving faith, and rejecting the Augustinian view, too prevalent even now, that none outside the Church can be "saved," while no one within its pale can hardly be "lost." It was in connection with the Donatists that Augustine stained the honor of his great name by resorting to persecution, and calling in the secular power to impose uniformity of religious belief. Nor does he come off blameless from his contest with the Pelagians, as in this he is certainly open to the charge of inconsistency. His utterances on this heresy are scattered throughout his writings, and belong to widely different periods of his life. In refuting the Manicheans, he admitted the freedom of the will; while, in combating the Pelagians, he denies that man can will or do anything of his own power. His self-contradictions can never be harmonized; they

may be partially explained, however, by the fact already mentioned, that he invariably based his arguments and opinions on his own personal experience.

The third lecture is the most eloquent and interesting of the volume; perhaps because it has the most stirring theme—"St. Leo the Great and the Rise of the Papacy." It shows how the sack of Rome forced the extinction of Paganism, and was the commencement of modern society and of papal supremacy; Leo, indeed, was the first to contemplate a primacy. There was need of just such a strong, bold leader, for even amid the falling of Rome—when the Pagans were in consternation at the indifference of their gods and the Christians were reaping, in the exertions put forth by Alaric in their behalf, the reward of their attachment to the faith—even then these Christians were pusillanimous and doubting, and displayed but little confidence in the God they followed, or the vitality of the principles which they professed. Dr. Merivale performs with much skill the critical and delicate task of examining the effect of the overthrow of Paganism upon the profession of Christianity. It is altogether the most scholarly and valuable passage in the book. The growth of the papacy, and the age of transition, are also depicted with a few broad, rapid touches which bring out graphically and faithfully the characteristics of the time. As the survival of Paganism in Christian rites is attracting so much attention at the present day, it is worthy of note that the author occupies, in this regard, a position almost by the side of Dr. Inman himself.

"But the real corruption of the age," he writes, "was shown in the unstinted adoption of Pagan usages in the ceremonial of the Christian Church, with all the baneful effects they could not fail to produce on the spiritual training of the people. There are not wanting indeed passages in the popular teachings of St. Leo, in which he beats the air with angry denunciations of auguries and sortilege and magic, stigmatizes idolatry as the worship of demons, and the devil as the father of Pagan lies. But neither Leo, nor, I think, the contemporary doctors of the Church, seem to have had an adequate sense of the process by which the whole essence of Paganism was, throughout their age, constantly percolating the ritual of the Church and the hearts of the Christian multitude. It is not to these that we can look for a warning that the fasts prescribed by the Church had their parallel in the abstinence imposed by certain Pagan creeds, and required to be guarded and explained to the people in their true Christian significance; that the Monachism they extolled so warmly, and which spread so rapidly, was in its origin a purely Pagan institution, common to the religions of India, Thibet, and Syria, with much, no doubt, to excuse its extravagance in the hapless condition of human life at the period, but with little or nothing to justify it in the charters of our Christian belief; that the canonizing of saints and martyrs, the honors paid them and the trust

reposed in them, were simply a revival of the old Pagan mythologies; that the multiplication of formal ceremonies with processions and lights and incense and vestments, with images and pictures and votive offerings, was a mere Pagan appeal to the senses, such as can never fail to enervate man's moral fibre; that, in short, the general aspect of Christian devotion, as it met the eye of the observer, was a faint and rather frivolous imitation of the old Pagan ritual, the object of which from first to last was not to instruct, or elevate man's nature, but simply to charm away the ills of life by adorning and beautifying his present existence."

The closing lecture describes the growth and early results of missions, discussing also the rise of the conventual system and the character of the Gallican Church, and lacks the vigor of style and expression which characterizes the author's *Conversion of the Northern Nations.*

Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism. By THOMAS INMAN, M. D. With an Essay on Baal Worship, on the Assyrian Sacred "Grove" and other allied Symbols. By JOHN NEWTON, M. R. C. S. E., etc. Third Edition, with 200 illustrations. 8° pp. 147. New York: J. W. Bouton. 1880.

DR. INMAN'S *Ancient Faiths Embodied in Ancient Names* created considerable consternation in the Christian ranks. Some critics fiercely attacked it, but they were quarrelling, for the most part, with obvious facts. Other critics handled it very delicately, as if seeking to allay whatever curiosity might be raised. For ourselves, we saw no occasion to tremble. Such facts as seemed incontestably proven were certainly unpleasant, in a large degree, to our modern ideas of refinement; but we should reflect that the early peoples were children of nature, and that their religions were unavoidably based on the processes of nature.

The present work, when first issued, several years ago, did not tend to allay the agitation created by the former. It is, indeed, not pleasant reading, and is surely not meant for babes; yet its subject is a perfectly legitimate one for research, and the results of that research are of great value to the world, which is fast outgrowing its old dread of investigation in matters of religion, and is coming to desire the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

While we are not of those who consider Dr. Inman an enemy to religion because he has dug out so much dirt from its foundations; and while we do not join those who charge him with being driven by a hobby, we nevertheless feel that many of

his deductions are unwarranted by the facts, and that he finds sexualism in many words, acts and symbols where it does not, at least consciously, exist. We believe it to be indisputable that the early religions were based on sexualism, and that their symbols were largely the expression of sexualism. Mr. Newton, in his appended essay, gives what is doubtless the true—as it is certainly a sufficient—cause: "What do men desire and long for most? *Life.*" It was the passion for life, and the contemplation of the often-recurring miracle of birth, that gave the tone to man's early attempts at religious faith and worship. But when Dr. Inman insists that the monument over a Christian's grave, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the chasuble worn by papal hierarchs, are emblems of the male or female elements, we are obliged to dissent. It may be very true that sexual symbolism has been perpetuated from system to system, until it has entered into Christianity; but we see no reason to believe that in Christianity these symbols ever had their original significance. Like many words in the Greek New Testament, although they were borrowed from Paganism, they received *in transitu* entirely new meanings, or rose from expressing the base and earthy, to expressing the pure and heavenly.

Dr. Inman is deserving of high praise for the exceedingly laborious task he has performed, and he should be encouraged by every student of religion. They are very few who have the skill, the taste, the leisure, or the willingness to carry on such a study. There has hitherto been little research in this direction, among Englishmen, and the results of even that little have been often withheld from the public, for reasons easily understood. Dr. Inman's attempt is, as he himself asserts, only tentative, and by no means exhaustive. His style is marred by many literary blemishes, but he is often pithy in his sayings, and, when attacking superstition, or a theory to which he is antagonistic, he becomes very lively and entertaining. It is when he draws deductions from his facts, and constructs theories of his own, that he exposes his weakness and becomes unsafe to follow.

History of the Christian Church, from its Origin to the Present Time. By W. M. BLACKBURN, D. D. 8° pp. 719. Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden; New York: Phillips and Hunt. 1879.

PROF. BLACKBURN has produced, in this volume, a comprehensive, laborious, and painstaking manual of Church history, with some special features to commend it to the student. He writes from the evangelical point of view, treats each period according to the plan best adapted to it; groups the facts around

representative men or principles, while maintaining the chronological order; surveys these facts from other base-lines than the usual ones of Pagan imperialism, the papacy, or some individual form of Protestantism; and gives most attention to the origin and development of those ideas that have entered most completely into the Christian civilization of Europe and North America. This latter is a course well chosen, since he writes for English peoples, and consequently the Greek and Roman types of Christianity have less vital practical interest to them than the Germanic and English types. The chief element of originality in the work, however, is found in the new methods and combinations which he employs—the three ministries, the circuit of early churches, the chart of early controversies, the six types of European missions, the circles of Protestant reformers. An important feature, also, is furnished in the several charts, presenting Church history in a very concise and impressive manner.

The scope of the work is broad; the tone liberal, for an evangelical; and there is a marked and praiseworthy effort at impartiality, which is generally successful. It was unavoidable, of course, that the author, when characterizing the various sects, creeds, and religious movements, should employ epithets—although in a merely historical manner—that will arouse vigorous dissent in the adherents of these principles; but of the genuine *odium theologicum* we find a decided lack. The most valuable portion of the work to Americans is that which discusses the development of Christianity in the United States; and we are acquainted with no manual of the kind which does this more amply. This part of the history is brought down to the present time, and, as far as we have tested it, is perfectly reliable.

Of the style of the work we cannot speak so highly. While straightforward and compact, it has no ease, no flow; nor is it sufficiently vivid or picturesque. There is frequent awkwardness, and now and then a solecism. We notice, besides, an occasional misspelling of proper names, which is doubtless due to that incorrigible scape-goat for ignorance and carelessness on the part of authors—the proof-reader.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs. Delany. Revised from Lady Llanover's edition and edited by SARAH CHAUNCEY WOOLSEY. 12° 2 vols., pp. 465, 499. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1879.

LITERATURE has its favorite Maries—as the Queen of Scots had hers; and for many happy reasons it may be said that—in the words of Lord Byron, who remembered Mary Chaworth—

"There is a magic in the name of Mary."

It is a subject on which a pleasing book could be written. Meantime, we may observe—standing at a distance from the stern shade of Mary Somerville, the astronomer—that three of the most charming letter-writers of France and England were Marie de Rabutin-Chantal (Sevigné), Mary Wortley Montagu and Mary Granville-Pendarves Delany, whose *Autobiography and Correspondence* are now presented to the public. The readers of a new generation will no doubt be gratified to know something more about one whom they have seen quoted or alluded to in the literature of the day. Lady Llanover's edition of this work was published in six volumes by Bentley (London) in 1861.

Mrs. Delany's literary remains are among the most attractive things of the kind in our language—more interesting than Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, as an exponent of the modes, manners and thoughts of English society in the eighteenth century. Mr. Stebbing has been recently arguing that the period preceding our own was not so dull and stagnant as many people are apt to suppose, and has presented several facts to sustain his statements. He could have materially served his purpose by quoting the work before us, which tends to show that the eighteenth century was not behind the present in many valuable particulars. It allows us to see that a multitude of ladies belonging to the Georgian era were highly educated, and possessed, furthermore, of a certain originality of character which has been worn away, or refined away, from the womanhood of the present time. Mary Delany's letters throw a more vivid light upon the usages, customs, occupations and principles of the English aristocracy and middle class, than the writings of Richardson, Walpole, and Fanny Burney put together; and the volumes before us have the charm of a novel of high society, in which the author plays the part of a heroine, not the less interesting because it is a true one, and full of the natural diversities of common life. Her birth made her a member of the aristocracy, while the comparative narrowness of her means brought her into contact and sympathy with the wants and ways of the gentry—

and this constitutes the charm of her record. She had the tastes of a refined lady, and she was always as busy as a bee, planning or doing a thousand elegant or homely things. She worked with the needle and thread and scissors, as happily as with the pen. She was able to draw—as we may see by the portrait of her sister, in the second of these volumes—and to paint, and was a designer and maker of artificial flower-groups at a time when that "fine art" was very little practised in England. She built grottos and other wonders in shellwork, and produced a world of embroidery for dresses, bedding and household furniture; and along with all this, she could play very charmingly on the spinet—precursor of the piano-forte. She could do a great many admirable things as well as write letters, and the interest of these last would be far less than it is, if those things had not been recorded with them. Edmund Burke said of her, in his own fervid Irish way: "She is not only the woman of fashion of her own age, but the highest-bred woman in the world, and the woman of fashion of all ages"; and that was also the opinion of quite another sort of character—being George the Third himself.

The narrative of Mary Granville is quite as interesting as any of her sayings or doings. She has her trials, griefs and love-affairs; and she tells us, if not all about them, at least something about them; and we very willingly listen to that long story of seventy years, beginning in 1718 and ending in 1788. Her ancestor, Granville, was a soldier of Charles I; her uncle was made Lord Lansdowne by Queen Anne, and her father, Bernard Granville, a younger brother, had a place at Court. On the death of the queen, in 1714, the Granvilles were suspected of a plot to make her brother, the Pretender, king of England, and Bernard was obliged to exile himself at a farm-stead at Gloucestershire with his wife and two daughters, Mary aged fourteen, and Anne, in her sixth year. At the age of seventeen, Mary lived in a kind of dependence at the house of her uncle, Lord Lansdowne; and here she met her first husband, Pendarves, a slovenly old fellow in his sixtieth year, sottish and gouty in his habits. She gives a frank account of her dislike of him from the first moment. But Pendarves, a rich man, was encouraged by the Lansdownes, and, in spite of her tears, the girl of seventeen was obliged to consent, and be "handsomely provided for." The marriage was followed by a dreary journey of several days to the bridegroom's lonely and dilapidated mansion, where the bride, looking around in the cheerless hall, sat down on a settle and cried. But the old man humored her, and was not such a bad husband after all. She endured him and his gout for seven years, when she found herself a young widow of twenty-four with a handsome jointure—and a very happy frame of mind. It was not regarded disreputable for a lady to sell herself then, nor is it, unhappily, now.

The next twenty years of Mrs. Pendarves' life were passed in the highest and gayest society of England and Ireland, where she

found a great many admirers—Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, being one of these, a man who looked for fortune with a wife, and finding that the widow was not as rich as he had supposed, jilted her. In 1731, Mrs. Pendarves enjoyed the society of Dublin and the viceregal Castle and made the acquaintance of Dr. Swift, who, in spite of his growing deafness and the discontent that accompanied it, was charmed with her and showed his partiality in his own way, that of a "master", anxious for the "improvement" of his favorites. He never made the acquaintance of an agreeable woman without wishing to benefit her in the matters of orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody; and it is to the credit of the ladies of his time that most all of them liked him cordially. Mrs. Pendarves certainly did, and corresponded with him, receiving in return some of his letters, which are printed in this work.

In 1743, came the other "fate" of Mary Granville—the second husband, Dr. Delany, aged fifty-nine. She had met him in Ireland, and his admiration was far more gentle and fervent than that of Dean Swift. When she became a widow, Delany went to England, and made his suit with such an eloquent and flattering pertinacity (as his letters testify) that the widow surrendered, in spite of the opposition of the Lansdownes and other high connections. But she was the best judge of her own happiness; and for the next twenty-five years, "Pat Delany"—made Dean of Down, through his wife's interest—proved himself one of the kindest and most indulgent of husbands, allowing his wife to make repeated visits to England, and, with great consideration, not accompanying her too often.

In 1768 Mary Granville was again a widow, quiet and comfortable, with twenty good years of life still before her. They were spent easily, and for the most part happily, in the midst of her old aristocratic friends and their descendants, and in the society of the king and queen themselves, who, in her later years, furnished her with elegant apartments at Windsor, and welcomed her to their court-shows and receptions. To the last her letters are lively descriptions of the society in which she moved and—we have observed already—of the manners and modes of English society a hundred years ago. Mrs. Delany gave all her thoughts to that society and does not appear to have speculated much on the great movements of statesmanship and war that agitated the nations. It is possible she may have written about those things—among them the stormy controversy over the great American rebellion—and that her aristocratic relations have refused to perpetuate any of her commentaries. These last form probably not one-tenth of her writings; nor is it likely that what has been suppressed would have proved as interesting to the present age, as the published remains before us.

But Mrs. Delany has done enough, in the way of picturing the scenes and people of her day; and the lovers of curious

literature and the historians of social life will gather from her pages a number of things worth remembering and reproducing. Her house-keeping descriptions are very graphic—among them, those of the Irish parties at the deanery (Mount Panther), in 1758. We see everything—the gay fiddlers at one end of the long room, the couples in the dance, the tea enjoyed in the next room, or brought in from it; the sumptuous cold suppers, with fruit and sweet things—all excellent in their way. "Everybody was pleased, and that gave pleasure to the dean and myself." In 1768 we see a gay court-dance at Windsor, in which George III danced the "Hempstress" for two hours with Lady Mary Lowther. The Irish parties at the deanery are far more interesting than the seizure of Silesia by Frederick II, of Prussia, which Mrs. Delany never mentioned in any of her letters; and that "Hempstress"—which the pundits of *Notes and Queries* have not yet ventured to interpret in any way—is a much more welcome reminiscence of old times than would have been, in 1770, any allusion to the marriage of Marie Antoinette, of Austria, with Louis XVI, and the grand *fêtes* that followed.

As Mary Granville, in her life, sets forth a great many peculiarities of her time, she furnishes one more in the mode of her death, at the ripe age of eighty-eight. Her physicians put an end to her prematurely—otherwise she would probably have lived ten years longer. The medical customs of that age were terrible, and diseases were things to be assaulted—not managed with prudence, or any respect for the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, which people in the present day are beginning to recognize. The patient had some feverish symptoms with sore throat; and, by way of relieving her, they drew off a great quantity of blood. As this did not improve her condition, they ordered a powerful blister, which might have helped her if her blood had not been previously exhausted.

Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton. A Historical Study. By Hon. GEORGE SHEA. 8° pp. 471. Second edition, revised and corrected. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

Imperium et Libertas is the motto of Chief-Justice Shea, as well as of Lord Beaconsfield. Both of these authors and statesmen—for we are sure the judge is as good a statesman as his contemporary of the "strategic frontier"—favor a strong government, on the principle of centralized order; and certainly, the idea could find many things to recommend it—the analogy of our solar system, for example, in which the planets do a sort of primary duty for themselves, on their axes, and at the same time do homage to their centre of life and motion. But the author seems too

ready to identify the life-work of Hamilton with the form and character of the Union; and furthermore, greatly too emphatic, when he asserts that, as it was the violent death of Cæsar which led to the imperialism of Rome, the fall of Hamilton in like manner brought about, or helped to bring about, the union of the States in empire." Everything seems to show that it was no one man, but the necessity of the time and general progress of ideas which fixed the form of our government. That system of empire, as the chief-justice has observed—was counselled by Benjamin Franklin in 1754, before Hamilton was born, with reference to England and her dependencies; and subsequently, when the Colonists in alliance had won their memorable fight, they saw plainly enough that the world would not let them fall back again into the old provincial grooves, or maintain any loose or sequestered condition of brotherly love, in the midst of the vast and plentiful resources of the country. The European monarchies touched them on all sides, by land and by sea, threatening the confederacy, and putting its maritime commerce in peril. In spite of a few timid grumblers who thought they had good right to distrust any sort of centralization, the Americans in general agreed to close up their ranks, and present a solid front to the world. They did not, in fact, wish to shut themselves out, or in, from the old world, which was so intimately connected with their traditions and ideas: and even if let alone, in the midst of their Arcadian advantages, they would have gone forth to mingle with the nations, and run the risk of quarrelling on all sides. A strong, compact government on this continent was inevitable. The author, presenting his brief record of those revolutionary men and matters, indicates in several places the foreign jealousies or menaces which, in his opinion, made a close union of the provinces necessary. If Hamilton had never been born, the American Union would not have materially suffered in its progress.

The conclusions of the author are no doubt founded on the complete career of Hamilton. But the volume before us presents little or nothing of that career. It ends when he was twenty years old—a mere lad, though a very clever one; and the author has been obliged to anticipate in the first chapter the acts of Hamilton's later life, and emphasize them with the estimates of contemporaries and survivors. There is a sort of inversion in this; while the general reader would like to begin with the beginning, for his own ease, and proceed in order. He would also prefer that Hamilton should be the prominent figure in his own biography, and not put out of sight so often in the narrative of contemporary men and things. But this treatment was, perhaps, inevitable, for the above-mentioned reason, that the work extends, in point of time, only to the twentieth year of its subject, who had not then entered on the career of statesmanship for which he has been most distinguished. It is a

"study," rather than a biography, as far as it goes. The author promises—or half promises—a continuation of the work, from the year 1777, at which period Hamilton was one of the aides-de-camp of General Washington.

It is to be hoped Judge Shea will carry out this purpose of completing a work, which, with all its collateral excursiveness, is really very attractive. Its style is earnest and glowing, and will not allow the reader to go through it in any languid way. Sometimes he will feel a wish to question some curiosities of expression, and hold an argument. He will also wish to make pencillings here and there; reading on, all the time, as if he could not help himself. In the end he sums up, and declares it is a pity Judge Shea ever allowed his business at any court to interfere with the far more important work of setting forth the life and times of Hamilton—thus disturbing the author's continuity of thought, and obliging him, at times, to write sentences requiring the supervision of a mind more at ease. George Shea writes, sometimes, as carelessly as did George Washington, and it is a pity he had not a Hamilton at his elbow, just "to hint a fault and hesitate dislike," on proper provocation.

A Life Worth Living. Memorials of Emily Bliss Gould. By LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. 12° pp. 284. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Company. 1880.

DR. BACON has emphatically answered the question recently asked: "Is life worth living?" Not by disputatious argument, but by presenting the life and works of one who has shown by precept and example how a life can be *made* worth living. Mrs. Gould left her native country—America—in company with her husband in the Summer of 1860. She was then thirty-eight years of age, and still possessed of the beauty and grace that so distinguished her in New York society. After a hasty tour of the Continent they settled in Rome, where Mrs. Gould's labors began in the establishing of schools for Italian children of the lower class.

The work rapidly progressed and prospered, notwithstanding the opposition of the Church; and amid continued drawbacks, petty persecutions, and slanderous imputations, Mrs. Gould steadily pursued her course, undaunted by disappointments, teaching in the schools herself, and personally supervising everything pertaining to them, long after her state of health imperatively demanded rest.

In the Summer of 1874, exhausted with care, Mrs. Gould sought rest among the Apennines. She found her rest in a characteristic way. Although suffering with the beginning of a

fatal illness, she drew together the children of the village whither she had repaired, and opened a school! But in the midst of her work she was compelled to desist from her labors. To the last her thoughts were occupied for the welfare of the little ones under her care. Her death, which occurred in 1875, was widely and sincerely mourned. The Italian press recognized her works and the Christ-like spirit which animated her life, writing of her in terms of most respectful admiration. Many will be the men and women, to whom were taught correct principles, and a trade whereby to earn an honest living, who will rise up and call her blessed.

The Poets Laureate of England. Being a History of the Office of Poet Laureate. By WALTER HAMILTON. 12° pp. 308. London: Elliot Stock; New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1879.

THIS volume gives a comparatively comprehensive biography of the poets-laureate from Chaucer and Gower—who were but self-styled laureates—and Ben Jonson, who was regularly appointed by King James in 1616, with a salary of about £67 per annum, to Tennyson the present laureate. Mr. Hamilton has collected a large number of the many satires, epigrams, and lampoons directed against these poets, many of which are very amusing.

"It is, perhaps, to be regretted," the author says, "that no collection of the laureate official odes and poems has ever been published. Their poetical merits are certainly not generally of a high class, but the historical facts they allude to might be of interest to the antiquary, and the philological student could in them trace back our language through many of its curious variations. Or, if we might take the complete works of our laureates, both in prose and verse since Chaucer's time, without reference to any other writers, we should have a tolerably comprehensive and complete history of the English language, poetry, drama, morals, politics and religion, extending over more than five centuries."

How the author could conceive the history of English poetry and drama even "tolerably complete," and exclude some of their greatest writers, is inexplicable. A history of English poetry, drama, morals, etc., without Milton, Shakespeare, Pope, Byron, Burns and others, would be like a history of Rome with Cæsar left out. Nevertheless, we wish the publisher had acquitted himself as creditably as the author, and printed the book on better paper and in clearer type.

POLITICS.

A True Republic. By ALBERT STICKNEY. 12° pp. 271. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1879.

THIS book with its excellent suggestions comes at a most opportune moment, when the whole country impatiently awaits the issues of certain complications, to know if this great republic under its present Constitution can sustain itself. *A True Republic* is worthy of the most careful consideration of all those interested in the momentous questions involved in a popular government. The present Constitution of the United States has had a trial of nearly one hundred years; it has done a noble work; but may not the requirements of another century necessitate the infusion of younger blood? "Every new Constitution," writes Mr. Stickney, "or form of government, or statute, is nothing but an experiment in political science. The Constitution of 1787 was simply another experiment; and the men who framed it never thought it anything else. The idea that some men now hold, that this Constitution of the United States is the one perfect piece of political machinery that the world has ever seen, is a weak growth of later years. The men of 1787 knew better. No one of them thought it the best form of government that could be devised. It was the only form on which they could agree. It was a form, as they well knew, *to be tried*, and be changed, if upon trial it should be found, in some points, to fail" (p. 12). Mr. Stickney considers that, as we have a wider information than the men of a century ago, since where they had conjecture we have knowledge, and what they began as an experiment we can view through its results, it were mere folly to reject the riper experiences of later years for a superstitious reverence for the past. He thinks the many good points of our Constitution are obvious; but that there are many and serious defects in our present political system, no one can deny, and the author desires to point out these faults and discover their remedies.

Mr. Stickney therefore proceeds to show the evils of "hereditary monarchy," of "constitutional royalty." As an example of the latter, he cites the working of the English War-Office, to which he devotes several pages: "The War Minister of England is held responsible," he says, "not for what he himself has or has not done, but for something done or not done by the ministry as a body. Individual responsibility for individual acts is destroyed. And, as one member of the ministry, he is held responsible, in the vast majority of instances, not for work done by him or them in the affairs of the War-Office, but for something done in the House of Commons. It may indeed happen that a ministry would be driven to resign for mismanagement of the

War-Office or the Foreign Office. Nearly always, however, the head of the War-Office, as one of the ministers, goes out of office, not for anything that concerns the management of the army, but because the ministry have lost votes in the House of Commons on some such matter as the Roman Catholic Emancipation, or the Irish Church, or a House Tax (p. 35)." "Their War Minister has always spent his time in managing the House of Commons. He has always been made minister for the reason that he could manage the House of Commons" (p. 36). "The English revolution against hereditary monarchy is not yet finished. But until it is finished, and until royal power is placed in fit and responsible hands, the English people will have, not a government, but a medley. The attempt to use the machinery of hereditary feudalism for doing the work of a free people is a method behind the age" (p. 67). The author then sums up his conclusions in a few words, the substance of which is that every one should be selected according to his fitness for the work assigned him, and should be responsible only for his own work and that under his control.

In the following chapter on "False Republicanism" the author deals with some of the abuses in our government generated under party power. He charges the beginning of these abuses—the result of party pressure—upon Jefferson and Van Buren. "The practice instituted by Mr. Jefferson of making appointments to, and removals from, office for mere party reasons grew, until Mr. Van Buren established it in all its fulness" (p. 73). Mr. Stickney regards President Lincoln "as a man of remarkable eloquence and of a peculiar wisdom that seemed at times to be a kind of inspiration; * * * of thoroughly pure intentions, having in all his acts only a wish to serve the people's highest interest," yet even he was forced into compliance with party measures by the power of party.

The author presents a deplorable picture of republicanism as it now exists among us: "The political history of the United States in the years since the war has been a long story of corruption and misconduct on the part of public officers" (p. 91). The chapter on "Party Influence, its Causes and Uses" deserves the most careful attention of every earnest seeker after a more perfected form of government. Mr. Stickney seems unusually free from party prejudices. How many will echo the sentiments of the following passage: "Take the proceedings of our national Legislature during the present administration: The party men on both sides have made it their chief work to search the past history of their opponents (bad enough it is for either), for the mere purpose of finding material to use for the next political campaign, as it is called." Here have been important questions of revenue and currency waiting solution, and still our legislators temporize. Many think the matter of civil service reform the one thing of importance to the country. "Upon that question

the party men on both sides are agreed to say all they can, and to do only what they must. On every point where the country needs action, the party men avoid action." If they should fail to act politicly they might lose votes thereby. "Everything they do or say, everything that they leave undone or unsaid, has one purpose, the carrying the next election" (p. 121). "'Politics' may consist in the mere contest of party men for power and place. That, however, is not statesmanship" (p. 126).

The writer aptly remarks, that the system has become so corrupt that it is no longer a government where the people have the choice and control of their public servants, but successive party combinations have at last reduced it to a party oligarchy, which, through a process of engineering "Civil Service Reform," continually robs the people of a direct control of public officers and their work. He also satirizes the absurd economy of our legislators; who, in order to save a few millions, involve ofttimes the loss of as many hundred millions through the blunders of some poorly paid official, incompetent for his position. "There is never," he adds, "economy in poorly paid labor."

Mr. Stickney strongly condemns the "term system." "We must abolish the term system. * * * We must destroy party. And to that end we must destroy the term system" (p. 168). It is difficult to see, however, how the affairs of the nation could be administered without parties. In speaking of competitive examination, the author says: "What we must have is, the competitive examination of actual service, * * * the test of actual work. Have men enter the public service always at the bottom of the ladder, and compete in the special work they are to do. Let them prove themselves" (p. 165). "To interpret the laws as they are," he writes further on, "requires a life training." "We take men without any training at all, and dismiss them from the public service before they can gain even a little experience" (p. 175). And again: "The clearing out of all offices or of any one office at the end of four years or of one year, or for any cause, other than for inefficient service is most disastrous" (p. 197). "Any public officer, then, should be removed the instant he fails, for any reason whatever, to do his work in the most perfect manner. Hold him responsible, as men are elsewhere held responsible, not for good intentions (let them be used for their proper paving purposes), but for accomplishing results. Add to the list of crimes, for which public officers may be removed, the crime of failure" (p. 199).

The ideas embodied in his chapter on "The Legislature" are in the main sound, but we think he would give too enlarged powers to such a body of men. He places too much reliance on the wisdom of that assembly, should it become pitted against the Executive. As a whole, however, it is a strong chapter, and demands attentive reading.

In the ninth chapter, Mr. Stickney summarizes the conclusions

toward which the whole book tends. Many of his propositions have already been noticed; the others must be examined at greater length than we have space to give them here.

We began the perusal of the volume with a bias not altogether favorable to the author, for in his introductory note he says: "This book is not the work of a scholar. It concerns matters which lie outside of my profession, and which I have never studied with thoroughness." Nevertheless, while his want of scholarship is sufficiently obvious—sometimes painfully so—he has won our confidence and respect by the vigorous way in which he handles his subject. He carries us down to the bottom of things; nor does he leave us there, but points a way out. However, like all other ideal things, when put to the test of practical use his views may be found wanting. Perhaps we do the author injustice when we use the word "ideal," for there is nothing at all visionary in his suggestions and proposed amendments. The most perfect system of government, however, would soon become corrupt under the influence of the present tendency of the leaders of public opinion. Poor laws, wisely administered by honorable men, would be preferable to the best of laws in the hands of those actuated solely by a policy of personal aggrandizement.

POLITICS.

A Fool's Errand. By ONE OF THE FOOLS. 12° pp. 361. New York: Fords, Howard and Hulbert. 1880.

ALTHOUGH cast in the form of a novel, *A Fool's Errand* is really political in its *motif* and mission, being the most valuable contribution yet made to the history of the "reconstruction" period in the south. In a narrative of absorbing interest, it relates the experience of a northern man in the south, where he had taken up his residence at the close of the war. At first he was received with a sort of cool courtesy, which ended, however, in ostracism, when it was known that Colonel Servosse—the "Fool"—had entertained on Thanksgiving six teachers, northern girls, who had heroically devoted themselves to the instruction of colored children. He was repeatedly warned to leave the country because of his opinions, but steadily pursued his course, interfering with no one, and allowing no one to interfere with him, although his life was several times attempted. One cannot be surprised that Jehu Brown, one of the few southern Union men, failed to understand this state of affairs. "I can't understan' it, Colonel. They say our side whipped; that the Union won, and the Confederacy lost, and yit there they be a-puttin' on tu me like all possessed, day arter day, an' abusin' my wife an' children too bad for white

folks to hear about, jes cos I was a Union man. There must be some mistake, Colonel, about the matter. Either 't was t'other folks that surrendered at Appomattox, or else you an' I was on t' other side, an' hev jes been a-dreamin' that we was Yank an' Union all this time." (p. 157).

Were it not for the recent atrocities practised by "bull-dozers," and the enactment of the recent Chisholm tragedy, one would think that, in the history of the Ku-Klux Klan, the author was imposing upon the credulity of the reader, or writing a tale of the mediæval ages: "This new reign of terror had come so stilly and quietly upon the world that none realized its fearfulness and extent. At first it had been a thing of careless laughter to the great, free, unsuspecting north, then a matter of contemptuous ridicule, and finally a question of incredulous horror. Two things had contributed to this feeling: Those who had suffered, had, in the main, been humble people. The public press did not teem with their wrongs, because there were none to tell them. They were people, too, whose story of wrong had been so long in the ear of the public, that it was tired of the refrain. It had yielded very slowly and unwillingly, to the conviction that slavery was an evil, and the colored man too near akin to white humanity to be rightfully held in bondage, and subjected to another's will. It had slowly and doubtfully been brought to the point of interference therewith, on the ground of military necessity in the suppression of rebellion, and, after a grand struggle of conflicting ideas, had finally settled down to the belief that enfranchisement was all that was required to cure all the ills which hitherto had afflicted, or in the future might assail, the troublesome and pestiferous African. This had been granted. The conscience of the nation was satisfied, and it highly resolved that thereafter it should have peace; that the negro *could* have no further ground of complaint, and it would hear no further murmurs. So it stopped its ears, and, when the south wind brought the burden of woe, it shook its head blankly, and said, 'I hear nothing, nothing! All is peace.' But when the cries became so clamorous that they could not longer be ignored, the wise men appointed a committee who should investigate the matter and hear all that could be said *pro* and *con*. Oh! a strange, sad story is that, which fills the thirteen volumes of testimony, documents, and conclusions, reported by that committee; a strange commentary on Christian civilization; a strange history of peaceful years; bloody as the reign of Mary, barbarous as the chronicles of the Comanche! Of the slain there was enough to furnish forth a battle-field, and all from those three classes, the negro, the scalawag, and the carpet-bagger—all killed with deliberation, overwhelmed by numbers, roused from slumber at the murk midnight, in the hall of public assembly, upon the river-brink, on the lonely woods-road, in simulation of the public execution—shot, stabbed, hanged, drowned, mutilated beyond description, tortured beyond

conception. And almost by an unknown hand! Only the terrible mysterious fact of *death* was certain. Accusation by secret denunciation; sentence without hearing; execution without warning, mercy, or appeal. In the deaths alone, terrible beyond utterance, but in the manner of death—the secret, intangible doom from which fate springs—more terrible still in the treachery which made the neighbor a disguised assassin, most horrible of all the feuds and hates which history portrays. And then the wounded, —those who escaped the harder fate—the whipped, the mangled, the bleeding, the torn! men despoiled of manhood, women gravid with dead children! bleeding backs! broken limbs! Ah! the wounded in this silent warfare were more thousands than those who groaned on the slopes of Gettysburg! Dwellings, and schools, and churches burned! People driven from their homes, and dwelling in the woods and fields! The poor, the weak, the despised, maltreated and persecuted—by whom? Always the same intangible presence, the same invisible power. Well did it name itself 'The Invisible Empire.' Unseen and unknown! In one State ten thousand, in another twenty thousand, in another forty thousand; in all an army greater than the Rebellion, from the mouldering remains of which it sprung, could ever put into the field. An invisible empire, with a trained and disciplined army of masked midnight marauders, making war upon the weakling 'powers' which the wise men had set up in the lately rebellious territory" (p. 225 *et seq*).

The narrative is vigorously written, and is clearly the work of one who writes from his own experience. The lights and shadows of southern life are depicted strongly; and notwithstanding the many blood-curdling tragedies of which the "Fool" was cognizant, he endeavors to write fairly and impartially. He does not visit the blame for the existence and perpetuation of these stains on the escutcheon of the south too heavily upon the southern people, which he describes as generous, large-hearted, and sympathetic. The position of the south is unique. When one reflects that their slaves, which they regarded merely as chattels, have been not only liberated, but raised to political equality with themselves, solely through Federal intervention, one cannot marvel that the adjustment of internal relations to external relations has not been effected in two decades.

"The state of the newly enfranchised freedmen at the south," the author says, "is most anomalous and remarkable. I cannot help regarding it with apprehension. There are but few cases in history of an enslaved race leaping at once from absolute chattelism to complete self-rule. Perhaps the case of the ancient Israelites affords the closest analogy. Yet in their case under divine guidance, two things were found necessary: First, an exodus which took them out from among the race which had been their masters, away from the scenes and surroundings of slavery; and second, the growth of a new generation who [*sic*] had never known the lash of a

taskmaster, nor felt in their own persons the degradation of servitude. The flight from Egypt, the hardships of the wilderness, the forty years of death and growth away from and beyond the ken of the Egyptians, all were necessary to fit the children of Israel for self-government and the exercise of national power. Can the African slave of America develop into the self-governing citizen, the coördinate of his white brother in power, with less of preparation?" (p. 343).

The author regards reconstruction as a magnificent failure in so far as it attempted to unify the nation, and to make one people, in fact, of what before the convulsion of civil war had been one only in name. One does not need to read his book to reach this conclusion. And yet the mission of the north to the south was no fool's errand. That the general government, through the distractions of political factions at the north, has been made to play the fool in its method of reconstruction, is sufficiently obvious. Had the counsel of the leading statesmen of the north been heeded, the southern States would have been held as provinces until such time as they should be ready to accept the policy of the new Union—the Union as it is now, not the Union as it was, which had ceased to exist, in fact—and become affiliated with northern ideas and northern customs. This was the work of a half-century. The politicians, unfortunately, interfered with this magnificently wise and humane programme—a set of miserable self-seeking demagogues that live on public plunder and batten on their country's calamities—with what direful consequences this volume but too plainly shows. It is not unlikely that the "fight" will have to be renewed, for the work of equalizing the conditions of mankind—and civilizing mankind has no other meaning—must go forward. It is immanent in the ideal construction of society and must ultimately prevail. It is idle, therefore, to suppose that the interest of any section or class, north or south, is going permanently to suspend the divine order and course of things. Woe be to him or to them that stand in the way of this realization. The mills of the gods grind slow but they grind wondrous fine. It will be well for the south and for the north if southern statesmen—and northern statesmen—heed these things and mould the sentiments of their people conformably to the divine ideal of justice and equality. Should they neglect to do this work, somebody else will do it for them.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Impressions of Theophrastus Such. By GEORGE ELIOT. 12° pp. 234. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1879.

ONE can easily imagine the disappointment many of the admirers of George Eliot must feel in turning over the pages of *Theophrastus Such.* One's heart goes out for all these, not because the book is an inferior one, or lacking depth of interest, but because it does not equal in general interest the expectations which the announcement of a book from this felicitous author raises in the minds of the public. When one has prepared his palate for old Madeira, one is disappointed with Cognac, however choice it may be.

The volume consists of criticisms of men and things under the guise of fictitious or hypothetical names. Theophrastus Such appears to be a man susceptible to impressions which he deals out to the reader in a style very like the discourses of the Grecian sages of yore, which the author has creditably imitated. It is with difficulty that one can imagine the writer of these discourses to be a woman, and that woman, George Eliot! The style is that of a learned man of the world, a keen-eyed old bachelor, with a cynical turn of mind, whose position is so far removed from contact with social life as to exempt him from sharing the foibles and frailties of the average mortal, while at the same time it enables him to observe with accuracy the defects and weaknesses of the throng which make up its warp and woof. The masculine disguise is well sustained throughout; and while Theophrastus' impressions of this and that character are true to life, and his judgment as just as it is severe, they are too finely drawn and described to be entertaining to the lovers of fiction, who read more for amusement or pleasure than for profitable instruction.

It may be rejoined, however, that George Eliot does not write for fools, nor for a class of readers who read merely for amusement, and that it is not fair to test the excellence of her book by a standard lower than that which she herself has set up. Those who would find the precious metals must dig for them: they are rarely found on the surface. So it is with the precious things in the works of George Eliot, particularly in *Theophrastus Such.* There is no dearth of wisdom in its pages, but one must read with attention always to discover it. A few citations from Theophrastus' "Impressions" may not be uninteresting:

He justly complains of the habit of speaking ill of the present, while admiring the past: "All reverence and gratitude for the worthy dead," he writes, "on whose labors we have entered, all care for the future generations whose lot we are preparing; but some affection and fairness for those who are doing the actual work of the world, some attempt to regard them with the same

freedom from ill-temper, whether on private or public grounds, as we may hope will be felt by those who will call us ancient! Otherwise, the looking before and after, which is our grand human privilege, is in danger of turning to a sort of other-worldliness, breeding a more illogical indifference or bitterness than was ever bred by the ascetic's contemplation of heaven. Except on the ground of a primitive golden age and continuous degeneracy, I see no rational footing for scorning the whole present population of the globe, unless I scorn every previous generation from whom they have inherited their diseases of mind and body, and by consequence, scorn my own scorn, which is equally an inheritance of mixed ideas and feelings concocted for me in the boiling caldron of this universally contemptible life, and so on—scorning to infinity. * * * Hence this question of wishing to be rid of one's contemporaries associates itself with my filial feelings, and calls up the thoughts that I might as justifiably wish that I had had other parents than those whose loving tones are my earliest memory, and whose last parting first taught me the meaning of death" (p. 25 *et seq*). Few of us are such poor logicians, when we seriously reflect on life and things, as not to be able to agree with Theophrastus, that the past is responsible for the present, having contained in latency all that is desirable and undesirable in the present.

The discourse on "Temper" does not deal with things so profound as the foregoing, but it is fuller of practical wisdom. "As people confess to bad memory," he observes, "without expecting to sink in mental reputation, so we hear a man declared to have a bad temper and yet glorified as the possessor of every high quality. When he errs or in any way commits himself, his temper is accused, not his character, and it is understood that but for a brutal, bearish mood he is kindness itself. If he kicks small animals, swears violently at a servant who mistakes orders, or is grossly rude to his wife, it is remarked apologetically that those things mean nothing—they are all temper." And again, in the same connection: "A pretty woman may fan the flame of distant adorers by harassing them, but if she lets one of them make her his wife, the point of view from which he will look at her poutings and tossings, and mysterious inability to be pleased, will be seriously altered. And if slavery to a pretty woman, which seems among the least conditional forms of abject service, will not bear too great a strain from her bad temper, even though her beauty remain the same, it is clear that a man whose claims lie on his high character or high performances had need impress us very constantly with his peculiar value and indispensableness, if he is to test our patience by an uncertainty of temper which leaves us absolutely without grounds for guessing how he will receive our persons or humbly advanced opinions, or what line he will take on any but the most momentous occasions" (pp. 83–84).

The most pungent, if not the keenest, criticism in the book may be found in the chapter on "Moral Swindlers." Theophrastus rebukes with keen irony the respectable rogues in Christian society—gamblers in stocks, organizers of "bonanzas," and "syndicates;" the sleek cheats who occupy the high-priced pews in the synagogues and churches; cunning purloiners of the funds of widows and orphans under the guise of profitable investments; keen-eyed men of business, who attend chapel-exercises punctiliously and say their prayers regularly, but who, nevertheless, insist that "business is business" when they get an advantage in deal; respectable men, who use their respectability as a means for business ends, and take advantage of ignorance and credulity to enrich themselves; truthful men and men of honor, who scorn to tell a lie, commit adultery, or violate any of the "Ten Commandments" but who, notwithstanding, do not scruple to deceive in business transactions, profit by their neighbors' misfortunes, and take a so-called *fair* advantage in trade—whose policy in business affairs, moreover, is such as to reduce thousands of their fellow men and women to conditions of life which compel *them* to commit the crimes which they, the aforesaid men of honor, stand aghast at; proper people, who respect the conventionalities—the letter of the law while violating its spirit and purpose—who, in other words, do not hesitate to sin against the sanctities of domestic life, while they are horrified at any radical and unconventional suggestion that would protect and preserve them, such as divorce between the ill-mated, for example, and who would fall into adultery a thousand times, rather than be guilty of a single divorce—all these species of would-be moral men and women, who perhaps fail to be moral by reason of possessing a narrow sense of ethical relations, are classed by Theophrastus under the general sobriquet of "moral swindlers." "It is a familiar example of irony in the degradation of words," he says, "that 'what a man is worth' has come to mean, how much money he possesses; but there seems a deeper and more melancholy irony in the shrunken meaning that popular or polite speech assigns to 'morality' and 'morals'" (p. 182). And he goes on to complain of the confusion of ideas, so common in the public mind, which confounds morality with the vulgar vices, and gives a name for virtue and respectability to any man who is free from them, but whose conduct of public and business affairs is such as to bring ruin and misery upon others while munificently providing for his own. "I find even respectable historians of our own and foreign countries," he says, "after showing that a king was treacherous, rapacious, and ready to sanction gross breaches in the administration of justice, end by praising him for his pure moral character, by which one must suppose them to mean that he was not lewd nor debauched, not the European twin of the typical Indian potentate whom Macaulay describes as passing his life in chewing bang and fondling dancing-girls. And since we

are sometimes told of such maleficent kings that they were religious, we arrive at the curious result that the most serious wide-reaching duties of man lie quite outside morality and religion—the one of these consisting in not keeping mistresses (and perhaps not drinking too much), and the other in certain ritual and spiritual transactions with God, which can be carried on equally well, side by side with the basest conduct toward men" (pp. 184-5).

The author insists that "to rob words of half their meaning, while they retain their dignity as qualifications, is like allowing to men who have lost half their faculties the same high and perilous command which they won in their time of vigor; or like selling food and seeds after fraudulently abstracting their virtues: in each case what ought to be beneficently strong is fatally enfeebled, if not empoisoned" (p. 187). And he rightly observes that "the informal definitions of popular language are the only medium through which theory really affects the mass of minds, even among the nominally educated; and when a man whose business hours, the solid part of every day, are spent in an unscrupulous course of public or private action which has every calculable chance of causing wide-spread injury and misery, can be called moral because he comes home to dine with his wife and children and cherishes the happiness of his own hearth, the augury is not good for the use of high ethical and theological disputation" (pp. 186–7). The leaders of Christian sentiment are not prepared, we fear, to accept the moral distinctions of Mr. Theophrastus Such. Tried by his fine tests, most men and women would be found wanting in the first elements of good character.

But we must reluctantly forego the pleasure of further company with this volume. It is like a delectable morsel which one would gladly retain. The author's ideas sparkle with originality, and her rhetoric flows on and on as smoothly as a river, and in sentences nearly as long. Her knowledge of human nature is equalled by her powers of dissection and analysis—two possessions of her mental laboratory which must always render what she has to say worth saying and listening to.

Lessons from my Masters: Carlyle, Tennyson and Ruskin. By PETER BAYNE, M. A., LL. D. 12° pp. 449. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1879.

WHATEVER Mr. Bayne writes is always interesting, while his previous essays in criticism have given him such eminence that his literary opinions come to us now with somewhat of weight and authority. In this his latest work he chooses three fascinating subjects and treats them with keen insight, fine feeling, and broad

catholicity of spirit. His old peculiarities still cling to him, growing stronger as his powers increase; but this is not wholly to be regretted, since they stamp him with an individuality which has considerable value in his work. We cannot, by any means, always agree with him. He is sometimes too dogmatic, at times Quixotic, and, again, occasionally falls away from the high standard which he has set for himself. But his positiveness does good service in arousing our antagonism, and forcing us to formulate our own belief and search out the reasons for it. It is one of his most valuable characteristics, that he is eminently suggestive and stimulative.

Of the three essays in this book, that on Carlyle is the most important, since he is the one from whom our age has drifted the farthest and who is the most readily misunderstood. The essay will prove very helpful to all who are entering upon the study of Carlyle, it being a faithful guide, a skilful interpreter, and, in the main, a just defender. We say *in the main*, for as we read some passages, we almost imagine we can hear the fierce snort of the old Sage of Chelsea. It is always dangerous to attempt to champion Carlyle. We do not remember that he has ever yet thanked any one for defending him. In his own eyes it is somewhat like the laying hold of the ark when it appeared to topple. The men who did that perished.

Prof. Masson says there has been in Carlyle's life an element of soldierly arrangement, and Mr. Bayne's essay shows us that this is a true saying. Unable to be trammelled by the ministry, Carlyle early chose the literary career as the freest, widest and most influential. That he did so with his eyes open to all its burdens and disadvantages, plainly appears from his description, really marvellous in one so young, of "The Man of Letters" in his earliest work, the *Life of Schiller*. His own youth, dreamy, contemplative, full of stormy emotions, sublime wonderings, fierce antagonism to the grovelling life of his times—this is portrayed in *Sartor Resartus;* for doubtless the story of Teufelsdröckh is largely an autobiography. This work, the first after he had served his apprenticeship to literature, contains in full all the powers which he has since displayed, all the essential facts of his spiritual history, all the fundamental principles of his philosophy. It is the work, too, which has brought against him the charge of pantheism; yet it is, we believe, the very work which most fully disproves that charge. John Sterling, indeed, Carlyle's true and close friend, urges the accusation, and even goes so far as to say that Teufelsdröckh "does not believe in a God." There can be no doubt, unfortunately, that Carlyle too often toys with pantheism, and seems at times almost ready to embrace it; that he is sometimes fatally confused in discussing good and evil; that in one passage, indeed, he does actually insist on the good of evil, although he had previously, in language nobly intense, portrayed good and evil as irreconcilable and

eternal opposites. There can be no doubt that his works often display a vagueness and an incoherence on the subject of God, and that they make an abundant use of His name without a sufficiently clear recognition of Him as a living personal power. Yet Carlyle's central doctrine is man's responsibility to God. He teaches that the moral conscience is God dwelling in us, and he says that "the one end, essence, and use of all religion, past, present and to come, is this only: to keep this same moral conscience or inner light of ours alive and shining." And there is another passage, clearer still, where he asserts that Mohammedanism, beside the idolatries of its time, was a true message from heaven: "'*Allah akbar*, God is great'. Understand that his will is the best for you; that howsoever sore to flesh and blood, you will find it the wisest, best; you are bound to take it so; in this world and in the next, you have no other thing that you can do!"

In the *History of the French Revolution*, which follows next, the doctrines of *Sartor Resartus* are found applied to actual events. Here we see displayed in a most awful manner the Carlylean truths, that the life of institutions is the spirit they contain, and when the spirit is gone the body must perish; and that logical theorizing about society is of little avail as a practical power. Here, too, we meet constantly with that deep sense of the mystery of things which is one of Carlyle's strongest characteristics. Carlyle contemplated the French Revolution as a poet or an artist, and not strictly as a historian. The result is a work totally unlike any other history ever written. It is "a great and memorable book"; a book of fascinating horror; a book of earthquakes, avalanches and cataclysms; a book in which the thunder and the lightning sound and dance to peals of demoniac laughter. It is a book eminently Calvinistic—Hebraic; announcing the wrath of God with all the confidence of a Hebrew prophet, and hymning the terrible swoops of His outstretched arm with all the grim gladness of a Hebrew poet. The English language has never carried greater stress and strain than in this work. The very titles of its three divisions: "The Bastile," "The Constitution," "The Guillotine"; and of its chapters, also: "Inertia," "To arms!" "Storm and Victory," "Conquering your King," "The Lanterne," are each a history in themselves, packed full of suffering, crammed full of horrors. And as the titles, so are the chapters. "There is nothing in Homer," says Mr. Bayne, "more stirring than the chapter on the fall of the Bastile." In description of person, in delineation of character, the work is unsurpassed. There is nothing to be compared to it, save those electrifying illuminations which Victor Hugo flashes upon a subject with every stroke of his pen.

When Carlyle put forth his next writings, the change which ever since has been deepening and growing sadder had evidently begun. *Chartism*, and *Heroes and Hero-Worship* were written in the flush and vigor of youth, when their great author could yet

hail with pleasure the triumphant strides of invention and mechanical development, and had not foreseen their crushing effect on the spiritual growth of England. Still, he had already lost faith in the extension of suffrage and the use of the ballot. From much of the teaching conveyed by the *Heroes and Hero-Worship*—doubtless the most popular of Carlyle's works—Mr. Bayne records his emphatic dissent in words well worthy of attention. "He is above thee like a god," says Carlyle, of a hero; "he is thy born king, thy conqueror and supreme law-giver." "I decline such hero-worship," replies Mr. Bayne. "It is practically and intensely pernicious. In politics it leads, as I said, to the consecration of despotism, to inhuman scorn of the multitude. In ethics, it is easily perversive of equity and righteousness. * * * The sole title to respect is moral excellence; and the sole tenable definition of moral excellence is exertion of the will in unselfish goodness. But the irresistible tendency of hero-worship is to do injustice to the nobleness of common men, to the honest efforts of weak men, to virtues that have no brilliancy in them though they are of sterling quality, and to slur over or make light of the vices and crimes of the gifted. The course pursued ought to be exactly the reverse. The weak ought to be excused rather than the strong. The failings of men of genius —of a Mirabeau, a Danton, a Burns—are more blameworthy on account of their gifts. *Because* a man has been splendidly endowed, the more sacredly incumbent upon him is it to make good use of his gifts, to guard against temptation, to control passion. Mental power is the natural ally of virtue, and ought to reënforce instead of betraying it; and the man of splendid endowments is a light set on a hill, and therefore more responsible than the crowd." Noble words, fitly spoken; and never have they been more needed than at this very day. When the disease of undue hero-worship falls upon a man, it affects all his future life; nor could Carlyle, himself, escape its influence. One of the most interesting passages in Mr. Bayne's essay is that in which he traces the evil effects of this error in all of Carlyle's subsequent writings. The defect is really obtrusive throughout his *Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell*, which is otherwise a great and noble work, one in which the author displayed a gift for portraying battles which almost rivals that of Homer.

But the writing of this work had an evil influence on the man. The change in his temper, in his point of vision, now became marked. Studying the character and times of Cromwell had proved dangerous to one of Carlyle's nature. Fault-finding, bitterness, harsh uncharitableness grew powerful within him. The *Latter-Day Pamphlets* show a decline both in mental and moral tone. His mannerism becomes annoying; his humor grows coarse; "the vehemence has now become almost spasmodic, and the 'green oases by the palm-tree wells,' the spaces of repose and chastened and genial beauty, have become far less frequent than formerly."

The *Pamphlets* became "a fountain of speculative and practical Toryism," although Mr. Bayne finds in them some of the fundamental principles on which rational and constructive Liberalism rests. In the *Pamphlets* Carlyle poured out his scorching scorn upon John Howard and the philanthropists, dismissing them at last, after the castigation, with the bitter contempt—"You may go down!" Here, too, he taught one of his most dangerous fallacies, that intellectual stupidity is equivalent to moral delinquency.

The *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, however, taken in connection with the *Life of John Sterling*, which appeared soon after, have their greatest value for us in that they evince what Carlyle's solution of the religious problems of his time would be. He considers Loyola to be the type and embodiment of all that is supremely wrong in religion. Yet Protestants, as well as Roman Catholics, have to drink the fiery draught of his indignation, for "the genius of mankind," he says, "has been dominated by the Gospel of Ignatius." He charges Protestants with not daring to disbelieve what is incredible, and with clinging to symbols after they have become obsolete—with making more of the symbols than of "the God Almighty's facts they symbolized." In this he displays the same spirit and temper that permeated *Sartor Resartus*, where he applies them to political institutions; and in both cases, unfortunately, there is far too much ground for his accusations. But Carlyle spends so much time in iconoclasm that he has none left for explaining what he would have us believe. As nearly as can be ascertained, he would have us return to a sort of natural religion. Yet, after all, there can be little doubt that in this work, as in *Sartor Resartus*, his chief doctrine is responsibility to God. He wants, he cries, "what Novalis calls 'God, Freedom, Immortality.'" He indignantly asserts that the clergy are not the interpreters of God's will. Like Goethe, he believes that Christianity is the supreme religion, and that the race cannot recede from it, yet he is always bitterly contemptuous of those writers who defend the Christian religion. Having refused to enter the ministry himself, he afterward successfully employed his influence to withdraw John Sterling from it. Carlyle insists that no faith can be sincere unless it is unfaltering—a most painful saying, and, fortunately, untrue. Doubt, in some form or other, is the inevitable lot of most who think as well as feel, and of all who deeply think.

Carlyle's last great work was the *Life of Frederick of Prussia*. The plan of the work, says Mr. Bayne, like that of the battle of Marengo, could have been justified only by success. It is audacity run wild—a total disregard of all literary conventionalities, of all the reasonable expectations of readers. After opening with a wonderfully bold and graphic description of Frederick at threescore, he springs back to Frederick's babyhood, takes us to the cradle and the christening, and then deliberately hurls at us three volumes of European history, beginning three centuries before

Christ. The reader first looks on with amazement, not unmixed with indignation, gradually becomes interested, then fascinated, and finally allows not a word to escape his spellbound vision. The display of literary skill and adroitness is astonishing. But the sentiments of the work are sorely disappointing to those who have thus far found Carlyle the apostle of honesty and the relentless enemy of wrong-doing. He seems now to teach that a truthful man is an effective man; one who knows how to succeed. If in this we misjudge him, there is, unfortunately, no room for doubt that he has very far lost sight of his old ideal of true heroism. Hitherto, or until his *Cromwell*, he has been in sympathy with spiritual worth and purity, and with the grand principles of true political progress. But now he has lost faith in humanity—there is but one line of division: some men are born to rule, and all others are born to obey. On this principle he has written the life of Frederick, and it follows that his admiration is called forth by a much lower order of success than he formerly demanded. It must be said, however, that the lies which he palliates are always told in the public interest, and not for selfish purposes, and that the sword he honors was drawn in behalf of a great people. Yet he has become almost a Jesuit, in believing that the end justifies the means. The execution of Lieutenant Katte by Frederick William does not shock him. Evidently, it is the law of Heaven that the life of a subject should be at the arbitrary disposal of his king. Still worse is the biographer's defence of the Tobacco Parliament. He forgets his old reverence for "Men of Letters," and now agrees with Frederick William that they are "generally pedants and mere men of wind," and he has no indignation for the way they were treated by this crowned savage. Even more by his defence of the seizure of Silesia, did Carlyle alienate the confidence with which people had so long followed his guidance. "Friedrich," he says, "after such trial and proof as was seldom seen, got his claims on Schlesien allowed by the Destinies." We believe this is untrue; but, even should it prove in the end to be true, that will not justify the act. "The destinies," says Mr. Bayne, and his words are full of meaning for our own day, "even if written with a big D, cannot make right wrong, though they crown it with success, and though the success endures for a thousand years. Success has nothing whatever to do in the spiritual sphere."

It remains to speak a word on Carlyle's literary style. As for his use of English, reading him is much like riding over frozen ploughed ground in a springless cart. It has the good effect of stirring the circulation, at least, even if it induces headache. We must constantly wrestle with such adjectives as "rotatory-changeful," "elegiac-applausive," "suppressed-explosive." Perhaps he ought to have been a poet, since he surely has the intellectual and emotional temperament of the seer. But as he elected prose, he certainly had the right, being a genius and a creator, to use it

in the way best adapted to his needs. It is evident that, during the writing of his great works, he was under the influence of Richter, and the etymological and rhetorical vagaries of "Der Einzige" are fully matched in them. He does not, however, like Richter, ever allow his whirlwind of words to run away with him; he always rides on the storm, guiding it towards its object with masterful and unerring hand. And often the storm is suddenly reined in; the sunlight laughs for a moment among the waters, and the flowers look up fresh and lovable; or while the Bastile is tumbling, "the evening sun of July" slants its beams on reapers amidst peaceful woody fields, on ships far out in the silent main, "and also on this roaring hell-porch of a Hôtel de Ville!" Very noticeable is his humor, especially in the *French Revolution*. We all know M. Taine's opinion of it—that it is "Gothic horse-play." It is impossible that the French should appreciate Carlyle. And truly, his roars of laughter in the midst of blood and death-shrieks have something very satanic about them. Yet, if we look deeply beneath the outward ebullition, we discover that it arises, strange as it may seem to us, from an awful sense of the mystery of life and an implicit, Hebraic confidence in the justice of God's judgments. His style, in all its elements, is wholly his own; he created it; it is himself; he talks precisely as he writes. The more we admire it in him, however, the less willing are we to endure it in another. We hail it as a new gift to the world; but we have had enough of it.

We have left no space to speak of the essays on Tennyson and Turner. While Mr. Bayne, we think, achieves here a smaller measure of success, he yet offers much that is enlightening and helpful in our study of their creations. The entire volume is worthy of careful reading, with the works of the three "masters" lying open before us.

Studies of the Greek Poets. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 2 vols. 12° pp. 489, 419. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1880.

Two volumes more charming than these have seldom come to our notice. Mr. Symonds' critical ability and elegance of style are now well known and appreciated, so that he is sure, when making a fresh venture, of an expectant and sympathetic audience. The present work is wellnigh faultless in execution, the only exceptions being one or two instances of diffuseness, and occasionally a little too much of rhetorical flourish. He is evidently a profound student of Greek literature; his "studies" are independent; and his judgments are usually entirely his own. Difficult as is the task, where so much has been previously written, he

actually succeeds in displaying considerable originality, and it is when he is the most original that he is the most pleasing.

It has been customary to divide the history of Greek literature into three great periods, following the natural divisions of Greek political history; but Mr. Symonds prefers to break up the first and last of these, making five in all, and thus attaining a greater degree of accuracy. The first of the five—the heroic or legendary—ends with the first Olympiad, B. C. 776. This period is full of the great name of Homer, from whose poems alone can we obtain any true idea of prehistoric Hellas. It is the era of the *Διογενεῖς*, the God-born kings. There is still a perfect belief in the gods. They live among men, and are like men. It is the age of simplicity, both in life and faith. Of this age the Homeric poems are a flawless mirror. Although kings ruled by divine right, since they were born of the gods—yet their subjects acknowledged them only so long as they were superior in wealth, bravery and wisdom; only so long indeed, as, according to the Greek idea, they were fitted to rule. Moreover, there was much democracy of a rude, simple kind. As on earth, so in Olympus: Zeus is king of gods only because he wields the thunder. The masses are counted as nothing. All grandeur, all interest, crystallizes around a few heroes. Thus it is an age of types, and Achilles and Ulysses symbolize and embody the ideal of Greek character, an ideal which the Greeks never outgrew. Achilles, indeed, dominates the entire literature and history of Greece. The Greeks always looked back to him as the image of their nation in its youthfulness. By his intense personality, his fierce passions guided by the gods, his courage, his chivalric friendship, and especially by his sublime death *while yet young*, the Hellenic nature was fascinated and satisfied. The *Iliad* revolves around Achilles. In all other great narrative epics, the centralization of interest is in one supreme event or series of events; in the *Iliad* alone it is in the passions and career of one man. But the *Iliad* is simply an episode in the war of Troy—a chapter in the life of the son of Peleus. Dante seized its spirit when he wrote:

"Achille,
Che per amore al fine combatteo."

And all this was very real and true to Homer. The mythus of the *Iliad* may be founded on the solar theory, but it is absurd to think that Homer was conscious of giving utterance to any astronomical idea when he sang "the wrath of Achilles." We say *Homer;* for we agree with Mr. Symonds that while it is foolish to hold that there were no previous ballads and well-digested body of myths on which the poet built, it is an equally untenable hypothesis that there never was a Homer, but rather that some diaskeuast of the time of Pisistratus compiled the immortal work. The *Iliad* gives indisputable evidence of the hand of a conscious supreme artist. Greek art, to be sure, exists here as a mere potentiality,

and doubtless its portrayals are really a forecast of the future. The sense of beauty outran the skill of hand. No man in those days could actually have made the wonderful shield of Achilles.

It is to be noted that fraternity in arms played for the Greek race the same part as the love of women for mediæval Europe—that friendship between men was the Greek chivalry. Not Greek mythology alone, but Greek history also, is replete with examples. "Tyrants," said Plato, "stand in awe of friends." Achilles was the great prototype of all friendship, and for this reason he was the less appreciated in the Middle Ages, on the revival of learning; while Hector became the popular hero of feudal society because of his devotion to Andromache—because his love was the idealization of womanhood. Mr. Symonds' chapter on "The Women of Homer" is one of the most original and fascinating in the work. He shows us that in Helen is seen the indestructible Hellenic spirit, the ideal of beauty, unqualified by moral attributes; ever virginal and ever fair, yet still the slave of Aphrodite. With fine skill he compares the various ways in which Helen is treated by the various poets. Her charm in Homer is greatly due to the *naïveté* of the poet's art; she is always natural, and the ethical, though not always wanting, is never suffered to impair the influence of her beauty. "She is not touched by the passion she inspires, or by the wreck of empires ruined in her cause. Fate deflours her not, nor do years impair the magic of her charm. Like beauty, she belongs alike to all and none. She is not judged as wives or mothers are, though she is both; to her belong soul-wounding blossoms of inexorable love, as well as pain-healing poppy-heads of oblivion; all eyes are blinded by the adorable, incomparable grace which Aphrodite sheds around her form." But Stesichorus boldly laid upon her all the suffering of the war, and for this the gods smote him with blindness; nor was he restored until he had retracted:

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος,
οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν ναυσὶν εὐσέλμοις,
οὐδ' ἵκεο πέργαμα Τροίας;

"Not true is that tale; nor didst thou journey in benched ships, or come to towers of Troy." The poor fellow saw no way out of it, but to deny that she had the remotest connection with the affair. Plato hints that even Homer's blindness was a punishment for the slight fault he found with her. It is this feeling that makes it clearly evident that Helen was, to the Greeks, the symbol of perfect beauty, the holiest of all things to them. It was left to the Roman poet—far off from her influence—to speak of her as *Troiæ et patriæ communis Erinnys*—"Troy's and Argos' common fiend."

Yet the Greeks themselves outgrew the charm, and were not punished for it. Æschylus plays bitterly upon her name, calling her ἑλέναυς, ἕλανδρος, ἑλέπτολις—"a hell of ships, hell of men,

hell of cities." It is not known how Sophocles dealt with Helen, but probably he advanced beyond the conception of Æschylus, and gave her character a most profound analysis. Euripides went still further and dragged her down to the level of common life. But the marvellous influence of Homer is seen in the fact that, despite all these damaging attempts, the romance of Helen recovered from the rude analysis and prosaic rationalism of the late drama, and the sculptors and painters returned to the Homeric ideal. We must add that, besides Achilles and Helen, Ulysses is also a Greek type, "stern in action, ruthless in his hatred, pitiless in his hostility, subtle, vengeful, cunning; yet at the same time the most adventurous of men, the most persuasive in eloquence, the wisest in council, the bravest and coolest in danger."

This first period was also the mythopœic age, and Herodotus says that "Homer and Hesiod named the gods, and settled their genealogies for the Hellenes." Mr. Symonds' chapter on "Mythology" is a contribution of value to the discussion of this much-vexed subject. With masterly scholarship and with usually sound logic, he treats the various methods current among scholars of explaining the Greek mythology, and finally rejects them all. Neither the position of Grote, that the myths are a jungle of inexplicable stories, arising from the play of an irrational fancy; nor the uncritical opinion that they are a degradation of the primitive truth revealed by God to the Hebrews; nor the theory that they were invented by priests and sages, to convey deep mysterious doctrines to the popular mind; nor the rationalistic hypothesis, that each myth had historical foundation in fact: neither the fetish theory, moreover, nor yet the famous and prevalent linguistic theory of Müller is considered by Mr. Symonds to be tenable. In place of these he advances the following propositions: All that was needed for the growth of myths was creative mind on the one side and receptive and believing mind on the other. The logical faculty was in abeyance, the critical faculty had not been aroused. The people possessed a faculty which is called mythopœic, and the operation of this faculty was similar to that of the poetic, guided by the imagination much more than by the understanding. The tendency to personification arose from the instinct of uncivilized humanity to attribute to external objects a consciousness like that by which men are governed. "The Greeks created divine personalities. Many myths contain moral and philosophical ideas conveyed in parables, and some of them have indubitable reference to real events and persons. But in no case of a primitive and genuine mythus are we to expect deliberate fiction or conscious symbolism, or, again, to seek for a discoverable substratum of solid fact. Entering the sphere of mythology, facts become etherealized into fancies, the actual value of which lies in the expression of the national mind, so that mythical and spiritual are in this respect synonymous. To use a metaphor, a myth is a Brocken-spectre of the thought which

produced it, and owes the features by which we can distinguish it to the specific character of the people among whom it sprang into existence." Then follows a picture of the mythopœic faculty operating in the historic period—evolving the tales of Arthur, Charlemagne, Tannhaüser, Don Juan, Faust, and the Lives of the Saints—which is one of the most interesting passages in the work. In tracing the Greek intelligence employed upon the articulation of its mythology, and next upon its criticism, the author can be followed with less of that uncomfortable suspicion which possesses us when reading the labors of the more erudite Müller on the same theme.

The second period in Greek literature is one of transition. In place of the god-born kings are the Tyrants. It is the age of colonization, of the Nomothetæ, and of the emergence of the Dorians and the Ionians. Hesiod is the link between the two periods. The gods and the heroes are no longer sung. The toils and feelings of the common people are the theme of the poet. With Hesiod the epic impulse ceases. The national ear demands more varied forms of verse than the hexameter. The Ionians were developing "the pathetic melody of the elegiac metre," and by the side of this arose the various forms of lyric poetry. Philosophy appears, and prose begins to be elaborated, though with infinite difficulty. This period extends to 477 B. C., the date of the Athenian league.

The third period embraces the supremacy of Athens from the end of the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war, and its literary history is the history of Athens. The colonies are no longer heard of; literature, art and politics centre in Athens. The Parthenon, the Propylæa, the statues of Athene and Olympian Zeus, and the marble Nemesis at Marathon, all are the offspring of this age. Poetry, too, reaches its full height—Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes flourish. The histories of Herodotus, the lyrics of Pindar, the eloquence of Pericles, and the wit of Aspasia, belong to this period. The fourth ends with the death of Alexander. As the second epoch was one of transition from adolescence to maturity, so this is transitional from maturity to old age. Its chief sign of weakness is seen in Greek politics. Nevertheless, the real force of the Greek race is by no means exhausted. It is the age of Alexander; Asia and Egypt are Hellenized; the Greek spirit, though less productive, is still vigorous. Great names still appear: Aristotle, Æschines, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Menander. Logic, rhetoric, and the new comedy are in bloom. Especially is there a great development of orchestral music, and vast symphonies are performed at the Macedonian court. All this is because it is no longer an age of creativeness, but of intellectual reflectiveness. The fifth and longest period, extending to the extinction of classical civilization, is one of decline and decay, though these words must be used with qualification when spoken of the Greeks. Greece becomes

less a nation than an intellectual commonwealth. This spiritual republic prepares the way for Christianity: Greek culture in its decadence becomes the heritage of the whole world. The only true poets are the Sicilian idyllists. The art glows with beauty, but it is the sunset hue, or the hectic flush of disease. Alexandria, Rome, Byzantium, each in turn is the literary centre. On the whole, this period of six centuries is sterile in productiveness and inferior in the quality of its work. The genius of Hellas is still subtle and beautiful, because it is still Greek; it insinuates itself into the religion of Christ, but is finally absorbed or extinguished by it. "Yet even in this last dire struggle of the spirit of Pagan art with the spirit of Christian faith, when beauty had become an abomination in the eyes of the Holiest, on the ruins, as it were, of the desecrated fanes of Hellas, weeds lovely in their rankness flourished. While Cyril's mobs were dismembering Hypatia, the erotic novelists went on writing about Daphnis, and Musæus sang the lamentable death of Leander. Nonnus was perfecting a new and more polished form of the hexameter. These were the last notes of Greek poetry. In these faint and too melodious strains the Muse took final farewell of her beloved Hellas. And when, after the lapse of a thousand years, the world awoke upon the ruins of the past, these were among the first melodies which caught its ear."

The fascination which the perusal of these volumes gives grows upon one to the end. Mr. Symonds' treatment of each poet is rapid, yet critical and sympathetic. His keenness of insight, his vividness in the delineation of character, his success in searching out mysterious *motifs*, his brilliant power of analysis, his happy faculty of setting before us the works of the poets in their very *milieu*, combine to place his studies in the front rank of all similar attempts to render to our age the life and spirit of ancient Hellas.

Pictures from Bible Lands, drawn with Pen and Pencil. Edited by SAMUEL G. GREEN, D.D. Imperial 4° pp. 203. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1879.

THE lands of the Bible form a theme of perennial interest, —an interest, too, that is ever increasing, since not only does the devotee turn his eyes thither with reverent curiosity, but now science, history, and philology are employed far more than ever in searching the East, and bringing from its rich ruins treasures invaluable to the modern world. While the wants of scholars are supplied by such volumes as the *Records of the Past*—and the *Recovery of Jerusalem*, the demands of those who are not special students are gratified by books of a lighter and more popular cast.

To the latter class belongs the present work. The volume is intended as a companion to *Those Holy Fields* and the *Land of the Pharaohs*, and consequently neither Palestine nor Egypt are included in the author's itinerary. The delineation begins with Damascus, naturally enough, as being "the oldest city in the world," and with the neighboring country of Lebanon. Then follow the Hauran and the land beyond Jordan; Northern Syria, Cyprus and Asia Minor; Ararat, Babylon, Nineveh; and "the Isles of the Gentiles." When we consider that under the last heading Greece is included, we can readily see how fascinating and absorbing are the themes which this volume presents to us. By implication, and often by actual description, it follows the history of the human race from its cradle in "the land of Ararat" to the country of its highest intellectual development. It considers, in its pages, the grandest monuments of antiquity. It leads us back to the Fatherland of us all, and with praiseworthy skill brings the lives of those remote ancestors vividly before us. The style is easy, graphic, lively—as becomes such a record. There are no dull moralizings; no descending into a coarse humor on the one hand, or attempts at grandiose effect on the other. The book is not "popular" in any invidious sense. The works of great scholars are freely drawn on, the foot-notes and references are full and stimulative, and there is much of profane, as well as sacred, history woven into its pages.

The illustrations deserve special notice. They are not only profuse, but they are truly illustrative; and many of them are remarkably fine examples of the engraver's art.

A Short History of German Literature. By PROF. JAMES K. HOSMER. Second Edition. 12° pp. 628. St. Louis: G. I. Jones and Company. 1879.

OUR opinion of Prof. Hosmer's work was expressed in the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW for April, 1879, and we rejoice to see that both the prophecy and the desire, to which we then gave utterance, have so soon been fulfilled. For a second edition has been demanded within less than a year of the original issue, and this edition has been furnished with a most admirable analytical index—a model of its kind. In other ways, also, the work is much improved; a few errors, especially, which crept into the first edition, having been corrected. We cannot again discuss the many merits of the volume; but it is a simple duty as well as a pleasure, to direct special attention to the appendix, in which the author replies to some pungent critics, notably to the venerable and learned Dr. Hedge. It is not so much the matter here contained, though that is important, but it is the very

praiseworthy manner of the author's defence, which we admire. Though confident in his strength, and amply sustained by his citations and evidence; though sturdy and unyielding in his positions—the writer conducts his defence with perfect courtesy and amiability. We commend all aggrieved authors to a careful perusal of Prof. Hosmer's reply to his critics.

Songs of the Soul, Gathered out of many Lands and Ages. By SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME. 12° pp. 661. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers. 1880.

THE entire literature of the world does not present a richer field than the poetic breathings of religious souls. No one but the Christian can understand how the spirit, in joy or grief, in victory or defeat, in resignation or triumph, turns instinctively to express its moods in song. Yet, as these feelings are the deepest, loftiest and most tragic in human nature—as they arise from contemplation or experience of the sublimest laws of life—it is surely but natural that the soul should seek to express them, or find them expressed, in the most impassioned form of speech. Certain it is, that in all times the hymn-book, in some form or other, has been inseparably interwoven with the sacred writings of every people. This is especially true among the followers of Christ, where it is safe to say that the poets have shed more light on the dark places, and revealed more of the mysteries, of the Bible than all the commentators have done. In no religion has the hymnology been so full and rich; in none has the service of song performed so important a part, both in public and private worship.

Among the innumerable collections of religious poems, Dr. Prime's *Songs of the Soul* has already taken high rank, and we are glad to welcome a new edition, reduced both in size and price, and thus made more available for use. A reëxamination of its pages — long familiar to us — serves only to strengthen our admiration of the taste, skill and feeling with which the compilation has been made. The opening and closing selections are poems of rare power and beauty—the first place being given to Derzhavin's lofty and intense verses on *God*, while the last two poems are the ecstatic *Celestial Country* of Bernard of Clugny, and *Mother Dear, Jerusalem.*

In the leading divisions of the work, in choice of themes and of representative hymns, there is an equal display of purified religious taste and trained literary judgment. Nearly all ages, nations and sects are here represented, while nothing has a place which does not appeal to every aspiring soul—the world over. We have but to remember that Allah means God, to find a noble

Christian poem even in *The Answer* of Dscheladeddin, the Persian. What Christian poet, indeed, has given us any thing better than its closing lines—

> "Every inmost aspiration is God's angel undefiled;
> And in every 'O my Father' slumbers deep a 'Here, my child!'"

All moods are found here, too, except despair and rebellion. The hymns range in spirit from the agony of Timrod's *A Mother's Wail* to the tender resignation of Whittier's *Angel of Patience* and the complete submission of Sturm's *God's Anvil.*

Personal taste, and still more, personal spiritual experience, will have, of course, a strong voice in individual judgments of such a work. Yet we believe there is no collection which will be more widely acceptable; none which will produce less disappointment and more satisfaction than this one. Dr. Prime evidently had not our own taste *constantly* in view, or he would have found a better translation of *That Great Day of Wrath and Terror* than Neale's, which is very poor English poetry; and a better rendering of *Hildebert's Hymn* than Benedict's; while we would have preferred Sir Walter Scott's or Gen. Dix's *Dies Iræ* to that of Edward Slosson. Occasionally a poem, whose authorship is well known, as *I am far frae my hame*, is unsigned, while Derzhavin's name is not appended to the opening hymn.

This latter omission, indeed, may be an error in proof-reading, of which there are so many as to be inexcusable. For Derzhavin appears in the list of authors, but referred to page 31 instead of page 3; while Sir John Bowring's name is signed to the hymn as translator, but is omitted from the list of translators. In this same list, Edward Caswall is not credited with the translation of Bernard's *Jesu, dulcis memoria*, nor Mrs. Charles with that of Peter Damiani's *Ad perennis vitæ fontem*, although their names appear, respectively, at the end of these poems. E. A. Washburne is allowed a final *e* in one place, but deprived of it in another. So valuable a book ought not to be thus marred.

FINANCE.

Letters from Europe. By HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, Philadelphia: Porter and Coates. 1879.

Bi-Metallism. By HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY. Reprint from *Penn Monthly* for December, 1879.

THE first of these pamphlets is a series of six letters to the Philadelphia *Times* while the author was on a vacation in Europe.

They are mainly devoted to the consideration of economic problems, especially the demonetization of silver.

The second pamphlet is an address read before the Bullion Club of New York, and treats exclusively of the silver question, as it is termed in this country. The author justly condemns the *á priori* method of reasoning upon economic problems generally, and this one in particular, and enters into a minute and interesting examination of the subject. He asserts that money is not a standard of value, in the strict sense of the word—which is true enough, since value is a relative term, and cannot, therefore, be measured like space or gravity. Money is a conventional standard of value ; and since value may be defined as power in exchange with reference to all exchangeable commodities, it follows that the ideal standard should be something embodying the average proportion of all exchangeable commodities. This purely ideal conception of a standard of value being unattainable, the nearest practicable approach to it would be the nearest to perfection, and the nearest practicable approach to it is the selection and adoption of two or more of the least changeable commodities. Gold and silver are the two least changeable commodities and therefore furnish the best standard when used together and acting reciprocally on each other. If there were still another metal otherwise fitted for the purpose, then a triple standard would be even nearer perfection. Mr. Kelley's pamphlets are a useful contribution to the literature of the silver question, and will help to strengthen the convalescence of public opinion on this important subject.

RECEIVED.

The Constitutional and Political History of the United States. By DR. H. VON HOLST. Translated from the German by JOHN J. LALOR and ALFRED B. MASON. 1750–1833. State Sovereignty and Slavery. 8° pp. 505. Chicago: Callaghan and Company. 1877.

Great Authors of all Ages. Being Selections from the prose Works of eminent Writers from the Time of Pericles to the present Day. With Indexes. By S. AUSTIN ALLIBONE. 8° pp. 555. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

Memoir of Henry Armitt Brown, Together with four historical Orations. Edited by J. M. HOPPIN. 12° pp. 395. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

American College Fraternities; A descriptive Analysis of the Society System in the United States, together with a detailed Account of each Fraternity. By WM. RAIMOND BAIRD. 12° pp. 212. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

The Philosophy of Music. By WILLIAM POLE. 12° pp. 316. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Company. 1879.

The Poetical Works of Bayard Taylor. Household Edition. 12° pp. 341. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

Miscellanies. By JOHN DEAN CATON, LL. D. 8° pp. 360. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

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Camps in the Caribbees; The Adventures of a Naturalist in the Lesser Antilles. By FREDERICK A. OBER. 12° pp. 366. Boston: Lee and Shepard; New York: Charles F. Dillingham. 1880.

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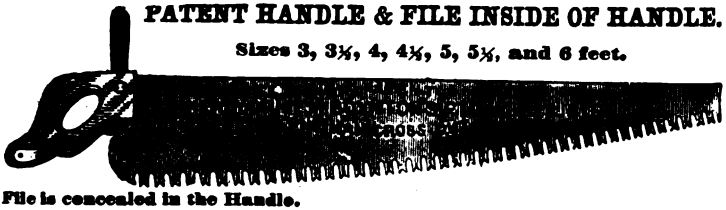

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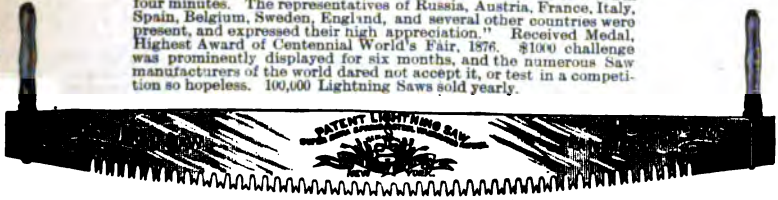

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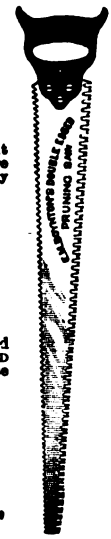

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AND

CHARLES H. WOODMAN

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Dr. Clark Johnson :—I have been a cripple for twelve years, caused by an injury to the Spine. I was also troubled with Inaction of the Liver, for which I have used your Indian Blood Syrup, and have received more benefit from it than from any other medicine I ever used. It helps to digest food and also acts upon the Liver and Kidneys.

Samuel Jewett.

DYSPEPSIA AND CONSTIPATION.

Trinity Sta., Trinity Co., Tex.

Dr. Clark Johnson:—I have used your excellent Indian Blood Syrup and can recommend it to those suffering with Dyspepsia and Constipation.

M. M. Phillips.

DYSPEPSIA AND LIVER COMPLAINT.

Dodgeville, Iowa Co., Wis.

Dr. Clark Johnson:—This is to certify that your Indian Blood Syrup completely relieved me of Dyspepsia. I advise all similarly afflicted to give it a trial.

Christopher Deyoe.

SURE CURE FOR LIVER COMPLAINT.

Toones Sta., Hardeman Co., Tenn.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—Having used your Indian Blood Syrup for years, I can say it is the best medicine for Liver Complaint and Disordered Stomach I ever tried.

A. B. Crain.

DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION.

Camden, Kershaw Co., S. C.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—This is to certify that your valuable Indian Blood Syrup cured me of Dyspepsia of 30 years' standing. I cannot recommend it too highly.

Willie Moore.

REMEDY FOR RHEUMATISM.

Rush, Tuscorawas Co., O.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—I was troubled with Rheumatism, and after using your Indian Blood Syrup a short time, I was entirely relieved.

I. Evans.

LIVER COMPLAINT.

Woonsocket, Providence Co., R. I.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—I suffered with Liver Complaint two years, and had no appetite. But since taking your Indian Blood Syrup, I rest well at knight and relish my food.

Abraham Fitten.

LIVER COMPLAINT.

Little River, Decatur. Co., Iowa

Dr. Clark Johnson:—I have used your excellent Indian Blood Syrup for Liver Complaint, and it has entirely cured me. I cannot recommend it too highly.

Harrison Sherley.

DYSPEPSIA.

Thornton, Grafton Co., N. H.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—This is to certify that your Indian Blood Syrup has effectually cured me of Dyspepsia and Constipation.

Mrs. Louis Holmes.

DYSPEPSIA AND RHEUMATISM.

Hester's Store, Person Co., N. C.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—The use of your reliable Indian Blood Syrup has greatly benefited me for Dyspepsia and Rheumatism.

Bettie Clayton.

MALARIAL FEVER AND KIDNEY DISEASE.

New York City, March 4, 1880.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—During my residence on Long Island, N. Y., I was troubled with Malarial Fever and Kidney Disease for over a year. My suffering became so great that I was obliged to give up work. I consulted several eminent physicians, but failed to obtain relief until I procured a bottle of your Indian Blood Syrup. Its effect on my system was magical. I have now been using it for about six weeks and find myself fully restored to health and vigor; my weight has also increased 15 pounds. I cheerfully recommend your valuable medicine to all similarly afflicted.

John F. Canning.

No. 38 McDougal Street.

DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION.

Loyalton, Dauphin Co., Pa.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—I have used your Indian Blood Syrup for Dyspepsia, and have received great benefit therefrom. It is all it is recommended to be.

Josiah Boyer.

REMEDY FOR RHEUMATISM.

Flatwood, Phelps Co., Mo.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—Being afflicted with Rheumatic pains, I was induced to use your Indian Blood Syrup, a short trial of which, effectually relieved me.

Mrs. Wakefield.

DYSPEPSIA CURED.

Waterville, Le Sueur Co., Minn.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—My wife was troubled with Dyspepsia and other Irregularities for some time; but the use of your truly excellent Indian Blood Syrup relieved her.

R. Robbins.

DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION.

Mooreville, Lee Co., Miss.

Dr. Clark Johnson :—From my experience I would say that for Dyspepsia and Indigestion and all other Diseases, so far as I have tried it, your Indian Blood Syrup is a certain cure. I do not want to be without it.

R. E. Bourland.

THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW,

[FOUNDED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.]

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D.

AND

CHARLES H. WOODMAN,

EDITORS.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

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ERRATA.

On p. 260, 17th line, instead of "request," read *bequest.*
On p. 488, 36th " " "enacted," " *drafted.*

THE

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APRIL, 1880.

Art. I.—The Clerical Question in France.

1. *L'Annuaire des Deux-Mondes.* Paris: 1878–79.
2. *Lettres Pastorales de Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Dupanloup.*
3. *La Révolution et les enseignements de l'Eglise.* Paris: 1874.
4. *Ordonnances du Conseil d'Etat sous Louis XVIII, Charles X, et Louis-Philippe.*
5. *Lettres Pastorales des Evêques Catholiques de la Puissance du Canada.* Québec: 1876.

To those who had closely watched the course of events under the Empire, or even since it was brought to an end at Sedan, the conflict between Church and State in France was a mere question of time. The clergy had been allowed to increase their influence until the harmonious working of republican institutions had become almost an impossibility in the face of so powerful and decidedly hostile a body.

Under the European system of concordats and the union of Church and State, despotic governments may be able to work amicably with the Church, because her influence forms one of their strongest bases of support. Moral and political despotisms are so closely related to each other that they can always find a common basis for united action and mutual help; but democracy and moral despotism cannot be long at peace,

because the life of one is of necessity the death of the other. The Church much more willingly accepts limitations to her power and pretensions from despotism than from democracy, since she always expects to get back in some other shape what despotism may have taken away from her; while with democracy she knows that what has been once lost can no more be recovered. So long as the clergy saw republican institutions intrusted to men belonging to the reactionary parties, who allowed their encroachments upon national sovereignty to remain undisturbed, they took good care not to wage war upon the republic, and confined themselves to conspiring against it, and giving their cordial support to those parties which had organized for the purpose of overthrowing it. But the moment the bishops saw the republic administered by republicans in earnest, and a truly republican programme adopted, then they thought the time had come for open warfare. The Catholic clergy throughout the world have been too completely ultramontanized not to be deadly hostile to republican institutions. Fine utterances and repeated declarations to the contrary are sometimes indulged in, to throw dust in the eyes of those who are easily blinded by a clever flow of words; but the real sentiments of the whole body about these institutions were clearly expressed by the Roman Catholic *Univers* of the 2d of March, 1879: "The republic never was made by God; it is a mere artificial organization." The Belgian bishops went still farther, not long ago, when they represented constitutional institutions as an "unlawful sort of government." This feeling is quite natural. Republican institutions mean improvement, reform and progress. Roman Catholicism means reaction, and too often contempt of the national will. Democracy means the sovereignty of the people; and papacy means more than ever theocracy, or the sovereignty of the Pope over Church and State. These two great powers actually start, then, from opposite principles, and are brought into unavoidable conflict through the mere natural course of events.

In France, hostilities were opened by the clergy, yet the clericals have been loudly complaining that the attack came from the Government, through its having introduced a law in

the Chambers for the regulation of public instruction. They assert that this law is interfering with concessions previously made to the clergy. Let us settle this point at once.

No doubt a law has been presented for the better regulation and organization of public instruction; no doubt that law is interfering with the present situation of the clergy in regard to public education; but does that law introduce one single new principle and disposition into French public law? No, not one! It does strictly nothing else but to reassert again those principles and dispositions of the public law of France, which were violated for party purposes in 1850 and in 1875 to please the clergy. To say that a *bona fide* return to the old principles and practice of the law after they had been set at naught by reactionary majorities, under strong pressure from the clergy, is to wage war upon that body, is equivalent to saying that a man who has been absent from his country, and finds, on his return, his property occupied by an intruder, is waging unfair war against him because of ejecting him from it. The present Government is merely doing away with clerical encroachments upon what has always been considered in France as the exclusive prerogative of the Government. The same power which has conceded privileges, has the right to withdraw them when they lead to abuses, as when the parties to whom they were conceded are using them with a view to its destruction. It is simply taking a weapon out of the hands of its enemies. But there is more than that: It is not a simple privilege which is withdrawn by Government, but a real abuse of the law which must be stopped. The enormous multiplication of religious congregations under the Empire had become at the same time a great evil and an abuse; and it is perfectly absurd to say that a government should not interfere with abuses, because introduced by the clergy.

The law of France in relation to public education and to religious congregations, has never suffered interference under any government. The law of 1850 was the first example of the kind, and it had been passed, under republican institutions, by a reactionary majority, with no other view but to use it as a weapon against the republican form of government. The

Restauration, Catholic and priestridden as it was, had preserved the law intact, and claimed for the State the exclusive right to the control and management of the general system of public instruction. It had rigidly enforced that principle against all attempts on the part of the clergy to evade it. The July Monarchy had done as much.

The Republic of 1848, for the first time, proclaimed the principle of gratuitous and obligatory education for the people, but under the management of the State. Such was the public law of France previous to 1850. In that year a clerical majority allowed the clergy to open institutions of secondary education: we shall see under what circumstances a little farther on. And when it was represented that that law was clashing with the well-established principle and invariable practice of the country in regard to public instruction—a principle and a practice which had been recognized even under the *Restauration*, when the Jesuit colleges were closed by authority—it was answered that the Assembly was simply putting into execution that disposition of the Constitution (of 1848), which had consecrated the principle of the liberty of association. That this was a false pretence on the part of reactionary parties, cannot be denied for a moment, because that same majority, which did not prevent unauthorized congregations from opening public educational institutions under the pretext of the right of association, actually denied the use of that right to any but priests, and for any other object whatsoever save clerical education.

But it may be said that French law and practice were faulty in that respect; that the teaching of children belongs to any one offering such guarantees of morality and ability as are required; and that to prevent the clergy from opening public educational institutions, is to violate their liberty. Such is, in fact, the dishonest way in which the clerical writers here are putting the question before the public. The clergy is not at all prevented from having public educational institutions: First, for their own recruitment through theological seminaries in every diocese in France; second, for the reception and tuition of the children of Catholics. They possess a very large number

of institutions of that kind, which are in no way interfered with by the law, whose sole object is to prevent several congregations which have surreptitiously introduced themselves into the country, and which never were incorporated under the law of the land, from opening or continuing to hold public educational institutions.

It is a well-known principle in law, that all associations of men, for whatever object, must be recognized by the State, that is, must receive legal existence by incorporation under the law of the land. During the last thirty years a large number of congregations were organized in France, which never asked to be incorporated by statute or otherwise. None of them could be unaware of the dispositions of the law and the obligations which it imposed upon them; but the principle of the Church being that she can do whatever she pleases, because she represents God on earth, she claims the right to send her congregations anywhere without any interference from Government. It is under that peculiarly ecclesiastical notion of right and law that more than twenty-five thousand persons, at the present moment, are organized and embodied in France into a large number of establishments, having no legal existence, but soliciting public charity with that persistence, cleverness and success which are not found outside of those bodies.

But why did not the people, organizing or entering into these unauthorized congregations, join those which were actually authorized by law? This is one of the ticklish points in the system. By constantly bringing in new congregations under new names, the Church well knows that there will always be found, in an ignorant mass, many persons who will be more disposed to give help and alms to poor people having as yet no resources of any kind, but coming in "with the very best intentions and asking nothing but to be allowed to pray to God in their own style," than to those which have already acquired wealth. Two years ago, in one of the central departments of France, a congregation of nuns was asking for an additional allocation from the municipality of the city where it had its seat, for the maintenance of an asylum. As usual, it represented how poor it was and how impossible it

would be for such a poor congregation to maintain the asylum without the help demanded. Some difficulties having arisen between the municipality and the convent before the allocation was voted, a member proposed to have an enquiry made into the pecuniary condition of the convent, and it was discovered that the poor congregation so earnestly soliciting help was actually possessed of property in two or three adjoining departments, representing a little over eleven millions of francs! What is true of that particular institution, would undoubtedly prove true with almost all of them. The one hundred and sixty religious congregations of Belgium, owning between them nearly four thousand institutions, have amassed property, since the revolution of 1830, amounting to about two hundred and fifty millions of francs. The religious congregations of France would, undoubtedly, more than quintuple that amount.

How can the State remain indifferent to such an enormous concentration of property into mortmain? Of course mortmain is no longer recognized by the Code, but it does exist in fact. Convents are constantly acquiring and very seldom selling property. The opinion that the State has the right to limit the acquisition of property by the Church is declared heretical by the *Syllabus*. So that the State is, in fact, denied the right to preserve its own existence and supremacy; denied the right to prevent the Church becoming *un état dans l'Etat;* and even denied the right to protect families against clerical avidity! When the French Revolution broke out, the Church was possessed of a little more than one-third of the whole territory of France. As this property, together with that of the nobles, for the most part, was exempt from taxation, the people had to support the whole charge of public expenses, while actually owning less than one-half of the land. At present, moreover, the French clergy are receiving a yearly income, from the national budget, of nearly sixty millions of francs.

The republic is in no way bound to sanction the mistakes and blunders of the past—of the Empire or of the reactionary parties. The Empire, needing the support of the clergy, closed its eyes for eighteen years to the constant encroachments of that powerful body, and allowed the law to become a dead

letter so far as the priests were concerned. The clergy took advantage of the weakness of the tottering system, and placed themselves above the law. Now that a strong government exists, having for its basis the free and untrammelled suffrage of the immense majority of the nation, is that government bound to suffer the systematic violations of the law to go on unchecked? Why did not the unauthorized congregations take advantage of the almost irresistible influence of the clergy over the Empire to be classed among the authorized ones? In its last eight years, the Second Empire granted nine hundred and twenty authorizations to religious congregations. Why were no demands made by some of those yet unauthorized? If they did not dare to make the application, how is the republic bound to grant them privileges? And if they made no applications because the clergy had determined to ignore the law, is not the present Government bound to recall that great body to a sense of its duties, and remind it that the law of the land is above everything in the land—Church, bishops, priests, and nuns included?

We should never lose sight of the fact, that the future of republican institutions in Europe depends entirely upon the direction given to public education. Educating the youth is in reality shaping the destinies of nations. And here lies the great cause of conflict. The Church claims the control of public education, because she knows perfectly well that so long as she can instruct the young, so long she will keep a firm basis among the people. Here is the principal foundation of her greatness and power. Why have republican ideas and principles made such slow progress on the Continent? Because the Church reigned supreme almost everywhere and had *de facto*, if not always *de jure*, the monopoly of education. In France, this was not true of superior education, which was under the control of the University, but the whole system of primary education and, in greater part, of secondary education, was controlled by the clergy, even when it was not altogether in their hands. Lay teachers had to submit everywhere to the dictates of the Church, and they were never secure in their positions if they incurred in the least the displeasure of *Monsieur le Curé*.

So France was educated by the clergy, under monarchical governments who saw in clerical education the best of preservatives against republican ideas. The result was that the great majority of the French nation, in spite of its remarkable amount of intelligence, did for a long time remain hostile as a whole to liberal principles. Those only who belonged to the higher class of intellects could resist clerical action and influence, and passed over, through a feeling of their own dignity as moral beings, to the republican camp. The Church still keeps under her tuition nearly one-half of the boys and more than two-thirds of the girls, while proofs are acquired every day that the education given to children in all clerical institutions is deadly hostile to the present institutions of the country; that children are taught to hate or despise liberalism as applied to the Government *; to refuse obedience to their own father, if he does not agree with the political opinions of the professor; and to consider him a victim to the most grievous error even if he belongs to the old Gallican school instead of being an ultramontane fanatic. Young men are taught in the higher classes, that the principle of the sovereignty of the people is both "an impiety and an absurdity"; that the sole "fountain of truth," even social and political, in this world, is the Pope; that no law is binding upon the conscience of Catholics unless approved by him.

This is the tuition actually given in twenty-seven colleges belonging to the Jesuits, in about five hundred more belonging to other congregations, and in over three thousand convents for the education of girls. About one-fourth of these congregations are not authorized, and the Jesuits are even prohibited to live in France.

The proposed law, which is made an occasion for such an outcry against "republican intolerance," actually gives up to the clergy what was constantly refused to that body by the

* A private letter was lately published in one of the republican newspapers, stating that in a convent of the locality where the writer resided, the Lady Superior never alluded to the Chamber of Deputies without calling it the *Council of atheists and brigands;* and M. Gambetta's designation was the *Ambassador of Satan!* And whenever the word *la République* is uttered in her presence, she at once makes upon herself the sign of the cross.

monarchy and even the Empire! It leaves the bishops in full possession of the right, which was granted to them by the law of 1875, to open and organize public institutions of higher grade. One single disposition of the latter law is no doubt withdrawn, viz.: the one allowing clerical establishments of higher learning to confer degrees. But under the French system—as well as the German, the Belgian, the Austrian, and the Italian,—the conferring of degrees is considered one of the essential prerogatives of the Government, and there are very strong reasons why this should be so in Catholic countries.

The law of 1875 was due to that reactionary majority which had in vain tried to reëstablish monarchy and which, having been baffled in that treasonable attempt, had taken advantage of its unchecked power to make the clergy perfectly independent of the University in the field of superior education. In order the better to attain that object and the more effectually destroy the old *prestige* of the University in the eyes of the nation—that great body being considered as "a most detestable institution" by the clergy*—the conferring of degrees was granted to the clerical establishments which were created by that law. The only possible result of this clerical encroachment was to lower the standard of studies, because the "superior education" which is given in clerical establishments is of necessity much inferior to that given in the University. And the reason is obvious: The pretension of the clergy is that science must be made subservient to theology and dogma —"dogma" being quite as skilfully interpreted today, in regard to palæontology and anthropology, for example, as it was in Galileo's time in respect of astronomy. But then, indeed, it can no longer be called *science*. It is Roman Catholic science; accordingly fettered science—science confined in an inflexible circle traced around it by the Roman *Index*. Degrees are sometimes conferred upon pious young men who have spent more time

* In 1831, Father Lacordaire, the celebrated Dominican preacher, said of that great institution: "Yes, we do hate it in the inmost recesses of our hearts! and so long as a breath of life shall remain with us; so long as the last drops of blood shall flow into our veins, we shall use that breath and that blood in fighting against it until we succeed in killing it."

in the chapel than in the laboratory; which may be highly conducive to salvation, but is a poor assurance of competency. Or again, the professors will be chosen precisely on the ground that they are opposed to modern science, modern civilization, modern ideas about independent study; and they will carefully preserve the minds of youth free from all those highly dangerous things. By withdrawing from Catholic institutions the power of conferring degrees, the Government imposes upon them, for their own interest, the obligation to keep their teaching up to a certain standard. The fact that their students must go to the *juries* of the Faculties of the State before receiving degrees, makes it necessary for the managers of Catholic institutions to indulge in a certain amount of violence to their own rules, in order not to be found too far behind their secular competitors.

Had the authors of the law of 1875 possessed sufficient foresight, they would not have insisted so stubbornly that the right to confer degrees should be given to Catholic universities. But the Church never stops half-way. The clergy were warned of the ultimate consequences of their encroachment, and reminded that what a purely accidental majority would grant under the incentive of partisanship, another majority could afterwards recall. Their course, moreover, supplied a good illustration of Catholic liberality. Bishop Dupanloup, the principal author and supporter of the law in the National Assembly, had demanded it in the name of liberty. A republican member, to test his sincerity, proposed that in future scholars and lecturers should be no longer bound to ask for an authorization from the Government to give a *conférence*. The men who were voting for the law on the principle of liberty, refused point-blank to sanction this proposal; and Bishop Dupanloup explained in his best language that it would be granting the liberty of evil (*la liberté du mal*). The present republican majority is now simply giving back to the Government what should not have been taken away from it, but does not touch the Catholic universities in any other particular. The situation, therefore, is this: In 1850 the clergy received the power to open institutions of secondary education, and they keep this power today; in 1875,

they were granted the power to open institutions of higher learning and to confer degrees, and their institutions will still remain open, but will not confer degrees.

But there is another "tyranny." The Government has introduced a law which will oblige all teachers, whether lay or clerical, to obtain diplomas before being appointed to teach children. Nothing can be more sensible. A man must first learn what he intends to teach. The whole clerical press, however, is howling against that law, because congreganist teachers are the only ones which the law was intended to reach—so many of them being altogether incompetent. The law of March, 1850, was in some of its dispositions an insult to common-sense. It had relieved the nuns, and the assistant male teachers, from the obligation to obtain diplomas before being allowed to teach children. The nuns, therefore, had nothing to do but to show their letters of obedience from the bishops, and the Government was bound, when requiring them for State schools, to accept the letter of obedience as a sufficient certificate of competency. What were the practical results of that concession made to ecclesiastical pride? First, fifty-two of the municipal schools in Paris had congreganist teachers—three hundred and eight in all. Out of that number, fifty-two only had diplomas; that is, the directors or head-masters, who, as a rule, do not teach the children. But the two hundred and fifty-six assistants, who are the real teachers, had no diplomas. In the whole of France, there are today four thousand six hundred and seventy-nine congreganist teachers employed by the Government. Only five hundred and forty-eight of them have diplomas. If we compare the State schools with the clerical, the general fact is the same. Out of eleven thousand ecclesiastical assistant-masters in clerical schools, ten thousand had no diplomas; while out of fifteen thousand lay assistant-masters in State schools, more than twelve thousand had diplomas—those who had none being only employed as overseers. The number of congreganist female teachers is a little over thirty-seven thousand, out of which thirty-two thousand are without diplomas, their letters of obedience being accepted as the equivalent; while out of nineteen thousand

female teachers in State schools, seventeen thousand have their diplomas; the two thousand without them being only employed in teaching A B C to little children. In short, eighty-six per cent. of the lay teachers have diplomas, while eighty-nine per cent. of the congreganist teachers have no diplomas of any kind. It should be stated, in justice, however, that the forty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-seven congreganist teachers who have no diplomas must not all be considered as incompetent. It is believed, upon as fair an estimate as was possible in the absence of actual personal examination, that about two-fifths of the congreganist teachers, male and female, are competent for their work, which, however, still leaves about twenty-seven thousand incompetent teachers.*

The outcry is great in the clerical camp because the Jesuits must close their institutions; but there are several authorized congregations of priests, quite as respectable and competent as the Order of Jesuits, who will inherit the pupils, and make their education quite as good, and their salvation quite as safe, as the Jesuits would. This alone shows how puerile is the assertion that the main object of the law is to prevent Catholics from having their children educated in religious institutions. Defalcation once made of the unauthorized congregations, there will remain in France ten congregations of men—including the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine—owning and managing between themselves five or six hundred educational institutions; and nine hundred congregations of women, with three thousand two hundred educational institutions. Catholic universities, eight in number, and episcopal seminaries,

* It is to no other cause than perfect incompetency on the part of such a large number of clerical teachers that so many perfectly ludicrous devices are resorted to by some of them. The president of the committee on primary education, has communicated to the Chambers the following one: He held in his hand the map of the *peninsula of perfection*. That peninsula is bounded on the north by the ocean of the *love of God*, and to the south, by the *sea of self-contempt*. It is quite close to the *island of faith*, and the isthmus, which unites it with the continent, is called the *isthmus of charity*. We can see on it the *cape of resistance* and the *cape of good resolutions;* and pass through the departments of humility, hope, theological virtues, etc., etc. A lofty chain of mountains runs through it, where can be seen the *volcano of transubstantiation* and peak of *Immaculate Conception*. The president kept the House in a perfect roar of laughter for more than twenty minutes over this great ecclesiastical conception for the instruction of children. It was to be found in a large number of schools for both sexes.

about ninety in number, are not included in the foregoing figures.

There are about five or six hundred institutions for both sexes, unauthorized by law, which will be closed or handed over to the congregations having their authorization. What can prevent the clergy from adopting this last alternative? Nothing at all. There would be a change of persons, but not of spirit. And what can prevent the unauthorized congregations from changing their names and addresses and joining the authorized ones? What does it matter that a man calls himself a Dominican with a white gown, or a Franciscan with a brown one, or an Augustine with a black one? When M. Duruy was minister of public instruction under the Second Empire, a Dominican father came one day in his finest dress and demanded an authorization to open a school in one of the villages around Paris. The minister reminded him that he unfortunately belonged to one of the unauthorized congregations, which made it impossible that the favor should be granted. The reverend father bowed most respectfully, and after some minutes of amicable conversation, took his leave. Only a fortnight later the same father again sent his card to the minister, demanding admission, and was introduced; but the minister could hardly reconcile the name on the card, with the figure then standing before him. Instead of a white dress with a black mantle over it, the reverend gentleman had put on the long cassock of secular priests, with the small Roman mantle over his shoulders. "Why! my reverend father," said the minister, "what does this mean? Are you no more a Dominican?" "No, *Monseigneur*," answered the visitor, "I have passed over to the secular clergy; and now I suppose that you can hardly refuse my former demand?" The minister heartily laughed at the clever expedient, and granted the authorization.

Indeed, if it were found to be in the interest of religion that some congregations should be merged into others, what fair objection could be made on the part of men or women having no other care in life but the interest of religion? Simply this: by decreasing their number, donations would perhaps also decrease. Each congregation has its particular set of patrons

having a preference for a particular name and *personnel*, and if some names were abolished, some good purses would perhaps be found closed. This is a grave consideration; but there is another one worth mentioning. The Jesuits are far more affected by the proposed law than any other religious order. They own twenty-seven large colleges in the country, and that in the face of laws which have decreed their expulsion from it and were never repealed. This is the reason why they never dared to ask for recognition at the hands of the Government. They had to keep quiet and be as little *seen*—officially speaking—as possible. That did not of course prevent them from intriguing against the republic; but it was done in such a clever way that although clearly felt it could hardly be demonstrated. You have the scent of them everywhere, but the flower is so humble, so well concealed in the grass, that you cannot discover it.

The real cause of the terrible anger now aroused in every corner of Catholic France is that the Jesuit colleges will have to pass into other sacred hands. We, *profanes*, see no great harm in that; but now that the old national church, which so often directed the strongest votes against the Jesuits, has been ultramontanized from the poorest chapel and presbytery to the proud cathedral and archiepiscopal palace of Paris, to touch the Jesuits is to touch the Church itself.

Ultramontanism is the prince, and Jesuitism the minister. Ultramontanism is the institution, and Jesuitism the secret machinery through which it is spread, worked and managed all over the world. Ultramontanism is the very essence of theocracy, and Jesuitism is moral bondage carried to perfection. This is the reason why ultramontanism looks upon Jesuitism as its most precious jewel, because it is its most powerful instrument of domination. Without the secret action of Jesuitism among the clergy as well as among the great body of Catholics, national churches could never have been made to abdicate their autonomy into the hands of the Pope as they have done.

Jesuitism has always been *de facto* the right arm of the Church, and the pride of the order was enhanced in consequence. They have always considered themselves to be far above all the

other orders both in usefulness to the Church and in moral perfection. It is one of their fundamental rules that no member of any other order can ever be admitted under any pretext whatever into the Society of Jesus. This will explain why, if other orders would consent to be merged into one another, no Jesuits could ever be found to enter into another holy congregation. Although, under the powerfully centralized administration now prevailing in the Church, the old-time holy wars between monastical orders are no more to be seen, yet the Jesuits meet with no sympathy among the other orders, nor even among a pretty large portion of the secular clergy; and it is well-known that the old grudge between them and the Dominicans is still quite sharp. They are feared, but they are not liked.

So the Jesuits, in all probability, must leave their colleges, and the bishops will have to see that they remain open under the direction of other priests; but the laws which forbid them to live in France are yet left in abeyance, and it is not true that they are the victims of proscription. They are in no way interfered with as citizens and only incapacitated as public teachers. And they have only to thank themselves for it. The Empire allowed them to reopen and increase the number of their colleges because they were giving to young men such a moral direction as was entirely in accordance with the interests and wishes of imperial despotism, bringing them up in perfect hatred of liberalism and republican principles. But republican ministers, whose first duty it is to consolidate the republic, could not feel bound to follow in the track of the Empire, and continue to extend to the enemies of the present institutions of France the same encouragement as was extended to them by the Empire, in the face of the law. Had they been recognized by law under regular incorporation, they would not have been touched, in spite of their anti-republican propaganda, even as professors and teachers; but the present government having determined, under strong pressure from public opinion, to have the law executed, the Jesuits are simply bearing the consequences of their—legally speaking—surreptitious position as a teaching body.

It is said that under republican institutions no rights should be interfered with; that the Jesuits should not be treated differently from other classes; that if exceptional laws do exist against them they should be repealed; that the republic is strong enough to bear their intrigues and their attacks. From a constitutional stand-point, this is strictly true so far as citizens are concerned; but are Jesuits *citizens* in the true sense of the word? Can it be said that men who have entirely renounced their own free-will and who have made a vow to be blindly obedient to the Pope, or to their general, or to the lowest of Jesuit superiors, are independent citizens? And again, will it be said that an order which is well known to have been at all times a real secret political society over and above its religious character; which, as a body, is entirely dependent upon a man living out of the realm; whose political doctrine is that nothing is lawful and regular, nor binding upon conscience in any State, but what has been approved by the Pope; that the duty of a Catholic is to obey the Pope in preference to his own Government,—can it be pretended that that order should be put on a footing with ordinary associations which have no character of secrecy about them and are not submitted to such rules as make it binding upon them to disobey the law, if required to do so? Can it be pretended that, although not incorporated according to law, such a society should be dealt with exactly as those societies which have honestly obeyed the prescriptions of the law? Such a plea is preposterous.

We would gladly dwell at greater length, did space permit, on the Jesuit phase of this question, because *there* mainly lies the difficulty, the real trouble of the situation. Were not the Jesuits concerned in the matter, it would all be speedily settled. But two great hostile powers are now facing each other: the papacy, which claims to be above the law and which cannot abandon those who have really made it what it is, supreme in the Church; and the republic, which has twice been nearly strangled by Jesuitism, within the last six years, and which, being the real expression of the wishes and feelings of the nation, is bound to stand out against the inveterate enemies of national sovereignty. There can be no peace between ultra-

montanism and the republic until the supremacy of one and the submission of the other shall have become a settled fact. And this is not the expression of the opinion of a mere "infidel"; it was most explicitly asserted, a short time ago, in *L'Association Catholique*, edited by the most active Catholic agitator of the present time. One of his co-editors explained at length that "the bishops will fight with the same courage and the same amount of confidence in their cause as the Vicar of Christ himself, who foresaw that a conflict was imminent and gave the password to the whole Catholic army by his Encyclical Letter of the 28th of December, 1878. The bishops, being in complete accord with him, are now declaring to revolutionary governments that there can never be any peace between truth and error, and that now that the battle has commenced the Church will only renounce it when revolution shall have been put down."

There is another important difference between lay and religious associations. The former are never seen hunting for donations and requests, which is one of the chief and most actively pursued aims of religious congregations. Lay societies enrich themselves by labor and production, or by subscriptions from their own members. The religious associations get rich principally, and in many cases exclusively, at the expense of the community, by using the confessional, testamentary captation, and other secret means of action, to obtain money and property which should have gone to the families of the donors. The four thousand congregational institutions, which are now to be found in France, actually represent a colossal polypus which, through its four thousand suckers, is incessantly swallowing the fortunes of families. An official document shows that from 1872 to 1877 they received through gifts or legacies authorized by Government, about sixty millions of francs, and that they acquired property by purchase to the amount of about twenty millions more. Now, it is well known that they receive large sums every year in money, or movable property, without the Government being informed of it. So they are actually acquiring property by gifts, legacies, or purchase, at the rate of probably thirty millions of francs a year, at the least. To say that

a government should in no way feel concerned about such a state of things, is equivalent to denying it the right and the duty to protect the interest of families. And we must not forget that the unauthorized congregations, which cannot directly own property, are resorting every day to all sorts of clever tricks, in order to evade the law. In some cases, they will place the funds in trust in the hands of a friend, who is legally possessed of them, but who hands over the revenue to the congregation. In other cases, one of the inmates of the congregation will be the real proprietor. Two years ago, universal laugh was turned upon one of the rich congregations of Belgium which had bought a magnificent property in the outskirts of a large town in the name of its treasurer, who was apparently the lawful proprietor. The man was considered perfectly safe and honest and above any kind of temptation. Unfortunately he lost his heart one day through the sparkling eyes of a beautiful nun who was his penitent, and who consented to elope with him to England. Once there, he wrote to the superior of his congregation that he had brought with him the titles of the property which he would at once surrender upon the payment of two hundred thousand francs. The property was worth five times that amount, and the man was out of reach because he was the real proprietor in the eyes of the law. Negotiations ensued, desperate appeals were made to his conscience; and the matter ended by the payment of one hundred thousand francs in exchange for the title. It was a most shameful act of robbery, but why did the people laugh instead of pitying the plundered congregation? Because these holy associations are seen almost every day in court trying to justify their surreptitious acquisitions of property to the detriment, in many cases, of poor families. Their pretensions, however, are overruled in four cases out of five.

The fight against the proposed law is, of course, made by or under the guidance of, the bishops, who feel bound to protect the unauthorized congregations, and particularly the Jesuits. All the archbishops, with their respective suffragan bishops, have made strong representations to the Government and legislature against the proposition to withdraw from

unauthorized congregations the privilege to teach children. These representations are being supported by a large number of petitions, which the Catholics are signing in every part of the country. This is all right, of course, because it is a lawful way to oppose what is considered to be wrong. It is only to be regretted that when the republicans, four or five years ago, petitioned the Chambers and demanded gratuitous and obligatory education to be granted, the whole clerical press united to denounce the petition as illegal and irregular, and said that it should not even be received, although more than twelve hundred thousand electors had signed it. We think it highly probable that the present Catholic petitions will not bring out such an array of names, at least of electors. Women, of course, by the thousand! Some of these petitions indicate pretty accurately who are the inspirers and writers of them. A petition, signed by Catholic ladies, begins with the following words: "We, Christian mothers, do solemnly protest against a law which tends to deprive us of the right to have our sons educated according to the Christian principles." Such is not at all the case, and these good Christian mothers have been made to sign their names to an affirmation which is entirely at variance with facts; since, if their sons are now educated in unauthorized congregations, nothing prevents their being sent to the authorized ones where "Christian principles" are certainly not trampled upon. But this wording was expected to have great effect upon the minds of the more ignorant part of the population, which is thus falsely made to believe that the real object of the law is to do away with all religious education.

The representations of the bishops, which have been published in the newspapers, are well-drawn documents, most carefully worded, but maintaining the absolute right of the Church to be the sole teacher in the nation. They assert that the law is based upon a most important doctrinal error, inasmuch as "it proceeds from the principle of the supremacy of the State over the Church. The State is certainly wrong when it looks upon the liberty of the Church as a grant and not as a right, because this is *de facto* denying her mission among men. It is also setting aside the spirit of the Concordat, because,

instead of treating with her as a power, the State subjects her to its supremacy."

So the State, according to the worthy bishops, must treat the Church as a coequal power, thus admitting her to be of right a state within the State. But the worthy bishops have forgotten one thing: The *Syllabus* claims more than that, and infallibly decides that to the Church alone belongs the right to define and limit her own rights; and that the State is bound to conform to her decision. Then the Church is far more than a coequal power; she is the superior power. How can the bishops be satisfied with mere equality between the two, when they have confirmed the *Syllabus*, which claims supremacy? The Canadian bishops far better understood the question when they quietly declared two years ago, in a joint pastoral letter to their respective flocks, that it was not the Church which was in the State, but the State which was in the Church! Moreover, the history of the False Decretals, and of the very Concordat to which the bishops refer, proves the absurdity of their assertion. But how are these good bishops, who are so fiercely taking the Government to task for a pretended violation of the spirit of the Concordat, observing it themselves? They are constantly setting it at naught, both in the spirit and in the letter!

They are bound by the Concordat (VIth Article), to be faithful to the government of the country, and to entertain no communications, correspondence, or intelligence, of any kind, with persons out of the country, which may endanger public peace. They have been unceasingly conspiring for the return of the Count de Chambord, and some of them went to Frohsdorff. They are forbidden by the Concordat to publish Roman bulls in their respective dioceses, without permission of the Government. They have many times insolently violated that article, and when representations were made about it, they actually set the government at defiance. They are bound, by the organic articles of the Concordat—and still more by their own rules—to reside in their dioceses. Yet some of them are seldom seen at their post. They are forbidden by the same articles to leave their dioceses for a foreign country, without the

authorization of the Government. They are constantly laughing in the face of that disposition. They are also forbidden to hold meetings together, without the authorization of the Government. They never ask for it, and meet as often as they please.

Even the most Catholic kings energetically resisted these pretensions, and very often cited bishops before the Council of State when they set the law at defiance. The real author of the "recourse against ecclesiastical abuse" is a saint of the Church, Louis IX, regularly cononized a few years after his death. He was certainly not a republican. Louis XVIII had ten ordinances passed by the Council of State, declaring that such and such a bishop had violated the Concordat. That was one for every year of his reign. Under Charles X, twenty-two such ordinances were published—more than five every year. Under Louis-Philippe, forty such ordinances against bishops were published, or more than two every year. Yet, great is the outcry against "dirty republicans"—a Bonapartist and clerical designation—because now, *for the first time* under the Republic, an archbishop has been brought before the Council of State, on account of a most insolent pastoral letter which he published regarding the education law. This is called an "unheard of enormity," and the *Univers* reminds the members of the Council of State that they will fall under the gravest censures of the Church, if they are prevailed upon to hear the case—a prince of the Church not being amenable to civil tribunals!

It is asserted that the father will not be free under the law. This is absolutely false. No doubt Catholic fathers will be limited, in their choice, to authorized congregations; but that is certainly not interfering with their rights as Catholics. This cry over the "liberty of the father," the "imprescriptible rights of the father" is peculiarly clerical. What liberty does the Catholic father of a family enjoy? He is never allowed to place his children where they will receive, in his opinion, the best education, but is bound in conscience to send them to clerical institutions. No; the clerical doctrine of the imprescriptible rights of the father has reference to very different

matters. Every government of Europe has enacted laws, a various times, imposing upon Catholic fathers limitations t the right of bequeathing property to the Church. Hence, th priestly tenderness of the "liberty of the father." Yet the Churc has always claimed and exercised the right to give in marriag minor daughters, in spite of the father's opposition. To b sure, the archbishop of Rheims, not long since, expatiated i glowing style, in the columns of a Catholic paper, on "th fundamental rights of the father;" but unfortunately ther appeared, in the very same issue, an emphatic letter from th bishop of Laval, supporting the declaration of his archbishop- that of Tours—that the proposed law "is a direct violation of th rights of God over the child, which rights are vested in th Church, and by her delegated to the father of the family.

The representations to government, by the archbishop o Aix and his suffragants, fairly indicate the position of th clergy in the present issue: "We are tired of the constan encroachments upon the sacred rights of the Church." Th is aimed at the Government. "Our patience is more tha exhausted by the attacks against the principle of the supremac of the Church over public education." This is directed again the press. "No one is possessed of the right to interfere wit our unauthorized congregations." Lastly, "we must defen our rights, and it is certainly not the Church which will hav the worst of it in the present struggle." The same archbisho has issued a pastoral on the same theme, from which we quo a brief passage that will be of interest to Americans:

"Who are those men who intend making your children into their ov image and likeness? You know what ridiculous and grotesque origin th pretend to be theirs; * * * and it may even be the case that they are ove doing self-adulation when tracing their genealogy to monkeys; because, if th are judged according to their schemes and their deeds, one would rather fe disposed to see in them the descendants of those to whom Christ said: 'Yo father is the devil.' * * * Noble sons of Provence, will you allow yo children to be violently detached from their heavenly origin to be forever lo in the genealogy of the Demon? * * * Only allow these men to op schools without God, and where prayer will not be heard, nor the catechis taught, and you will soon see your poor children transformed into little monste of impiety and immorality, when they do not become little prodigies imbecility, because such is the deplorable result of atheistic schools; a resu

already observed out of France, and more particularly in certain States of the American Republic."

Nor do the good bishops stop at argument. They make no secret of their defiance. The bishop of Grenoble has issued a circular letter to his clergy, in which he says: "People are talking without end about those laws which are made independently from the Concordats. Those laws are clearly null, and cannot in any way bind the Church, which never signed them. With a view not to disturb public order, the particular churches, as well as Catholics generally, are submitting to them; but that submission can in no way make those laws, enacted by governments alone, binding upon the Church, which neither discussed them, consented to them, nor signed them."

People living out of France have not the slightest idea of the real situation of things there, in respect of the clergy. That great body has enjoyed for years a controlling influence in the distribution of government patronage. The bench, the army, the public offices, and even the colleges of the State are still filled with its creatures, men whose energies are mainly devoted to paralyze, as much as is in their power, all the efforts of the republican government.* Reports have been made to the legislature showing that whenever a regiment had a republican colonel no promotions could be obtained for its officers; but "well-thinking" colonels were granted all sorts of favors. In the public offices, it was enough that a man should be seen reading a republican newspaper to have all his chances of promotion destroyed. This is the way the republic has been administered for seven years past. In fact, a real "ring" had been

* For the last two years, several cases of disappearance of papers from official files have been discovered, and it was in every case such papers as would have most seriously implicated gentlemen belonging to the clergy. The last case was that of some letters of one of the French bishops, which had been seized in the papers of a priest who was condemned to ten years imprisonment at hard work for frightful acts of immorality. These letters proved that the bishop who, of course, sternly rebuked the guilty priest, had made great exertions to have the scandalous affair suppressed and not brought to the knowledge of the local authorities. He had even threatened the mother of one of the little girls that she should be prosecuted for wilful slander. This shows how important it may be, in particular cases, to have a well-confessed clerk in a public office. The whole thing was published, with names, etc., save and except the name of the guilty clerk who could not be discovered.

formed between the clergy and nobility and the influential Catholics; and that ring, which was often designated by the name of *la Congrégation*—exactly as under the *Restauration*—has succeeded, under republican institutions, not only in getting an immense number of its *protégés* in every corner of the Administration, but also in having them appointed in preference to those who had not received a clerical education! However incredible it may appear, it is perfectly true that to have been educated in the institutions belonging to the State was a disqualification for office with Catholic ministers and with the Catholic head-men of public departments.

Some time ago it was discovered that chaplains of regiments had organized a considerable number of officers and soldiers into a kind of religious association called the *Légion de St. Maurice*. These were the men who were relied upon in case of a *particular emergency*, otherwise called a *coup-d'état*. Orders were given by the Minister of War for its dissolution. Do you believe such an order caused the slightest discouragement among the worthy chaplains? Not in the least. They at once started another association under the name of *Notre-Dame des Soldats*, whose ostensible object is to put the soldiers under the protection of the most holy Virgin and to preserve their faith and morals. But its members were lately asked in a most pathetic sermon to join with the defenders of *la bonne cause* against the "atheistic" law regulating the system of education.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that the French officers, from the lieutenant-colonels down to the sergeants, instead of being, as they really are, an immense republican majority, had been Catholics; it is perfectly certain that the long prepared *coup-d'état* by the De Broglie ministry would have been perpetrated, and that France would not now be a republic. The men who were lately proclaimed traitors to their country by the legislature had actually ordered a certain number of picked men to be chosen from among the regiments and kept ready for a march upon Paris. Telegrams from the War-Office were communicated to the Chambers, where the question was made: "I am told that such a regiment is *not safe;* report immedi-

ately." Who were the *safe men?* Catholics and monarchists. None but those enrolled into pious associations could be depended upon for a revolution against the immense majority of the nation. This shows what a great benefit it is for a republic to have a well-confessed army. Did not Pio Nono approve those Italian confessors who were strongly advising Italian soldiers to desert their flag?

But it is in the composition of the Bench that the evil influence of Catholic ascendancy has really grown into a public calamity. A very large number of judicial decisions within the last four years, but mainly under the publicly disgraced ministry of the 16th of May, 1876, have been perfectly scandalous,—all principles of law, justice and common fairness being set aside whenever clerical or monarchical ambition and interests were at stake. Very many facts, which we cannot, of course, enlarge upon here, have fully demonstrated that men educated by the Jesuits or by other congregations where ultramontane principles are fully adopted, will often resort to any amount of twisting of legal texts or of forced and unfair interpretations of the law in order to allow its most evident spirit, intent and meaning to be evaded. We do not pretend to say that *all* Catholic judges will laugh in the face of their oath to administer the law according to the best of their conscience and understanding; but some more narrow-minded men, more pious and zealous than truly conscientious, and more under the influence of their confessor, will sometimes look upon the rules of the Church as having "divine precedence" over the law of the land. Two years ago a republican newspaper, having published an article, certainly not slanderous nor defamatory, against one of the unauthorized congregations, but showing that religious principles and influence were sometimes used in an abusive manner to forward mere pecuniary interests—was sued by that congregation for damages. All intention to slander or defame was of course denied, and proof of the facts offered, which was not allowed by the court. But the attorney of the paper pleaded that, as unauthorized congregations did not exist in the eyes of the law, they were not admissible *as a body* to appear in court and claim damages. The plea was

overruled and the paper condemned to a heavy fine for having related undoubted and public facts, and although the language used was in no way offensive. Some months afterwards a French shipowner, who had given passage upon one of his ships to some missionaries belonging *to the very same unauthorized congregation*, claimed from it the amount of the passage. What plea did the saintly men set up against the demand? Precisely the one which had been declared "disgraceful" on the part of the republican newspaper just mentioned. The congregation, not having been recognized by law, could not be cited as such before the court, and could not be condemned to pay. The plea was actually sustained by the court, and the application for payment overruled.

We are fearful of having dwelt at too great length on the present doings of the French clergy; but it seems to us that this great fight between the Government and the Church, and more properly between democracy and theocracy, must be of no small concern to republicans throughout the world. What is now taking place here must sooner or later occur elsewhere, and the United States have also the same difficulty to meet, although probably not in so aggravated a form. The Catholic clergy believe it their duty to have a nation divided into two camps: the orthodox, to which the monopoly of Heaven is granted; and the "miscreants"—Jews, Protestants, Infidels—bound to damnation and having no rights before God. And were it in their power to prevent it, no intercourse would take place between Catholics and non-Catholics. Only two years ago, the bishop of Liége, in Belgium, strongly advised Catholics to avoid meeting with freethinkers, even in social intercourse. This is actually making religion the most prolific cause of hatred among men, while, were Catholics left to themselves, they would probably look upon it as the strongest possible tie of mutual love and charity upon earth.

This general estrangement in the nation, between men of different religious opinions, is precisely what the French bishops, like their brethren in Belgium, are aiming at. The children of Catholics must not associate in the same school with the non-orthodox, and their minds are imbued with these

principles of intolerance. It is evidently the duty of a republican government to have the system of public instruction organized in such a way that it will bring together as much as possible those who do not entertain the same religious opinions. If they do not go together to Church, let them go together to school and be taught that they must not entertain any ill feeling towards each other because they do not belong to the same worship. Let Christ's great word — *You are all brothers, children of the same Father*, be written in golden letters in every school over the master's chair, so that children cannot raise their eyes without reading that sublime maxim of brotherly love. And if the bishops will not understand their duty towards Christians, let republican governments understand theirs towards citizens, or rather the future citizens of the country.

The French Government had no other views but these when proposing the present law to the Chambers; and in dispensing with the unauthorized congregations as teachers of children, it is only dispensing with the enemies of union among men of different creeds. It is its duty as well as its right to do this. It is only applying the old doctrines of the Gallican Church, which admitted the supremacy of the civil power over the social status of religious corporations. No doubt the old "liberties of the Gallican Church" were destroyed by the invasion of ultramontanism; but they were the real foundation of the Concordat, which maintained the full independence of the civil power. Those liberties also affirmed the subordination of the Pope to the Council. The bishops have been prevailed upon to commit that great prevarication of making the Church *the servant* of the Pope—as was claimed by Cardinal Cajetano—but that was no reason why the Government should do away with principles whose abandonment would at once allow the papacy to become an actual theocracy. The bishops, like Esau, have sold their birthright. Governments will not imitate them, but will prove more faithful to their duties.

We do not deny that the true remedy for the present situation of things would be found in giving full liberty to all; but the French system will require a little time before it can be fully

adapted to that great principle. Full liberty to all means *privilege to none;* and the Church is still a privileged body which cannot be deprived of its privileges, without some preparation for the change. The evil is a remnant of the ages and is still pervading the whole political and social system. Such thorough changes cannot be made at a single stroke without causing some grave perturbations. They can only be brought on after careful consideration and prudent management. The feelings of Catholics who, with the women and children, form the immense majority of the nation, must be respected to a certain extent. The sixty millions subsidy which is now paid to the Church must be replaced by Catholics from their private purses; but they must be given time to prepare and mature another system. The separation of Church from State in European Catholic countries cannot be the work of a year; and until the change is brought about in France, that powerful body must be put under proper restraint, because its whole energy and main tactics are directed against the present institutions of the country. The Church will not renounce its present enormous subsidy without a desperate fight, of course; and although the great majority of electors is no doubt anti-Catholic, or at least anti-clerical, nobody feels disposed to act rashly or unfairly in the matter. But all intelligent and independent men are fully determined to have the Church placed in such a situation that she shall no longer put the institutions of the country in jeopardy.

Negotiations are to no purpose; legislation is required. And when thirty millions of human beings still remain blind adherents to the papal pretensions, they form an obstacle to reform and progress that cannot be set aside in a moment. As soon as the Church shall have been divested of her exorbitant privileges, she will be allowed the same degree of liberty which the Constitution of the country secures to other institutions.

UN DE LA GAUCHE.

Paris, January, 1880.

ART. II.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE PHYSICS AND METAPHYSICS OF LIGHT.

1. *Lectures on Light.* By JOHN TYNDALL, LL.D., F.R.S. New York: 1873.
2. *The Nature of Light*, with a general account of *Physical Optics.* By DR. EUGENE LOMMEL. New York: 1876.
3. *Studies in Spectrum Analysis.* By J. NORMAN LOCKYER, F.R.S. New York: 1878.

THE sun is the original source of that mysterious element which we know as light. In the metaphorical language of Genesis, "He made the sun to rule the day." The impulse which emanates from this grand centre of our solar system, call it by whatsoever name we will, permeates the wide circle of our family of planets, and awakens responsive activity in the molecules of matter, and in the functions of plants and animals, including those of man. The radiant impulse of the sun may be likened to the throb of an infinite heart sending warm life-blood to the remotest bounds, warming, cheering and enlivening in its course all nature within the circle of its influence.

It did not need the light of science to enable mankind to ascertain the source of the light of day. That knowledge came by intuition, without the aid of telescopes, or other instruments of optical observation. The untutored mind instinctively associates the sun with the principle of luminosity and of thermic and chemical powers. To such a one the sun is a majestic ball of fire revolving in the heavens, shining by virtue of its own brightness, warming by virtue of its own

heat, and awakening into life and fertility earth's vast resources, by virtue of its own energies. "The sun shines," is the simple phraseology of such a one: and minds the most learned are compelled to admit the fact and to recognize the aptness of the phrase in which it is expressed.

We cannot forego the pleasure of lingering over the significance of the conceptions of our subject by uncultivated minds, or minds untrammelled by the results of scientific investigation. The admiration which the sun awakens in such persons is allied to worship. The warm, genial, vivifying influence of the sun impresses the benighted, but contemplative, soul with the idea of a divine paternity. Such a one is awed into wonder and moved to revere and worship, as he contemplates the sun's all-embracing benignity and the apparent infinitude of its power. The unlettered Indian chief, Tecumseh, gave eloquent utterance to the sentiment which animates the heart of all savages, when he declared that, "The sun is my Father!" The "Peculiar People," though further advanced in civilization than the North American Indians, were evidently dominated by the same idea, in respect of the supremacy of the sun in human affairs, as that embodied in the instinctive utterance of Tecumseh, for they were with difficulty restrained from idolatrously acting upon it. In the Second Book of Kings, it will be remembered that Josiah is referred to as having put down idolatry in the city of Judah, which consisted in burning "incense to Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to all the host of heaven." * Zephaniah also, refers reproachfully, with insufficient reason it seems to us, to "them that worship the host of heaven upon the house-top." † Many peoples contemporaneous with the Hebrews indulged the same beautiful custom of paying homage to the heavenly bodies—to their credit be it said. Nor were the ancient Greeks so far advanced in civilization as to ignore the claims of the stars to their respect. And even when other and more imaginative objects of worship commanded their adoration, the Greeks still invested the heavenly bodies, more especially the moon, with extraordinary influence upon their

* xxiii, 5. † *Ibid.* i, 5.

affairs, and were strangely—we should say superstitiously—guided by the lunar phases in initiating important undertakings.

The literature of the ancients is not the only evidence we have of the practice of star-worship. Evidence in the form of sentiments chiselled on stone is quite as conclusive of the existence of the beautiful practice among them as any that their literature affords. An inscription on a tablet found in the tomb of a royal scribe, at Memphis, excavated a few years since by M. Mariette, contains, among other things, the following worshipful tribute to the sun:

"Hail to thee, when thou risest in the solar mountain under the form of Ra, and when thou goest down under the form of Ma! Thou circlest about the heavens, and men behold and turn toward thee, hiding their faces! Would that I might accompany thy majesty when thou displayest thyself on the morning of each day! Thy beams upon the faces of men could no one describe: gold is as nought, compared to thy beams. The lands divine, they are seen in pictures: the countries of Arabia, they have been numbered: thou alone art concealed! Thy transformations are equal to those of the celestial ocean: it marches as thou marchest. Grant that I reach the land of eternity and the region of them that have been approved: that I be reunited with the fair and wise spirits of Ker-nefer, and that I appear among them to contemplate thy beauty, on the morning of each day!" *

Moreover, the homage which the ancients paid to the sun is illustrated in the manner of laying out their temples, always with the face or front to the east, or northeast. Stukeley says that the Druids conformed to the ancient custom "of setting their temples with the front to meet the rising sun;" † and he gives it as a reason for the custom that "the east naturally claims the prerogative where the sun and planets rise." ‡ It was a rule among the Jews, also, to build their temples facing eastward. In Ezekiel's trance he discovered that, instead of worshipping God in the temple, the Israelites were secretly turning "their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east;" and that they were

* *Vide* Mr. Bayard Taylor's Letter from Egypt in the New York *Tribune*, for June 18th, 1874.

† *Stonehenge*, p. 55. Cited by Buckle. *Posthumous Works*, Art. 1944.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

worshipping "the sun toward the east." * Sun-worship is, fact, not yet extinct among people of admitted morality a intelligence. The devout followers of Zoroaster, more pa ticularly that branch of them inhabiting western India, t Parsees, still worship the sun, reverently paying their respe to the east in the morning, and bowing low on their kne toward the west in the evening. In justice to these stran people, it must be said, however, that the most advanced a intelligent of them perform these devotions with an intellige conviction of their meaning; believing the sun to be mere emblematic of the real essence and spirit of that Being wh so many and more pretentious and less reverent people, in civilized lands, ignorantly worship today. The theologi conceptions of the western European might profit much amalgamation with those of Zoroaster. The Parseian idea the relations of the sun to Deity seems to us preëminently c sistent with the revelations of modern science, as we wou prefer to interpret them, unless, indeed, the necessity of Deity in the universe be ignored altogether, and the sun its accepted as the ultimate source of all those forces which conceive to be necessary to the order, stability, progressi perpetuity and government of the world. Surely, nothing more manifest to the purely objective sense, nor more c sistent with the tendency of modern thought, than that the s is a more important factor in the universe than the Deity; a that the absence of the former would be more disastrous our solar system than that of the latter. The fault is not science, but rather in the habit one has of viewing the resu of scientific induction—of interpreting scientific demonstratio Our conceptions of Deity may change with the change the seasons; or suffer the fate of those mythical creations a former period, and be swept from our mind altogethe but so long as the sun endures with unimpaired integrity t existence of the planet is secure, and the progressive order life, organization and mind upon it will be maintained. this the truth of science gives perfect assurance.

* viii, 16.

The sun, then, is our visible protector, benefactor and friend in whose light we live; whose laws rule in us and over us; whose power innerves us, and whose government we respect. Our existence is immediately identified with the sun's; our destiny subordinate to his. Woe betide all living things when his light has gone out, and his substance is dissipated! He is the centre of our world; around which we revolve; to which we slowly but inevitably tend. When he perishes, what can survive? In the answer to this question science and the Zoroastrian creed are of one accord. Not even the Darwinian "fittest" could survive the incident!

Reflections upon these obvious facts and hypotheses of nature and sense were doubtless strongly influential in shaping the theology of the Parseian "fire-worshippers," so that the invisible creative force of the Deity should harmonize with the visible creative force of the sun. They were bold enough to conceive the invisible as existing in the visible; mind, giving form and efficacy to matter. "God said, Let there be light: and there was light." In their conception God was embodied in the sun, causing it to shine and illumine the earth and heavens. The solar beam was an exhibition of His divine energy, dissipating darkness and animating nature with endless forms of life and beauty. Ormuzd, the Parseian god, himself sprang from primeval Light. The sun was the eye of the Deity; and all the heavenly bodies were animated with a soul, and became messengers of the divine purpose to man and nature. Hence the idea, so prominent among them, that the spirit of the stars exerted a kindly influence upon man and was capable of revealing the future to him. The idea is believed to have given rise to astrology, as the practice of that superstition is very common in Persia, and has been so from a very early date. This conception of the union of the visible and the invisible forces of nature loses none of its sublimity by the antiquity of its origin; and although it is inconsistent with the dominant theology of the western nations, and has some bearings of a pantheistic character which are positively antagonistic to it, nevertheless, it is the natural, inevitable resource of those who would be loyal to science, and,

at the same time, logically maintain their faith in the existence and necessity of a God.

"From this point of view," observes the late M. Papillon, "science justifies the simple adorations of primitive man. It enables us to understand why the sun was an object of worship in all primary civilizations, and the secret of those impressive terrors which assailed those child-like people, when, at night, they saw slowly disappearing below the horizon the glowing orb of day, concealing from them the source of all earthly power and splendor. That pious fetichism was not only a testimony of gratitude for the treasures of life-giving energy which the sun dispersed on the earth, it was also a homage paid to the source of strength, brightness and joy, as well as an instinctive recognition of the natural affinity which exists between man and light. The Vedas, Orphic hymns, and other remains of primitive religion, are full of this sentiment. It is discussed in the writings of the poets and philosophers of antiquity; among others, in those of Lucretius and Pliny. Dante, who so often made invocations to light (*the divine and piercing light*), crowned his poem with a hymn preëminently symbolic of the supreme brightness." *

While, therefore, the source and influence of light are subjects which appeal for solution to objective observation, the *nature* of that element is a subject which does not admit of a solution on that plane, but is removed by the very nature of the subject to the higher domain of the synthetic and transcendental. The value of studies removed from the ordinary plane of the objective and phenomenal, and which necessarily carry the mind into intuitive and metaphysical regions, admits of no doubt. Those whose talents are wholly occupied with the commonplace routine of a bread-and-butter life, will fail to find in such studies their net returns of a satisfactory

* "A ce point de vue, la science moderne justifie les adorations naïves de l'homme primitif. Elle aide à comprendre le culte dont l'astre du jour fut l'objet dans les civilisations primordiales et les touchantes terreurs qui assaillaient ces peuples enfants, lorsque le soir ils voyaient disparaître lentement à l'horizon le globe empourpré qui recélait pour eux toute puissance et toute splendeur. Ce pieux fétichisme n'était pas seulement un témoignage de gratitude pour les trésors de fécondité que le soleil répand sur la terre, c'était aussi un hommage à la source consolatrice de la clarté et de la joie, c'était le symptôme d'une affinité naturelle entre l'homme et la lumière. Les Vedas, les hymnes orphiques et d'autres monuments des premières religions sont pleins de ce sentiment, qu'on retrouve dans beaucoup de poëtes et de philosophes de l'antiquité, entre autres dans Lucrèce et dans Pline. Dante, qui invoque si souvent la lumière (*la luce devina e penetrante*), couronne son poëme par un hymne qui est surtout l'apologie symbolique de la suprême clarté." "La lumière et la vie."—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Tome LXXXVIII, p. 838.

quality, for they will consist more of brains than of bread. To such the money value of facts far exceeds that of principles. The former may be bartered in the markets, or turned to practical uses; the latter are valueless in the world's estimate, and too often an inconvenient and troublesome possession. The study of philosophy has, nevertheless, a utility of the highest order. It teaches one to think, to exercise the noblest function possible to a human being. It tends, therefore, constantly to increase the distance which separates man from that "Ape-like creature" which many believe to be his original ancestor. It extends the bounds of knowledge even if it limit the catalogue of facts; for, as Buckle has forcibly said: "Knowledge is composed not of facts, but of the relations which facts and ideas bear to themselves and to each other; and real knowledge consists not in an acquaintance with facts, which makes only a pedant, but in the use of facts, which makes a philosopher." *

Let no one, then, doubt the high utility of the abstruse and theoretical; nor attempt to confine the bounds of useful knowledge to mere accumulation of facts. Nor should one fear the purely theoretical. "To think on nature," says the late Professor Grove, "is to theorize; and difficult it is not to be led on by the continuities of natural phenomena to theories which appear forced and unintelligible to those who have not pursued the same path of thought."† And the late Mr. Buckle, in his incomparable essay on *The Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge*, observes that, "among us a theorist is actually a term of reproach, instead of being, as it ought to be, a term of honor; for to theorize is the highest function of genius; and the greatest philosophers must always be the greatest theorists." The author had already illustrated, in the essay referred to, the soundness of his opinions by numerous citations from the history of scientific discovery. And surely no man is better qualified to speak with authority on the comparative value of intellectual studies than was the late Henry Thomas Buckle.

* *Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge.*

† *Correlation and Conservation of Physical Forces*, p. 198.

In the study of any problem in physics it is necessary to keep clearly before the mind the relation of cause and sequence, subjective and objective, the phenomenal and the actual. It is difficult to persuade the novice in philosophy that the physical world is not what it seems; and that all he knows of the external world is predicated on the impressions which the external world makes on his senses. The rationale of the impressions which are made on our senses and coördinated by them into a distinct idea, as light, sound, hardness or softness, sweet or sour, etc., is not readily apprehended by such a one; and he will insist upon investing the object of his impressions with the properties which he has derived solely from his own sensations. He hears the *tones* of a musical instrument; he sees *light* and *shade*, and the *color* of objects, etc., or he thinks he does; but in fact he does nothing of the kind. In the one case, a definite disturbance has been made in the air, and been communicated by the air to the ear. The disturbance is not sound at all, for the phenomena of sound is impossible in a vacuum, but a mere agitation—motion—of the atmosphere, which the ear feels, and from the impressions of which it manufactures, so to say, a musical note. In the other case, an impulse of definite proportions has been conveyed to the ether-medium which is supposed to fill all space, throwing it into an undulatory movement, not unlike what occurs in the atmosphere in the case of sound. This wave-movement, in due course, reaches the retina of the eye, which coördinates from it a luminous sensation varying in tint according to the force, frequency and duration of the ether vibrations. As no sound could exist in the absence of the auditory apparatus, so no light is possible without the optic apparatus of the eye. For a proper understanding of either sound or light, therefore, it is necessary to study the subject from its physiological, as well as its mechanical, aspects.

To the sensuous observer, therefore, the phenomena of light and sound are highly illusory. Nor is this peculiarity confined to optical and auditory phenomena. As a matter of fact, all phenomena of the physical world are of such an illusory character as to mislead the observer should he take the

evidence of his sensations as his guide, uninfluenced by the reason or judgment. The sun, for example, appears to revolve around the earth; force seems to be evanescent—subject to dissipation; matter appears to be distinct from force; the particles of solid bodies appear to touch each other, whereas it is demonstrable that they do not. The illusions of physics are still more marked in the domain of our sense-perceptions. We seem to feel the properties of bodies, whereas we merely feel our own sensations, and can no more come into actual contact with matter than we could lay hold of the Infinite; vision appears to be an objective act, as we have seen, while, in fact, it is a purely subjective one; we are supposed to see colors, to hear sounds, to smell odors, to taste gustatory qualities, to feel the surfaces of bodies, heat and cold, etc.; but as a matter of fact we do nothing of the kind; the knowledge which we possess of these things being simply that derived from the facts of our impressions and sensations. The delusive character of appearances becomes more strongly marked the higher the plane of observation, so that it may be justly said that a great part of one's early education consists—more or less unconsciously—in learning how to interpret physical appearances, and to avoid being duped by them. In science and philosophy the first lesson to learn is, or ought to be, how to distinguish between the apparent and the actual, the subjective and the objective. He only is able to think and reason correctly who has made himself familiar with these fundamental ideas, and can keep steadily before him the laws of sense-perception. Without this qualification, one may have eyes and see not, and ears and hear not the things which nature presents to his unexpanded perceptions. One so wanting in perception as this mental condition implies, cannot appreciate a tithe of the grandeur of the physical world, and is necessarily debarred, moreover, the highest satisfaction possible for mortals to enjoy —that of descending into the engine-chamber of the universe, studying the workings of its machinery and discovering the divine order and purpose which are manifest therein.*

* Goethe had the power of perceiving that which is hidden from the common view to a remarkable degree. Prof. Boyesen notes this fact and

We pass on, then, to notice some of the theories which have been advanced in elucidation of the nature of light. It is needless to say that demonstration is on the side of the mechanical hypothesis. This subject has occupied the human mind since it first began to distinguish the relations of cause and effect, or to separate the phenomenal from the actual. Thus Empedocles, a Greek philosopher, and a contemporary of Aristotle, 450 years B. C., held that "light consisted of particles projected from luminous bodies; yet that vision was not performed without the assistance of a certain influence, or emanation transmitted from the eye to the object.* This was only saying in a more thoughtful, philosophical way, that certain bodies possessed the property of shining, and that the eye was endowed with the property of coördinating luminous impressions; and while it afforded no satisfactory explanation of the nature of light, it was a comprehensive statement of a most palpable fact, that of vision. Sir David Brewster's definition of light is not less lucid—nor more. He says: "Light is an emanation or something, which proceeds from bodies, and by means of which we are enabled to see them."† The theory of Empedocles is the earliest record we have of the so-called Emission Hypothesis, afterward elaborated by Sir Isaac Newton. The theory, however, was combatted by Aristotle, who thought that light was an *impulse*, rather than a substance; ‡ and there are men of science today who accept the impulse hypothesis of light as affording a more rational explanation of its phenomena, than any other. Among the eminent physicists of modern times, who prefer to regard light as an impulse communicated to the molecules of matter rather than an emission of substance from them, or as the undulations of an hypothetical ether, was the late Professor Grove, whose demonstrations regarding the mutual con-

observes, that he never reads the "soul-stirring soliloquies of Faust's discussions with Mephistopheles without desiring to descend into the engine-chambers of creation and watch the workings of its machinery."—*Goethe and Schiller*, p. 153.

* Herschel's *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*, p. 27.

† *Treatise on Optics.*

‡ *Vide* Young's *Natural Philosophy*, pp. 374–375.

vertibility—correlation—of physical forces, gave a new impulse to the progress of scientific discovery in every department of inductive philosophy. "In a lecture," says Mr. Grove, "delivered in January, 1842, when I first publicly advanced the views advocated in this essay, I stated that it appeared to me more consistent with known facts to regard light as resulting from a vibration or motion of the molecules [atoms?] of matter itself, rather than from a specific ether pervading it; just as sound is propagated by the vibrations of wood, or as are waves by water. I am not here speaking of the character of the vibrations of light, sound, or water, which are doubtless very different from each other; but am only comparing them so far as they illustrate the propagation of force by matter itself. * * * * * * Although this theory has been considered defective by a philosopher of high repute, I cannot see the force of the arguments by which it has been assailed; and, therefore, for the present, though with diffidence, I still adhere to it."* The "impulse" theory, here revived by Mr. Grove, seems to us incompetent to explain the most ordinary facts of solar physics—such, for example, as the transmission of light through solid bodies, or the propagation of the solar impulse *in vacuo*. The impulse theory, moreover, requires the existence of tangible matter in the interplanetary spaces, as a condition indispensable to the propagation of vibratory action, a condition hardly conceivable. If an explanation of the phenomena of light requires the intervention of a hypothetical substance, we do not see what is to be gained by substituting a ponderable for an imponderable one, even if the problems involved in the subject are equally well solved by one as the other, which, in this instance, is certainly not the case.

Nothing, perhaps, more strikingly shows the force of palpable observation, and its advantage over scientific demonstration, than the war between the conflicting hypotheses of light. One must respect the evidence of his senses, let demonstration be what it may. If science throws doubt on the existence of

* *Correlation and Conservation of Physical Forces* pp. 123–4.

light as an entity, reason may loyally accept the doubt, but the *individual* still believes in the palpable reality of "sunshine." It is so evident that the sun *shines, emits* luminous particles of imponderable matter, that down to the close of the eighteenth century, the doctrine maintained its own against the most formidable opposition. Sir Isaac Newton held strongly to the hypothesis, with all its absurdities, and died refusing to admit the plausibility of any other. The brilliant discoveries in optics and the laws of light which he made, had the effect to confirm, rather than weaken his confidence in the correctness or validity of the hypothesis. He gave it the name of the Emission, or Corpuscular Theory of light, so long and intimately associated with his own great name and fame.

The absurdity of the emission hypothesis, however, appears sufficiently obvious in the statement of it. In other words, it contains the elements of its own refutation; for it is inconceivable that a particle of matter devoid of gravity could travel with such marvellous velocity as the hypothesis presupposes, and pass through in its course, without perceptibly impeding its velocity, ponderable substances like glass and other diaphanous bodies. "Light *moves*," observes the late Sir David Brewster, "with a velocity of 192,000 miles in a second of time." Later calculations have modified these figures considerably, but a few thousand miles more or less in a matter of this kind are of little consequence. "It *travels*," continues the distinguished astronomer, "from the sun to the earth in seven minutes and a half. It *moves through a space* equal to the circumference of our globe in the eighth part of a second—a flight which the swiftest bird could not perform in less than three weeks." * In view of the singular credulity exercised by men of science in accepting such a statement or proposition as this, it ill becomes them to marvel at the credulity of theologians. We submit that the ultimate resurrection of the body is not a more marvellous doctrine, or the belief in it a greater tax on our faculties, than that of an imponderable particle of matter travelling through

* *Treatise on Optics*, p. 2. [The italics are ours.]

space at a velocity required by the Newtonian hypothesis of light.

Be that as it may, the emission theory of light has long been obsolete in philosophic thought. Its fallacy had been pointed out in Newton's day by Professor Huyghens, the eminent Dutch astronomer and mathematician; but it remained for Dr. Thomas Young, a century later, to *demonstrate* its fallacy, and to substitute in its stead the hypothesis first advocated by Huyghens, and which is now generally known as the wave or undulatory theory of light.

It is superfluous, perhaps, to state that the undulatory hypothesis of light is itself founded upon an hypothesis. It presupposes what can never be proved, the existence of a thin, elastic ether pervading all space and even the spaces between the particles of solid matter. Under the impetus of the sun, or other luminous bodies, this ether-medium is supposed to be agitated, thrown into concentric vibrations, or waves, very similar to what happens to water when a stone is thrown into it, or to the air, by the concussion of hard bodies. "It appears in truth abundantly certain," says a distinguished mathematician and contemporary of Young, "that light is, with respect to ether, what sound is with respect to air; and that the rays of light are nothing else but the shakings or vibrations transmitted by the ether, as sound consists in the shakings or vibrations transmitted by the air." *

Dr. Young actually measured the length of these light-waves and counted the number of them which occurred in a second of time and an inch of space. He found that the number and size of the undulations varied with the various tints or colors embraced in a ray of light. In other words, that all the elements of the solar ray had each a force of propagation peculiar to itself. The following table, giving the number of light-waves that occur in an inch of space and a second of time, is based on the calculations of Young. Though often published, it is of sufficient interest and curiosity to justify a place here:

* Euler's *Letters*, Vol. I, p. 88.

Table of Calculations of Light-Waves.

Colors of the spectrum.	Lengths of an undulation in parts of an inch in air.	Number of undulations in an inch.	Number of undulations in a second.
Extreme red.....	0.0000.266	37,640	458 millions of millions.
Red.....	0.0000.256	39,180	477 " "
Intermediate.....	0.0000.246	40,720	495 " "
Orange.....	0.0000.240	41,610	506 " "
Intermediate.....	0.0000.235	42,510	517 " "
Yellow.....	0.0000.227	44,000	535 " "
Intermediate.....	0.0000.219	45,600	555 " "
Green.....	0.0000.211	47,460	577 " "
Intermediate.....	0.0000.203	49,320	600 " "
Blue.....	0.0000.196	51,110	622 " "
Intermediate.....	0.0000.189	52,910	644 " "
Indigo.....	0.0000.185	54,070	658 " "
Intermediate.....	0.0000.181	55,240	672 " "
Violet.....	0.0000.174	57,490	699 " "
Extreme violet.....	0.0000.167	59,750	727 " "
Mean or white.....	1.0000.225	44,444	541 " "

In the above table of calculations, two things appear particularly conspicuous: *First*, the marvellousness of those tiny ether-undulations; and *second*, the greatness of the genius that was able to measure and count them. The latter is certainly the greater marvel of the two. Had Young done nothing else to distinguish himself in science, and build for himself an enduring monument, this feat in mathematics alone would be sufficient to perpetuate his name to an immortal renown. That demonstration must forever remain most conspicuous in the annals of mathematics. Professor Tyndall characterizes the mathematical genius of Young as scarcely inferior to that of Newton; and he advances an ingenious geometrical illustration in his *Lectures on Light* to show his estimate of Young's genius as compared with Newton's: "Let Newton stand erect in his age," he observes, "and Young in his. Draw a straight line from Newton to Young, which shall form a tangent to the heads of both. This line would slope downward from Newton to Young, because Newton was certainly the taller man of the two. But the slope would not be steep, for the difference of stature was not excessive. The line

would form what engineers call a gentle gradient from Newton to Young. Place underneath this line the biggest man born in the interval between both: he would not, in my opinion, reach the line; for if he did, he would be taller intellectually than Young, and there was, I believe, none taller." Yet he was long gathered to his fathers ere his genius received the recognition it justly deserved. Smaller and more pretentious men—men with high-sounding titles—commanded the ear of the public and eclipsed for a generation the greatness of one who had only genius to commend him to the memory of mankind.

But let us return to our subject. Distinguished physicists declare that the undulating theory of light is no longer a hypothesis — that it is a fixed fact—a demonstration. M. Lommel regards the subject as concluded, believing that, for reasons adduced by modern physicists, such as the mirror experiment of Fresnel, and the phenomena of interference, refraction and absorption, as ingeniously studied by M. Foucault and others, "there can now be no question that the undulating theory must be regarded as the only true theory of light."* The author of *The New Chemistry* reluctantly comes to a similar conclusion, vouching for the truth of the hypothesis of luminous waves, as a physical fact, but denying their existence "as an established principle of science," for the obvious reason that one factor essential to the validity of the theory, viz., the ether-factor, rests on an assumption, of which no means of direct proof has yet been discovered. Nevertheless, he affirms that whether "there are such things as waves of ether or not, there is something concerned in the phenomena of light which has definite dimensions that have been measured with as much accuracy as the dimensions of astronomy, although they are at the opposite extreme of the scale of magnitude."† Professor Tyndall likewise adds his testimony in favor of the wave-hypothesis, declaring in terms less equivocal than the opinion of Prof. Cooke just quoted, that the truth of the theory is proved by indisputable data.‡

* *The Nature of Light*, p. 237.

† *The New Chemistry*, pp. 23, 24.

‡ Vide, *Lectures on Light.*

In view, therefore, of the demonstrations of mathematician and the cordial endorsement of eminent physicists, it woul seem that the mechanical, or undulatory theory of light had se cured a place in philosophy beyond the pale of rational doubt But this is far from being the case. The common sense is avers to a doctrine that reduces the phenomena of light and shad to modes of motion, or the principles of colors, on which hal the beauties of the physical world depend, to molecular dis turbance of the retinal substance. Indeed, the doctrine meet with dissent by physicists themselves, for the same reason with the added one that it is incompetent to explain all th phenomena of light, as Professor John W. Draper, of Nev York, has pointed out. Many, too, who cordially accept th wave-doctrine as a mathematical fact, strangely deny it validity as a physical truth. Thus says Sir David Brewster "The theory of undulations has made great progress i modern times, and as a mathematical one, deriving powerfu support from an extensive class of phenomena, it has bee received by some of our most distinguished philosophers, an adopted even by those who do not admit it as a physica truth."* Professor Brewster himself regarded the ether, th existence of which is presupposed by the hypotheses, as clumsy expedient on the part of the Deity for giving light t the world. He was quite indifferent to the rival hypotheses c light, preferring to confine his studies to the laws of light, an the beautiful series of phenomena which have their origin i that element. And Mr. Robert Hunt, whose fine treatise c light has been many years before the public, seems to hav shared Professor Brewster's indifference towards the undul tory doctrine. After giving Mr. Stokes' warm approval it, he remarks: "To one, however, who is not wedded to an hypothesis, who has ever desired to wait for an interpretatio rather than render up his mind to imagination—the vie entertained fails to carry conviction."† Mr. Hunt neith rejects nor accepts the undulatory hypothesis, nor substitut others for it; but is content to examine the facts as th

* *Treatise on Optics*, p. 164. † *Researches on Light*, p. 344.

arise, and to elicit their practical bearings upon nature and the phenomena of organic life.

There are others, however, who, if not more deeply sensible of the inadequacy of either the emission theory or the wave-hypothesis to account for all the problems of light, are more pronounced in the expression of their views, declining to give the doctrine the benefit of even a negative assent, and assailing it from its most vulnerable side—the physiological. Among these is that great master of thought, the late Auguste Comte. "The emission doctrine," he observes, "if it means anything, must suppose luminous phenomena to be in analogy with those of ordinary motion; and if the doctrine of undulation means anything, it must mean that the phenomena of light and sound are alike in their vibrating agitation; and thus the one party likens optics to barology and the other to acoustics. * * * * Notwithstanding all arbitrary suppositions," continues he, "the phenomena of light will always constitute a category *sui generis*, necessarily irreducible to any other: light will be forever heterogeneous to a motion or a sound."

And again, the author very sensibly proceeds to say that, "physiological considerations discredit the confusion of ideas, by the characteristics which distinguish the sense of sight from those of hearing, and of touch or pressure from those of smell. If we could abolish such distinctions as these by gratuitous hypotheses, there is no saying where we should stop in our wanderings. A chemical philosopher might make a type of the senses of taste and smell, and proceed to explain colors and tones by likening them to flavors and scents. It does not require a wilder imagination to do this than to assume as a supposition now become classical, that sounds and colors are radically alike. It is much better to leave such a pursuit of scientific unity, and to admit that the categories of heterogeneous phenomena are more numerous than a vicious systematizing tendency would suppose." *

The objections of M. Comte are certainly well taken, but they apply with more force to the physiological aspect of the subject than to its physics; indeed, they are hardly relevant to

* *Positive Philosophy*, English tr., pp. 232–233.

the physics or mechanics of the subject at all. It is but jus to his genius, however, to say that his observations antedat the fine studies in light of Bunsen, Kirchhoff, Fresnel, Fou cault, Clerk Maxwell, Lockyer, and others, and the invention o the spectroscope with its remarkable revelations. No on before nor since M. Comte has more clearly than he pointe out the absurdity of the attempt to solve the problems of ligh —luminosity—dissociated from the physiology of the subject

Regarded from the point of view afforded by physics, i may justly be urged that the undulatory hypothesis of ligh rests too purely on the objective and phenomenal ever to b received as a finality, even in physics. It recognizes all kind of light as force, the lowest degree of luminous force bein red light, the highest degree of luminous force being viole light. But, let the shade or tint of light be what it may, it i still force—vibratory action. The hypothesis takes no accoun of the source of this force, its origin and nature; the why an wherefore of its marvellous existence; or the causes of it variety as manifest in the spectrum, decomposed by the prism or "colored" media, or reflected from "colored" objects It is too much to expect, perhaps, that it ever will. I is true that the spectroscope has thrown some light o these several problems, showing that the light-force is a impulse having its origin in metallic and metalloi substances heated to incandescence, each metal emitting light-impulse of a degree of intensity (color) peculiar t itself. Incandescent sodium, for example, produces yello light-force, and incandescent lithium, red light-force; whil incandescent thallium sends forth green, and incandescer carbon sends forth white, light-force, etc. These are fac which are sufficiently commonplace; but the rationale of the remains as much a mystery now as before the existence of th spectroscope. That instrument has largely extended ou knowledge of solar physics, especially of the phenomena light and heat; but it leaves us as much in the dark as ever respect of the ultimate cause of either phenomenon. If th emission hypothesis of light were tenable, the revelations this instrument would certainly add to its plausibility. In th

case one might easily conclude that the substances emitted by luminous bodies were metallic in an incandescent state; for it is demonstrable that the sun and other heavenly bodies are discharging such substances in such a state in great abundance into space; that they are in fact deluging the heavens and the earth with inconceivably rarified vapor of iron, gold, silver, copper, hydrogen, carbon, arsenic, calcium, silica, sodium, magnesium, etc., etc. Professor Kirchhoff distinctly declares that "the observations of the solar spectrum appear to prove the presence of iron vapor in the solar atmosphere with as great a degree of certainty as can be attained in any question of natural science." * And the hypothesis has been advanced in high quarters that this metallic vapor fills *our* atmosphere, and is in verity the very element of light itself. Thus says Steinmetz:—"We can no longer consider light as merely consisting of infinitesimal particles, or as infinitesimal waves; we may now conclude that it is metallic; that sunshine consists of a metallic 'shower' such as the Greek mythology ascribed to Jupiter, in one of his unions with mortals * * *; but instead of a shower of gold, according to the figment, the beneficient sunshine bathes us with elementary iron, sodium, magnesium, calcium, chromium, nickel, barium, copper, zinc, and hydrogen." † This, of course, is a fanciful doctrine; but the facts on which it is based are of curious interest.

These observations, however, are foreign to the considerations of science. The proper domain of science is the objective; and no consideration of a metaphysical character is permissible, or possessed of any special significance, in its method of investigation. From the point of view offered by science, the force which represents light is the sum and quintessence of all force of which the human mind can conceive, except that of gravity, and perhaps that of the tides. All other forces, or forms of energy, are parts of this grand force—light, or sun-force. Light may exist as heat, electricity, and actinism; it is the power that sways the wind and impels the tempest; the force exhibited by an animal, as well as a steam-propeller; the nerve-force by which the

* *Researches on the Solar Spectrum.* † *Sunshine and Showers.*

coördinating powers of the brain and ganglionic centres carry on all the marvellous processes of life—of locomotion, feeling and thinking, of which a human being is capable. The forces treasured in the forests, or in vegetation—the organic products which clothe the earth and minister to the wants of animal life—are light-force; so likewise the force which the ages have economized and laid away in subterranean coal-beds, is simply light-force, rendered latent—capitalized for future uses. All this, as wonderful as it may seem, is susceptible of as easy a demonstration as any problem in physics, as for example, the velocity of the planets or the ether-waves; the revolution of the earth and other planets; the thickness of the grey film of a soap-bubble; or the proximate size of the ultimate atom all of which intricate feats in mathematics have been accomplished. The facts of the correlation and conservation of force harmonize perfectly with the hypothesis of undulation, and not only give powerful support to that doctrine of light, but positively refute all the other hypotheses in explanation of that subject which have been brought forward.

This view of light-force, so grand in conception, so exhaustive in its reach, while it must be accepted in general terms as the most satisfactory solution of the phenomena presented by nature which has been yet advanced, should, nevertheless, be received with limitations. It is but one factor in explaining the phenomena of the world, while at least two others are necessary, viz., a sender and a receiver.* The sender of the solar impulse or light-wave, is the incandescent body; the ether wave is the medium of communication, and the receiver is the body or object to which it is conveyed, and which appropri-

* Mr. Lockyer should be credited with this idea. "In the case of light, he observes, "as in the case of electricity, about which we are uncertain, and as in the case of sound, about which we are absolutely certain, there is no transmission of anything but a state or condition of things, a disturbance or a vibration, between the sender and the receiver. The light, for instance, which appears to be given out by a candle, and which is received by our eyes, does not come bodily from that candle, like so many small bullets. The sender—in this case the candle—is simply a something which puts something else into motion. And then there is a something which conveys that motion;" in this case, the suppositious ether. And then, to carry out the illustration, there is a receiver of it, as the eye or other body capable of absorbing, or otherwise appropriating it.—*Vide* Lockyer's *Studies in Spectrum Analysis*, Chapter I.

ates it to its high uses in the economy of things. Some scientists, it is true, write in a manner to lead one to suppose that the solar ray is the all in all in nature and sense; that it furnishes a solution of the impulses of mind and heart. To this purpose, writes Professor Proctor: "The sun is the source of all those forms of life and light which exist upon the earth. That is no idle dream," he says. "Every form of force on the earth, every action we perform, all the forms of forces we know of, even the thoughts we think, may be said to come from the sun."* Such a statement is misleading in that it confounds the relations of cause and sequence. It is nerve-force, undoubtedly, which is correlated from radiant energy, that enables us to think and perform other mental processes. But it is a manifest error, most confusing to the logical sense, to claim any analogy between any form of force and the nature of ideas and emotions. No one with a reputation for mental acumen to lose, not even Professor Proctor, would be bold enough seriously to make an attempt to show the analogy between light-force and a love sentiment, or a pious emotion; the capacity to analyze a syllogism, or to construct a grammatical sentence. It is impossible to recognize any analogy whatever between any form of force, and the emotions of the heart, or the intellectual operations of the brain and mind. The common sense, in this instance, is supported by the acutest reason.

Finally we remark that, while the purely inductive mind will continue to resolve the universe into forms of motion, and to accept such solution of phenomena as best accords with observation, the intuitive or deductive mind will as naturally insist upon the necessity of looking behind effects or phenomena to their causes, which, though hidden from the outward sense, he feels and in a certain sense, *knows*, must have a veritable existence somehow and somewhere in the depths of the unknown. All effects must have adequate causes; but the final or ultimate cause lies beyond the scope of our faculties, and probably always will. One thing is quite evident, namely: the further our inquiries are pushed in the direction of the

* *Lecture on the Sun*, New York, January 8th, 1874.

principle of causation, the more we are bewildered by the mystery in which it is involved, and impressed with the finite character of human faculties, as well as the narrowness of the bounds of actual knowledge. Mr. Buckle evidently felt the force of this truth when he wrote: "We talk of the law of gravitation, and yet we know not what gravitation is; we talk of the conservation of force and the distribution of forces, and we know not what forces are; we talk in complacent ignorance of the atomic arrangement of matter, and we neither know what atoms are nor what matter is; we don't even know if matter, in the ordinary sense of the word, can be said to exist; we have as yet only broken the first ground; we have but touched the crust and surface of things."*

In the domain of knowledge which most interests the reflective mind, we know in fact nothing except that we are a part of the great unknown, and sharers of a destiny which is unfathomable.

DAVID A. GORTON.

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* *Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge. Posthumous Works*, Vol. I, p. 18.

Art. III.—Russia and Germany in the Event of a War.

1. *The Future War with Russia.* By T. Von Haymerle, Lieut.-Colonel in the Austrian Service.
2. *Strength and Organization of the Russian Army.* By Capt. Vincent.
3. *The Defences of Poland and the Western Frontier.* Originally published in the St. Petersburg *Bourse Gazette.*

If first impressions be the strongest, it must make a very marked difference in any foreigner's estimate of Russia whether he happens to approach it by sea or by land. To the voyager up the Baltic, the bristling batteries and huge gray forts of Cronstadt, looming out stark and grim over the smooth waters of the Gulf of Finland, present a grand and imposing spectacle; but the panorama offered to the far larger number who follow the track of the Königsberg-Vilna railway, is widely different. As far as the German frontier town of Eydtkuhnen, the great plain, bare and sandy as it is, is enlivened by numerous villages and abundant traces of cultivation; but beyond the deep, narrow gorge through which the sullen Niemen struggles downward to the Baltic, lies one of the most cheerless and inhospitable regions in the world. Vast sombre pine-forests, voiceless and lonely as an Egyptian sepulchre—fathomless bogs through which the black ooze bubbles up like pitch—unsightly "clearings," defaced by the rotting stumps of felled trees, and the clumsy skeletons of half-built log huts, haunt the traveller to the very gates of Vilna. And when Vilna is past, come the dark moorlands of Lithuania, whose gray unending sameness (hardly relieved by the occasional sight of a distant wagon, or

a sallow, flat-faced peasant in his sheepskin frock), weighs upon one like a nightmare; while the sole token of human life is a passing glimpse of some little cluster of tumble-down pigsties, called by courtesy a village, in which pigs, dogs, poultry, and human brutes, filthier than all, burrow together in noisome unity. Such a landscape, seen beneath the lowering skies of Spring, or through the driving mists of Autumn, is certainly anything but prepossessing; and the little wooden stations dotted over its boundless level—each with its white-lettered title in front, and its clock with three hands instead of two, so as to be wrong at once by local time and by St. Petersburg—intensify rather than relieve the surrounding desolation.

Uninviting as it is, however, this dismal tract is second to none in historical importance. From the shores of Lake Peipus to the banks of the Vistula, every foot of this great battle ground of the nations has been red with blood and black with fire. Here, in the sixteenth century, Ivan the Terrible, making good on many a hard-fought field his vow to "fight while his horse could leap, or his sword slash," tore the Pskoff territory from Poland in his youth, only to lose it again in his old age. Here the Polish conquerors of Moscow, in 1612, swept onward to the crowning victory that prefaced their own destruction. Here, a century later, Charles XII and his Swedes triumphed for a time over the men whom (as Peter the Great prophetically said), "they were to beat into beating them in turn." Here, in the days of Frederick the Great, three Russian marshals in succession advanced to "annihilate Prussia," and returned without having done so. Here Napoleon's dream of universal conquest ended in the unparalleled horrors of the fatal retreat from Moscow. And here, perhaps, shall one day be fought out that greater combat, between the young might of expanding Russia and the mature strength of federated Germany, which Count Von Moltke's stern, gray, unfathomable eyes may have seen in the military map of Poland that was his Christmas gift, in 1871, from the Russian officers at St. Petersburg.

The possible chances of a conflict between the two empires, although seldom absent from the mind of either Government,

can at present be only guessed at, having never been fairly measured by actual experience. During the Seven Years' War—the nearest approach yet made to such a conflict—Germany was represented only by the little kingdom of Prussia, while Russia's colossal strength was supported by France on one side and Austria on the other, as well as by no inconsiderable portion of the Germanic body itself. On that occasion, the chances of war were pretty evenly balanced. Frederick the Great, victorious over the Russians at Zorndorf in 1758, was utterly defeated by them at Kunersdorf in the ensuing year; while, toward the close of the great struggle, they figured as his allies instead of his enemies.

The union of the two States against Napoleon in 1813–14, and the strong influence exercised by the Czar Nicholas during the greater part of his reign, both at Berlin and at Vienna, put to flight, for the time being, all apprehension of danger from the side of Germany. It was not until the outbreak of the Crimean war that the doubful attitude of both Prussia and Austria revived Russia's traditional nightmare, and drew from Nicholas the tremendous sarcasm which history has immortalized: "Sobieski and I are the greatest fools of modern times, for we both saved Vienna!" * But Prince Gortschakoff's diplomatic skill conciliated the House of Hapsburg, while the passing of the German crown to its present wearer cemented anew Russia's friendship with that of Hohenzollern; and for the first ten years of Alexander II's reign, Russia presented (like England in 1679, or France in 1815), the curious spectacle of a government closely allied with the very power which was the object of its subjects' bitterest hatred.

But the hereditary jealousy was only slumbering, and the events of 1866 and 1870 awoke it into fuller life than ever. The sudden appearance at her very gates of a first-class military power, before which Austria and France had melted like snow, was an ominous portent in the eyes of Russia; and mingled with her alarm came a galling sense of having been tricked into holding Austria in check while Germany worked her will

* Alluding to Sobieski's defeat of the Turks before Vienna in 1683, and to Russia's overthrow of the Hungarian insurgents in 1849.

upon France, only to find her professed friend unexpectedly assuming the character of a possible and very formidable enemy. In the height of this excitement, an Austrian military critic of considerable note, brother of the present prime minister, published a treatise discussing, with a fluency and a fulness of detail which showed that the idea was no new one, the question of a war between Austria and Russia, while assuming, as a matter of course, that Germany would at once side with the latter.

The suggestion increased the prevalent disquiet to the verge of panic. The official press, indeed, made a few flourishes about native valor and native resources, while the patriotic *Moscow Gazette* retorted Col. Haymerle's challenge with the stinging bravado that "Russia, which had passed the Carpathians as a friend in 1849, to save Austria from her own subjects, could pass them with equal ease as an enemy, to punish the Hapsburgs for their ingratitude." But this show of confidence was overwhelmingly belied by the feverish haste of the defensive preparations which were instantly set on foot in every part of the country; and the popular feeling was fairly enough expressed by the *Bourse Gazette* of St. Petersburg, which, in a long and able article, pointed out the weakness of the frontier defences. It observed with perfect truth that the uselessness of small and scattered fortresses, like those which "defended" Podolia and Volhynia, had been amply proved by the experience of the Circassian war, and still more decisively by the Franco-German campaign of 1870; and that the safety of Russia depended upon the guarding of her western border by a chain of fortresses sufficiently strong and closely connected to serve both as a base of supply and *point d'appui* to the forces holding the line of the Vistula, and in case of need, as an effectual check to any invader—none of which conditions were fulfilled by the existing system.

The writer then proceeded to show that whereas the three German fortresses of Memel, Lyck and Königsberg had been welded into a formidable strategic triangle by connecting railways,—Warsaw and its encircling strongholds had but one line of communication with the interior, and none whatever

with Kieff and the south-west border. He concluded with a suggestion which, though not wholly new, was (to Russian ears at least) the most startling of all:

"The weakness of Cronstadt being by this time sufficiently demonstrated, what remains for us to do is to transfer our system of defence from Cronstadt to St. Petersburg itself—to surround the city with a ring of forts similar to those of Paris, strengthened by a network of canals—and, in a word, to provide against an attack upon the capital by land as well as by sea."

These sagacious counsels were not thrown away; for the possibility of a combined attack by Austria and Germany, with a force of 1,881,925 soldiers to Russia's 1,177,841, had sufficient terrors for a nation whose overweening confidence in itself had been rudely shaken by the disasters of the Crimean war. The fortification of St. Petersburg, indeed, was indefinitely postponed; but the work of securing the western frontier went vigorously forward. The defences of the great border fortress of Czenstochau, Russia's sentinel at the gate of Austria, were repaired and strengthened. Important additions were made to those of Ivangorod, which guards the western approach to Warsaw. Around the little Polish town of Novogeorgievsk grew up the vast intrenched camp of Modlin, planned by Gen. Todleben himself, and capable of containing 80,000 men, with all their stores and munitions of war. Farther to the rear, commanding with its powerful batteries and strong *tête du pont* the passage of the Upper Vistula and the junction of the four great roads to Vilna, Warsaw, Kieff and Smolensk, stood the fortress of Brest-Litovsk, forming, with the three others above-mentioned, a kind of hollow square with Warsaw in the centre, somewhat after the fashion of the famous Austrian "Quadrilateral." To the south, again, a formidable citadel, commanding the great bridge over the Dnieper, was erected upon the Lysaya-Gora (Bald Hill) at Kieff. Various fortified posts were established along the Austro-Russian border, and strong garrisons planted in Jitomir, Kamenetz-Podolsk, and other important strategic points; while the completion of the railway from Brest-Litovsk to Berditcheff, on the Kieff-Odessa railway,

at last supplied the long-desired link between the two great systems of defence.

While thus securing herself on land, Russia was likewise doing her best to strengthen her hold of the sea. The persistent efforts of Germany to create a powerful navy, and her manifest intention to hold the keys of the Baltic by fortifying Kiel and Wilhelmshaven, naturally alarmed those whom such a course would virtually place under arrest in their own dominions. As early as 1870, an able native critic had shown, by the disastrous experience of 1854, that while the principal German ports, Königsberg, Dantzic, Stettin, Rostock, Lübeck, Hamburg, &c., were so placed as to be almost unassailable by sea, those of Russia, *e. g.* Riga, Reval, Helsingfors, Viborg, were absolutely at the mercy of a hostile fleet. The remedy suggested was to make Viborg, or Helsingfors, into a strong naval port; and, by stationing an iron-clad squadron there, and another at Cronstadt, to place an enemy between two fires. Meanwhile the work of ship-building, arming and iron-plating proceeded apace. On the first of January, 1873, the total strength of the Russian navy was officially stated as follows: Baltic fleet (including the vessels still building), 136 ships; Black Sea fleet, 31; flotilla on the Caspian, 29; flotilla on the Sea of Aral, 5; Siberian flotilla, 32; the whole forming a total of 233 vessels, manned by 2,850 officers and 20,890 seamen. The Baltic fleet alone numbered on its list 27 powerful iron-clads, of the following calibre: The Sebastopol, 26 guns; the Petropavl and Pervenetz, 24; the Kreml, 18; the Ne Tron Menya (Touch-me-not), 17; the Prince Pojarski, Alexander Nevski, and General-Admiral, 8; the Lazareff and Greig, 6; the Tchitchagoff, Spiridoff,* Minin, Kreiser, Tcharodaika and Rusalka, 4; the Ouragan, Typhon, Smertch, Strailetz, Edinorog, Bronenosetz, Latnik, Lava, Peroun, Veshtchoun and Koldoun, 2.

Nor were all these preparations merely the offspring of a groundless panic. If Germany were really desirous of finding

* The Spiridoff and Lazareff, on their trial trip, ran into and sank each other; a catastrophe which naturally caused much mirth, as well as vexation, at St. Petersburg.

a cause of quarrel, she had one ready to her hand, to which her leading journals were constantly and pointedly alluding. This was the long strip of coast extending from the Gulf of Finland to the mouth of the Niemen, popularly known as "the Baltic provinces." Of its three divisions, Esthonia and Livonia had not been annexed by Russia till 1721, Courland as recently as 1795. Not specially fertile or prosperous, and containing only 2,000,000 inhabitants, this tract might well appear insignificant compared with the mighty bulk of the Muscovite Empire. But in Russia's eyes it had a threefold value, as her chief avenue of communication with Europe, as the school of her few really efficient seamen, and as the birthplace of nearly all the great men who had adorned her history during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ostermann, the famous chancellor of the Empire under the czarinas Catharine I and Anna Ivanovna; Münnich, whose Turkish victories made his very name a terror to the Sultan's bravest generals; his great rival Biron, who virtually governed Russia for several years; Benningsen, the bold strategist who foiled Napoleon himself in 1807; Nesselrode, one of Russia's greatest diplomatists; Todleben, her greatest military engineer,—all sprang from the Baltic seaboard. Nor were these its only claims to distinction. It contained Riga, one of the chief ports, and Dorpat, one of the chief universities of the Empire. Its perilous coast, abounding in shoals and sunken rocks, bred a race of hardy and skilful pilots, who disputed with their Finnish brethren the honor of being the best navigators in Russia. Finally, Russia's loss of the Baltic seaboard, and her consequent relapse into the enforced seclusion from which she was rescued by Peter the Great, would be so overwhelmingly disastrous to her as to warrant her resisting while she had a man or a cartridge left.

In strict justice, Germany had no claim whatever to the disputed territory, which, before its annexation, had belonged not to her but to Sweden. Moreover, the local German element formed barely one-eighth of the whole population. But all the skill and energy, as well as most of the wealth of the district, were to be found in the ranks of this minority; and the

thought of its subjection to a "Slavonian despotism" was amply sufficient to stir the blood of a nation which had so recently torn Holstein from Denmark, and Alsace-Lorraine from France, for a precisely similar reason. Flying rumors too, of the fearful sufferings of all three provinces during the great famine of 1869, and of the czar's intention to transfer the seat of their cherished Dorpat University to Polotsk or Vilna, added fuel to the flame. More than one influential Berlin journal habitually spoke of the Baltic provinces as "the East-German Duchies;" and Russia's own annexation of East Prussia during the Seven Years' War, temporary as it was, offered an alarmingly suggestive precedent.

These terrors were dissipated by the friendly meeting between the emperors of Austria, Germany and Russia, at Berlin, in August, 1872; but Russia's military preparations, directed by her able and energetic minister of war, Gen. Dmitri Milutine, continued unabated. Her conquest of Khiva in 1873, though achieved over a foe incapable of any serious resistance, considerably enhanced her prestige, both in her own eyes and those of her neighbors, by its admirable exactness of combination, and the ease with which it overcame the formidable obstacles opposed to it by the vast deserts of Central Asia. On the first of January, 1874, the great scheme of military reorganization, which had been sketched and approved in 1870, came into force, making every Russian between twenty and forty years of age, liable to military service, and raising the war strength of the field army to a total of 20,730 officers (exclusive of 339 generals) and 814,398 men. The new system was speedily put to the proof, and the Turkish campaign of 1877–8, although by no means without its share of mistakes and disasters, culminated in a triumph which contrasted brilliantly with the gloomy record of 1853.

But with this new success came a new peril. The soldiers who returned from Bulgaria brought with them certain trouble some ideas about popular freedom, representative government and a monarchy based on constitutional principles instead of irresponsible autocracy. Nihilism, already rampant in the great towns of the empire, began to permeate that very army

which had once been the strongest instrument of its repression. As late as September, 1872, the St. Petersburg *Golos* (Voice), commenting upon the Belfast riots, had justly observed that "in Russia, the political incendiaries who are elsewhere objects of terror excite only laughter and contempt." But the true cause of this immunity lay in the difficulty of forming a complete revolutionary organization among a people so widely scattered, that only five cities in the whole extent of European Russia, viz.: St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kieff, Warsaw and Odessa, have a population of more than 100,000. The quartering of a powerful *corps d'armée* in or near each of these five centres, was a sufficient guaranty for the maintenance of order, so long as the soldiers themselves remained true. But now even they are imbibing the poison of disaffection, the spread of which is facilitated by that concentration of numbers which was formerly the surest of official weapons against it. What the final result of this strange propagandism may be, it would at present be rash even to conjecture; but it undoubtedly bodes evil to Russian centralization when its chiefs can find no answer to the famous query of Juvenal:

"At quis custodiet ipsos
Custodes?"

In order to complete this necessarily brief and hasty survey of a very important question, it remains for us to cast a glance at the relative excellence of the two armies by which that question must sooner or later be decided.

Since its crowning triumph in 1870, the history, numbers, discipline, structure, and leading characteristics of the German army have been discussed so often and so fully, that a mere passing allusion to them will suffice for our present purpose. Its system may be defined as that of Frederick the Great *vivified*, retaining all the mathematical precision of the old school, while substituting for its lifeless rigidity that living and intelligent *esprit de corps* which makes the commonest soldier as directly interested in the result of a battle or a campaign as the commander-in-chief himself. The skill shown by the German leaders in handling large masses of troops in an enemy's country (always the hardest test of a modern

tactician), the admirable organization of the artillery and tran port service, the physical strength and robustness of the me themselves, and, above all, the perfect sympathy between th commanders and the commanded, have justly made the arm which fought at Sadowa and Sedan the admiration of a Europe. Still, it would be hazardous to predict for it, as s many patriotic Germans have confidently done, certain victor in any conflict whatever. The conditions have changed since th Black Eagle waved over conquered Paris. Several of th heroes of 1870, and not a few of the veterans whom they le to victory, have already passed away. Their great chie Count Von Moltke, must, in the natural course of event follow them ere long. The subtle contagion of Socialism, whic is to Germany what Nihilism is to Russia, is fast spreadin from the Rhine to the Vistula the anti-Bismarckian heres that a freeman's life and property belong not to his *soi-disa* masters, but to himself. Moreover, the recollection of pa triumphs is already begetting that overweening confidence victory which is the surest forerunner of defeat. But althoug Germany may not be an invincible opponent, she is at least (Russia's manifest terror of her sufficiently proves), an undeni bly formidable one.

At the first glance, indeed, Russia herself might we appear to be equally redoubtable. She possesses in her Co sacks an unlimited supply of the finest irregular cavalry in th world. Her artillery, even as long ago as the opening of th century, received the warm commendation of Napoleon hin self. In point of mere numbers, her army, on its present foo ing, is little if at all inferior to that of her prospective antag nist, and composed of men who, habituated from childhoo to privations and hardships which would be simply intolerab to other races, can endure heat and cold, thirst and hunge fatigue, pain and sickness, as bravely as the soldiers of Wash ington or of Havelock. Nor is the Russian peasant-conscrip without a moral as well as physical superiority in certain point to the more dashing fighters of the south. Born with the instinc of implicit obedience, he has no instinct of mutiny; naturall stolid and unimpressible, he is equally impervious to panic.

But these great advantages are more than counterbalanced by corresponding defects. Both the transport-service and the field hospitals, though greatly improved during the last few years, are still flagrantly defective in many points, as the recent war has abundantly shown. The shortcomings of the commissariat have been made glaringly manifest in every campaign from 1826 downward. The men themselves, with all their marvellous endurance, have not that solid strength of muscle which is so invaluable in close combat. Drawn chiefly from the habitually underfed peasantry, Russian recruits carry into the ranks the ill effects of their former privations. Even the soldiers of the Imperial Guard, despite their fine stature and imposing aspect, would at once be pronounced by an experienced eye "weedy" and ill-compacted. Moreover, the utter want of education among the Russian rank and file (of whom barely eleven per cent. can either read or write) combines with their natural gregariousness to make them act wholly by mass, relying exclusively upon the directions of their officers, and having no more volition of their own than the rifles which they carry. The consequence is, that when either the inevitable disorder of a hard-fought battle-field, or an unusually heavy loss of officers (such as that of Borodino or the Alma) leaves a body of Russian soldiers to their own guidance, the latter, instead of displaying the promptness and fertility of resource so often shown in similar circumstances by the Germans of 1870, instantly become as useless and helpless as the fragments of a broken glass.

Nor is even this all. The Russian cavalry, with the exception of the Cossacks already mentioned, is the weakest point of the service, as was abundantly shown at Balaklava, where the utter defeat of the Russian heavy brigade by a mere handful of Scots Greys and Enniskilleners, proved the inability of even the czar's best cavalry to stand a charge from the hard-hitting *sabreurs* of western Europe. This defect, indeed, is of comparatively little moment in an age when the formidable improvement in arms of precision has made the decisive use of the cavalry arm on a grand scale—such as the famous charge of Seidlitz at Zorndorf in 1758, or that of Murat at Eylau in

1807—absolutely impossible. But other and more seric faults remain to be mentioned. The distance between office and men is far more strongly marked, and their mutual relatio are far less cordial, than in the armies of France and Germa Many of the officers themselves are grievously wanting experience, and wholly unfitted to deal with any gr emergency. Others, again, although veterans as far as me service goes, have been trained chiefly in the semi-barbaro wars of Central Asia, which, by accustoming those engaged them to see their enemies fly before them at the first onset, a the worst possible preparation for the more serious conflic of civilized warfare.

But the crowning drawback of the Russian army at t present is that which has been its bane from first to last— utter lack of skilful commanders. The bitter metaphor "lions led by asses," so fitly applied to the English troops the Crimea, might with equal justice be transferred to th opponents. The number of native Russians who have d played such strategic ability as Frederick the Great or Napole would have commended, may be reckoned upon the fingers one hand. Peter the Great, who showed the skill and coolne of a veteran leader at Poltava in 1709, committed blunde only worthy of a raw recruit on the Pruth a few years lat Romantzoff's crowning triumph (that of the Kaghoul in 177 was won over an undisciplined rabble of Turks and Tarta already demoralized by panic. Suvoroff himself—beyond question the greatest soldier whom Russia has yet produced although victorious in Turkey and Poland, and not less so, i a time, against the French in Italy, was shivered like glass his first encounter with Massena. Kamenskoi, who co manded against Napoleon in 1807, failed at the very mome when failure was most disastrous. Kutuzoff lived to forfe by the defeats of Austerlitz and Borodino, the brilliant rep tation won by his previous triumphs. The elder Prince Go schakoff, though he displayed the talents of a great general the fatal campaign of 1853, was so hampered by want supplies and by the contradictory orders of his master as achieve no success worth naming. Count Mouravieff, thou

immortalized by his capture of Kars in 1855, has been justly censured for his reckless waste of life in the *coup-de-main* assault which he hazarded, before resorting to the surer method of blockade; and had any vigorous attempt been made to raise the siege, his final defeat would have been a certainty.

The same moral is written upon every page of the record of 1877–8. It would be difficult to name a Russian general who displayed any military genius in that campaign, except the gallant young Skobeleff. But his brilliant success at Loftcha, Green Hills and Shenovo, together with the happy union of judgment and daring by which he half retrieved the errors of his superiors before Plevna, only made the incapacity of the latter more glaringly conspicuous. The headstrong rashness of Prince Schakoffskoi, and the ill-timed sluggishness of Baron Krudener, brought upon Russia the heaviest disaster of the war. Schilder-Schuldner again and again transgressed the most ordinary and obvious military maxims. Zimmermann merely helped his colleagues to do nothing. Loris-Mellikoff, the Russian generalissimo in Armenia, threw away by his own folly the victory which was just within his grasp, and had to begin his whole campaign anew just when he ought to have been ending it. Even Gourko, with all his wonderful successes, was merely a brilliant raider, whose reckless daring more than once came within a hair's breadth of causing serious misfortune. In a word, the final triumph of February, 1878, was achieved not so much by the agency of the Russian leaders, as in spite of them.

Such being the case, it can hardly be thought a surprising fact—though a very galling one to Russia—that her greatest military triumphs should have been uniformly achieved under the command of foreigners. Münnich, the terror of Turkey in the reign of the czarina Elizabeth, came from the German provinces of the Baltic. Fermor, whose successful invasion of Prussia in 1758 was arrested only by Frederick the Great's magnificent counter-stroke at Zorndorf, was an Englishman. Several of Suvoroff's best officers were volunteers from France, Britain and the Rhineland. Benningsen, who checked Napoleon himself in 1807, was a Livonian. Barclay de Tolly, who

held at bay for more than a month the great invasion
1812, was a Hanoverian. In 1814, the Russians advance
upon Paris under the leadership of Prince Schwartzenber
an Austrian, and of Wittgenstein, a North-German. In th
storming of Montmartre, which sealed the fate of the capit
itself, they were led by a general of French descent, Cou
Langeron. Diebitsch, the conqueror of Turkey in 182
Paskevitch, the captor of Erivan; Todleben, the defender
Sebastopol; Kaufmann, the subjugator of Central Asia, were
men of foreign blood.

During the late Russo-Turkish war, this unpleasant fa
was even more glaringly manifest. Gen. Gourko, the hero
the first passage of the Balkan, was a Lithuanian Cossac
Prince Mirski, his colleague, and Gen. Nepokoitchitski, th
chief of the imperial staff, were men of Polish descent. Ge
Tergukassoff, who alone of the Russian leaders in Asia showe
any military talent, was an Armenian, as was also his superio
Loris-Mellikoff. General Oklobschio, the besieger of Batoun
was a Montenegrin, Prince Tcherkasski a Tartar, and Gener
Heimann (whose victory over Mukhtar Pasha at Aladja-Dag
virtually ended the Armenian campaign) a German. In fac
the proportion of foreign officers on the Russian side wa
nearly, if not quite, as large as upon that of the Turks.

Let us now, in order to form a clearer idea of the relativ
fighting power of Germany and Russia, suppose war to hav
been actually declared, and the two armies to be already in th
field. The probabilities are that in such a case Russia woul
content herself with waging a purely defensive warfare, an
not hazard so bold a step as the actual invasion of Germany
which would leave in her own rear, instead of in that of he
enemy, the endless swamps and bare moorlands of Polan
thus transferring to herself the calamities which she inflicte
upon her French assailants in 1812. The offensive being thu
left to Germany, the latter would probably assume it b
availing herself of the overlapping position of East Prussia t
get in the rear of the Polish Quadrilateral, and throw he
troops upon its communications with the interior of Russi
This might be done by concentrating a large force upon th

Königsberg-Eydtkuhnen railway, crossing the Niemen at Wierzbolow, and seizing Kovno, which might then be made the base of an advance upon the great central point of Vilna (the chief town of northern Poland, and Napoleon's first object in 1812), lying barely ninety miles from the border. Its capture would at once deprive Russia of the control of the great trunk line from St. Petersburg to Warsaw, as well as that connecting the Baltic port of Libau with Minsk and the interior. The success of this movement would depend a good deal upon the possibility of securing the coöperation of a coasting fleet, as Wellington did when advancing through northern Spain in 1813, and Diebitsch while traversing Bulgaria in 1829. The statistics of the Russian Baltic fleet for 1873, as already given, represent its existing strength fairly enough, with the addition of one cuirassed frigate and four single-turreted monitors.

To oppose these Germany has a total strength of 70 ships and 401 guns, thus distributed: iron-clads—7 frigates, 3 corvettes, 2 floating batteries, 5 gunboats, with 117 guns; unarmored vessels—11 frigates, 7 corvettes, 3 despatch boats, 1 artillery-ship, 2 steam-yachts, 12 gunboats, 11 torpedo-vessels, 2 transport-steamers—the list being completed by 4 sailing-vessels, viz.: 1 frigate and 3 brigs. This, as may be seen, is only about one-half the strength of the Russian squadron; but, on the other hand, the best seamen of the latter are chiefly Finns or Livonians, in whose loyalty the Government has as little faith as Austria in that of the Dalmatians. It is probable that Russia's chief source of confidence in this quarter lies in her secret hope of a future alliance with France; and certainly, were the Cronstadt fleet supplemented by that which blockaded the North-German ports in 1870, Germany's power to hold her own in the Baltic would be severely tested.

But there is another mode of attack within Germany's reach, which would be quite as easy of accomplishment, and beyond all question as fatal to Russia when accomplished, as even the capture of Vilna itself. This is to make a sudden dash upon Warsaw, the meeting-point of all the principal north-western railways, the seizure of which would have the

same effect upon the whole district as the severing of the spinal column upon a human body. By what inconceivable folly Russia can have been led to select such a place for her Polish railway centre, it is difficult to imagine. In Summer, with the dark-red battlements of her stately citadel looking down upon the sea of many-colored houses below, and her green waving woods outspread for miles along the broad, smooth, shining curves of the Vistula, Warsaw would charm the eye of an artist; but that of a soldier would not be equally satisfied. A perfectly open and undefended city, she has nevertheless been chosen as the centre of the railroads upon which depends the very existence of the great fortresses that guard the frontier; and hence she has likewise been selected as the first and most obvious point of attack, by every foreign critic who for years past has written upon the question of a possible invasion of Russia. An able Russian writer lately advocated the substitution of the impregnable stronghold of Modlin for unprotected Warsaw, as the railway centre of the north-west; but in Russia, as in some other countries of far more advanced civilization, talking of such things appears to be the recognized substitute for doing them.

It is not to be supposed, however, that such a campaign would be the mere "military promenade" which so many German officers of more patriotism than judgment are pleased to consider it. There can be no doubt that the Russians would make a desperate resistance; and they would find a powerful ally in the nature of the country itself. As may be guessed from the description already given of it, Poland is of all European regions the most trying to a scientific commander. Napoleon himself, with all his wonderful power of combination, found his usual thunderbolt strategy impossible in a country where his soldiers were constantly sticking fast in knee-deep mud, or losing their way amid trackless pine-forests. Moreover, these difficulties were then, as now, augmented a hundred-fold by the utter want of both food and forage. Any army which should attempt to "live upon the resources" of this dismal tract, would starve within a week. The campaign of 1807, although fought out upon the extreme

border of Russia, at no great distance from the French magazines, more than once straitened the invading force very severely; while in the great advance of 1812, the hunger which greeted the assailants at the very outset soon deepened into absolute starvation. The march through Lithuania to Smolensk (which was itself only the "half-way house" to Moscow) consumed one-fourth of the native French and one-half of the allies, the aggregate loss reaching the fearful total of 200,000 men in less than seven weeks! *

Under such circumstances, and with her own terrible experience in 1853-4 to remind her of the inevitable fate of an army which attempts to operate at a distance from its base of supply, Russia might well count herself secure, but for the one fatal drawback which still remains to be mentioned. A few years ago, an Austrian journal published the startling announcement that, of Russia's 339 generals, 75 per cent. were foreigners, and 58 per cent. Germans! This exaggeration, gross as it was, masked the real and very formidable truth, that a large proportion of the best men who officer Russia's armies, as well as of the best sailors who man her fleets, are of German or semi-German blood,† and on that account regarded by the native stock with a rooted distrust that destroys at once that perfect mutual confidence between the leaders and the led which is the first essential of successful warfare.

This strong anti-German feeling, although doubtless intensified by the formidable consolidation of the Teutonic race which the present generation has witnessed, is no sudden and transitory prejudice. On the contrary, it dates back to the time of Russia's first intercourse with her western neighbors. From Peter the Great downward, the successive rulers of the Muscovite empire, pursuing the work of civilization which he

* In allusion to this universal scarcity, the French soldiers were wont to say that the Polish language consisted of four words: "Khleba (bread) Niema (there is none) Voda (water) Avoss" (there *may* be). Napoleon himself once turned this sorry jest to good account, when his troops were beginning to murmur at their prolonged sufferings. As he rode through the lines, several voices exclaimed, "Papa, khleba!" "Niema," instantly answered the emperor. A shout of laughter greeted this proof of their leader's familiarity with their stock witticism, and no more complaints were heard.

† This fact has been embodied in a pithy Russian proverb: "Few German workmen, many German overseers."

had commenced, habitually called in men from beyond the Niemen to discharge the duties which their own countrymen were too dull or too bigoted to perform. To such a height was this system carried, that Marshal Suvoroff, when asked by Catharine II how she could repay his services in putting down the Polish rebellion, answered with his wonted rough-hewn sarcasm, "Mother Katrina, make me a German!"

As a matter of course, popular enmity was strongly directed against these intrusive foreigners, who sat in the high places and ate up the bread of the "orthodox nation." During the earlier years of Nicolas' reign, more than one German official was cruelly murdered in the wilder provinces of the east. Popular literature, reflecting popular feeling as usual, made the German what the Tartar had once been—the villain of every national legend, and the butt of every village song. In the *Cossack Tales* of Nicholas Gogol, unquestionably the greatest descriptive writer whom Russia has produced during the present century, this ingrained antipathy takes a very curious form. A pious Cossack, while wandering alone on the outskirts of his native village upon Christmas-eve, is suddenly accosted by the Evil One in person, who endeavors to persuade him into the commission of a great crime. The Russian stands his ground like a man, and bids the foul fiend begone; but the latter only becomes more and more persistent, till the Cossack indignantly calls him "an accursed German" —at which overwhelming insult the demon instantly flies away in disgust!

Many optimists are fond of asserting that this universal jealousy is merely a relic of ancient barbarism, fast disappearing before the advance of civilization. But this rose-colored theory is hardly borne out by existing facts. Even if the famous "Kalisch quarrel" of last January, between the German and Russian officers stationed on the frontier, be a newspaper myth, tokens of the same feeling are neither few nor slight in the Russia of the present day. No longer ago than in 1870, when the news of the fall of Paris reached Moscow, German workmen were mobbed in the streets in broad daylight, and German students made the objects of a patriotic

demonstration to which the most vigorous college "hazing" would have been as nothing. Similar excesses have more than once occurred in St. Petersburg; while in the great manufacturing towns of the Volga, where the German element is strong, the quarrels of the two races have several times assumed a very serious character. Even the Russian word for "German" ("Nyemetz," or dumb man) contains a covert insult, as implying one who cannot speak Russian, and who is, therefore, to be contemned and scouted by every true Muscovite. What the Russian Government itself thinks upon this question, a single example will suffice to show. During the "invasion panic" of 1871, it was accidentally discovered that a large proportion of the engine-drivers, brakemen, etc., employed on the frontier railways were Germans. By the admission of the Russians themselves, these men were faithful and valuable servants. They were always ready to do their duty, and to do it well. Nothing could be alleged against them, save the bare fact of their German blood. But that one fact was quite sufficient. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg instantly sent orders to dismiss every man of them, and to supply their place with native Russians.

Could this summary expedient be employed in every case of the kind, even Russia's jealousy might perhaps be appeased at last. But the safety of an army upon which the fate of the empire itself may depend, is not to be hazarded as lightly as that of a few passenger-cars; and it is easier to replace a brakeman than a commander-in-chief. Indeed, the "superseding" experiment has already been tried, with results which Russia will long remember. In the great crisis of 1812, her best general was a Hanoverian named Barclay de Tolly. He had checked Napoleon's first invasion in 1807, and was vigorously opposing his second. It might well have been supposed that the veteran's unquestioned loyalty, together with the skill and valor of which he had given such abundant proof, would have palliated, even if they could not wholly condone, the crime of having been born in Germany. But not so thought the Russians. They clamored for his removal, and they obtained their wish. The gallant German was superseded by

the aged and imbecile Kutuzoff, and the result was the defeat of Borodino and the fall of Moscow.*

It is true that all these suspicions and jealousies are utterly groundless. No sane man can suppose that the czar's German officers, whatever their secret sympathies may be, will actually desert their colors in a body, the moment the Black Eagle of Germany is seen fluttering on Russian soil. But the effects of the popular prejudice against them may be almost as fatal to Russia as if they had done so. Let us suppose the German leader of a Russian frontier corps unsuccessful in his first operations against the invader. What follows? The cry of treachery is instantly raised against him—he loses all control of his men, and is superseded, or perhaps even murdered by his own soldiers. Another Russo-German commander, recognizing among his prisoners a relative or personal friend of his own, treats him with kindness, and dismisses him on parole. He is at once accused of secret communication with the enemy, and all is lost.

These are no imaginary cases. After the defeat of Dresden, in 1813, the quarrels of the Russian and German officers, and their mutual accusations of treachery, came within a hair's breadth of dissolving the great league which finally overthrew Napoleon. In 1814, the gallant Wittgenstein, one of the bravest and most skilful of the allied commanders, found all his efforts neutralized, in more than one momentous crisis, by his unpopularity, as a German, with his Russian troops. What has happened once may happen again; and Russia's consciousness of this fact is one of her strongest, though most studiously concealed, reasons for endeavoring to avoid a rupture with Germany.

NOTE.—The "Polish rising against Russia" upon which many German theorists reckon so confidently in the event of

* His statue, however, now faces Kutuzoff's in front of the Kazan Church at St. Petersburg, while his name is linked with that of his great rival in the popular couplet:

"Barklai de Tolli i Kutuzoff
F' dvaynadtzatom godu morozili Frantzuzoff."

(Barclay de Tolly and Kutuzoff
In the year '12 froze the French.)

an invasion, is a somewhat hypothetical contingency at best; for the common people are far better off under the czar's rule than they formerly were under the grinding tyranny of their own "Panové" (nobles), and the insurrection of 1863, so far from being a "popular" movement, was the exclusive work of the students, the priesthood, and the nobility. But the climate and natural conditions of the country itself, which are Russia's salvation in one way, are formidably adverse to her in another. In the summer of 1855, when the doubtful attitude of Austria necessitated a strong concentration of force in the unwholesome basin of the Vistula, the Russians lost 30,000 men (some authorities say 50,000) without firing a shot; and should Russia's apprehensions of Germany demand a renewal of this precaution, the same catastrophe may very possibly repeat itself on a far more extended scale.

DAVID KER.

Art. IV.—The Scottish Poets.

1. *The Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern.* 2 vols. By Allan Cunningham. London: 1825.
2. *The Scottish Minstrel.* The Songs of Scotland, subsequent to Burns, with Memoirs of the Poets. By Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D., F.S.A. Scot. New York: 1870.
3. *Lives of Scottish Poets.* By the Society of Ancient Scots. 3 vols. London: 1821.

> Pleasant are the words of the song! lovely the tales of other times! They are like the calm dew of the morning on the hill of roes! when the sun is shining faint on its side, and the lake is settled and blue on the vale.—*Fingal*, Book iii.

If the poems ascribed to Ossian by Macpherson are genuine, and not the skilful forgery of the eighteenth century, the national poetry of Scotland extends far back in the misty past. Whatever the *Poems of Ossian* may be, whether the production of a bard of the third century and translated from the Erse or Gaelic by Macpherson, or merely compiled by him from fragmentary legends and oral traditions, with original passages inserted where the connection seemed broken, and those passages struck out which might offend a more modern taste, softening the mode of expression—in short, constructing a work of great beauty from the choicest materials of the past, guided by the enlightenment of the present,—these poems are a remarkable work; remarkable, if the production of a race represented as being at that time mere barbarians, or as one that was able to resuscitate the past so

fectually as to raise the ghost of fifteen centuries, and to cceed in passing it off as a living reality.

Nevertheless, if the *Poems of Ossian* be the property of e eighteenth century, long before the days of Bruce did the rds of Scotland string their harps and chant their lays; and ough the verse was irregular, the rhyme seldom true, and often rsh and unmusical, they were rich with the imagery of a eople who appealed directly to nature for inspiration. None these songs have reached us exactly as they were sung in e days of Bruce; none have escaped the curtailing and dition incident to oral repetition during so long a period.

From the time of James the First of Scotland, however, the rics have been tolerably well preserved. To that monarch, cotland owes her "first serious and purely imaginative poem, *he King's Quair*, and her earliest truly comic, humorous nd homely poem, *Peblis to the Play*. * * * * His poetry as never been praised so highly as it deserves. It has a modesty nd delicacy unknown among the elder worthies of English erse. The loss of his lyrics, if they were conceived with qual spirit, and executed with equal happiness of language nd sense of nature, is a loss which we may well deplore." * oetry and philosophy formed the only solace of the royal aptive during his weary confinement of eighteen years. The nglish monarchs are said to have afforded him the best of nasters possible in all the arts and sciences, and he is believed o have been proficient in every branch of polite literature. *he King's Quair* (quair, quire, or book, from cahier) elates a supposed conference between the author and a ersonification of philosophy who is seeking to reconcile him o a life of persecution, poverty, and exile. Listen to his laintive cry:

"Quhare as in ward full oft I wold bewaille
My dedely lyf, full of peyne and penance,
Saing ryt thus; quhat have I gilt to faille
My fredome in this warld and my pleasance?
Sen every wight has thereof suffisance
That I behold, and I a creature
Put from all this, hard is myne adventure!

* *The Songs of Scotland*, Vol. I, pp. 24-27.

" The bird, the beste, the fisch eke in the sea,
They lyve in fredome, everie in his kynd ;
And I a man, and lakith libertie.
Quhat sall I seyne, quhat reason may I fynd
That fortune suld do so ? * * * "

Peblis to the Play, on the contrary, is a poem full of rustic festivity and mirth, with the peasants singing songs and dancing to the merry tunes of the bag-pipe.

Although James I is among the earliest of Scottish poets of whom we have any definite information, there are poets the fact of whose very existence is now shrouded in obscurity, but of whom some traditional accounts have come down to us. Among these is Thomas the Rhymer, or Thomas of Ercildoune, who is called the father of Scottish poetry, and is supposed to have been born about the end of the twelfth century. Little is known of him, except that he was the author of the romance of *Sir Tristrem*. Sir Walter Scott says that it is the " first classical English romance, although written in part of what is now called Scotland."

John Barbour's *Actis and Life of that most Victorious Conqueror, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland*, etc., a metrical history of that time and second only in antiquity to *Sir Tristrem*, is still in great favor with the peasantry of Scotland. It is a poetical account of Scottish heroes, and gives an excellent representation of the manners, habits, and feelings of the people of that time, interweaving the whole into a great national poem. There was, also, Andrew Wyntoun who lived somewhere in the fourteenth century, and wrote an *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, which is also valuable for its delineation of ancient manners, and as a repository of historical anecdotes, also as a specimen of what constituted literary excellence many centuries since. Although Wyntoun's genius is placed lower than that of Barbour, the same critics allow him an occasional animation of style, a purity of language, and an easiness of versification—that is, the time being taken into consideration. As these two stanzas of a little elegiac song on the death of King Alexander III are said to be one of the oldest relics of Scottish song, we give them :

" Quhen Alysandyr oure Kyng wes dede,
Dat Scotland led* in luwe† and le,‡
Away wes sons of ale and brede,
Of wyne and wax, of gamyn and gle :

" Oure gold wes changyed in-to lede,
Cryst, borne in-to Virgynytè,
Succour Scotland and remede,
Dat stad is in perplexytè."

There are many old Scottish poets whom, for want of space, we can barely mention. Gavin Douglas, born in the fifteenth century, was the first to render a poetical version of the classics into Britain ; he wrote two other poems, both of allegorical character, *The Palace of Honour*, and *King Hart*. There was William Darbar, of the same century, who wrote *The Thistle and Rose*, celebrating the marriage of Margaret Tudor of England with James IV of Scotland ; Henry the Minstrel, who sung of *Ye Actis and Deidis of ye Illuster and Vailzand Championn Shyr William Wallace*, which shares in favor with the *Bruce* of Barbour. Also, Sir David Lindsay, whose pupil was James V; the Earl of Stirling, who wrote a number of tragedies ; William Drummond (1585) a poet of considerable excellence, whose verses are harmonious and flowing.

James V of Scotland indulged in a strain of versification more sprightly in character than that of his royal ancestor James I, although both of them have been credited with the authorship of *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, an admirable delineation of rustic life. The lyrics of the later James are overflowing with humor and gaiety. They are indigenous ; there is no borrowing from classic lore, and they are thought for the most part to have been the poetic recital of some of his own intrigues and midnight adventures. The freedom of style in which they are written precludes the citation of any save *The Gaberlunyie-man*, which is considered one of his best ballads, and shows his ability to portray rustic characters and households.

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* Ruled. † Love. ‡ Law.

" The pawky auld carle came o'er the lee,
Wi' many good e'ens and days to me,
Saying, Goodwife, for your courtesie,
Will you lodge a silly poor man ?
The night was cauld, the carle was wat,
And down ayont the ingle he sat ;
My daughter's shoulders he 'gan to clap,
And cadgily ranted and sang.

" O now ! quo' he, were I as free
As first when I saw this countrie,
How blythe and merry wad I be !
And I would never think lang.
He grew canty, and she grew fain ;
But little did her old minny ken
What the'r slee twa thegither were say'ng,
When wooing they were sae thrang.

* * * * * *

" Between the twa was made a plot ;
They rose a wee before the cock,
And wilily they shot the lock,
And fast to the bent are they gane.
Up in the morn the auld wife raise,
And at her leisure pat on her claise ;
Syne to the servant's bed she goes,
To speer for the silly poor man.

" She gaed to the bed where the beggar lay ;
The strae was cauld, he was away,
She clapt her hands, cry'd, Waladay,
For some of our gear will be gane !
Some ran to coffer, some to kist,
But naught was stown that could be mist ;
She danc'd her lane, cry'd, Praise' be blest,
I have lodg'd a leal poor man.

" Since naething's awa', as we can learn,
The kirn's to kirn, and milk to earn,
Gae but the house, lass, and waken my bairn,
And bid her come quickly ben.
The servant gaed where the daughter lay,
The sheets were cauld, she was away,
And fast to her goodwife did say,
She's off with the Gaberlunyie-man.

" O fy gar ride, and fy gar rin,
And haste ye find these traitors again ;
For she's be burnt, and he's be slain,
The wearifu' Gaberlunyie-man !

Some rade upo' horse, some ran afit,
The wife was wud, and out o' her wit,
She could na gang, nor yet cou'd she sit,
But she curs'd ay, and she bann'd.

"Meantime, far 'hind out o'er the lee,
Fu' snug in a glen, where nane cou'd see,
The twa with kindly sport and glee,
Cut frae a new cheese a whang;
The priving was good, it pleas'd them baith,
To lo'e her far ay, he gae her his aith,
Quo' she, to leave thee I will be laith,
My winsome Gaberlunyie-man." etc.

The antithesis of James the Fifth was Alexander Scott, whose verses were gay and light, but displayed little vigor and were devoid of passion. He was nearer akin to the English classical poets than the Scottish poets of his time. His verses were musical and pleasing and the numbers flowing, but his representations of domestic life and ardent love, compared to those of James,

"Are as moonlight unto sunlight."

There are many old ballads that have somewhat escaped the destructive hand of time, of unmistakable antiquity. Many of these are commemorative of Scotland's old heroes, and some are of a more plaintive nature. *Gude Wallace*, as we give it here, has been a little modernized, although the most of it is very old:

"A lady sat by the greenwood side,
And sore she sighed, and thus she sang:
O, where art thou now, gude Wallace?
O, wight Wallace, ye tarry lang!
Gude Wallace took off his bright steel cap,
And dropt his mantle aneath his knee;
What tidings, what tidings, fair lady, he said,
And who rules in the low countree?

"In yon hostel house are fifteen knights.
Thus to gude Wallace that lady sang,—
And they have ta'en him, black Douglas;
Their meanest word is head and hang.
Gude Wallace put on his bright steel cap.
And his brown sword in hand took he;
Now will I down to yon hostel house,
Those fifteen southren knights to see.

" I'll win broad lands, said one proud knight,
O'er which a hawk would fail to flee;
A stately tower and a lady's love,
When I the gude Wallace shall see.
A loud laugh laughed he, the black Douglas—
I'll change my knighthood with a knave,
When you gain more from the gude Wallace
Than a single blow and a bloody grave.

" Rude were the oaths, and red was the wine,
When a hasty step came to the door;
On a bloody field, thought he, black Douglas,
I heard that stately step before.
Now forward, churl! Sir Aylmer said,
Three buffets from me shalt thou dree
Unless ye come from the green Nithsdale
With news of wight Wallace to me.

" Small news I bring from him, gude Wallace,
And grim the hero smiled and stern,—
He sends a churlish hand to bless
You with this burly blade of airn,
And he smote right, and he smote left,
He smote behind, he smote before,
Till all the fifteen southren knights
Lay drenched and dying in their gore.

" Even as he stood and saw them lie,
Their blood yet on his sword was het,
When a flock of armed Englishmen
Leapt from their steeds around the yett.
Come forth, come forth, now, wight Wallace!
This is the day that thou maun die.
I lippen more unto God, he said;
Although I be but ill-wordie.

" That lady came—all aneath the moon,
With white hands held to heaven, she stood,
Till twelve or fifteen Englishmen
Even at her feet lay in their blood.
Ye'll run from me, quo' the wight Wallace,
When the bird can from the falcon flee;
And he followed fast him, the gude Wallace,
And smote them all by the greenwood tree.

He wiped his sword there, the gude Wallace,
And cleansed his hands and brow from blood;
I fight but faint, quo' the gude Wallace,
Its three days nigh since I tasted food.

I'd rather walk midst southren blood
Wet footed on the lily lea,
Than call the King of England lord,
With all the gold he can give to me."

Among the old Scottish poets whose songs are still favorites with the people are Montgomery, Sir Robert Ayton (secretary to the Scottish queens Mary and Anne), and Francis Semple. Montgomery was not a particular favorite among the peasantry, notwithstanding the sweetness and liquidness of his lyrics. He drew deeper from learning's well than from the sweet spring of nature. He sought to embellish his compositions with classical allusions and by the introduction of Greek mythology. His choice of language was unusually felicitous for his time, and his English exceedingly pure. In order, however, to write in a courtly and polished style, he sacrificed his power to use his native language in a manner at once graceful and dignified, whereby he might have won the enthusiastic admiration of his countrymen. The following, *Montgomery's Matchless Margaret*, is from his pen:

"Ye lovers leal, forbear to style
Your ladies fairest of the fair;
A purer light has come on earth,
And they maun hope to shine nae mair.
There is a gem without compare,
The brightest e'er in crown was set,
A lady fair, and sweet as rare,
Montgomery's matchless Margaret.

"Her better nature far excels
Her noble birth and royal blood;
Fairest where all are fair, and full
Of native gifts and graces good—
The wit and wale of womanhood,
Mair' sweet than roses newly wet
With thrice distilled dews—I wooed,
But won not matchless Margaret." etc.

Sir Robert Ayton owes his reputation to his *Song to a Forsaken Mistress*, which Cunningham terms "one of the sweetest and happiest of our early compositions." Francis Semple is said to have been the author of two very popular songs, *Maggie Lauder*, and *She rose and loot me in.*

There is a quaint humor displayed in the former, although neither of them would be considered exactly decorous in these days. *Barbara Allan*, a very old and popular ballad, and crooned by many an old Scottish nurse when far from her native shore, is thought to have belonged to this period. *Barbara Allan*, however, does not depend upon native celebrity, but is sung in many a foreign drawing-room. We give it as it is found in Allan Ramsay's collection :

" It was in and about the Martinmas time,
When the green leaves were a-falling,
That Sir John Graeme o' the west country
Fell in love with Barbara Allan.

" He sent his man down through the town,
To the place where she was dwelling,
O, haste and come to my master dear,
Gin ye be Barbara Allan.

" O hooly rose she up, and came
To the place where he was lying,
And drew the curtain by, and said,
Young man, I think you're dying.

" O its I'm sick, and very, very sick ;
And 't is a' for Barbara Allan.
O, the better for me ye's never be,
Tho' your heart's blood were a-spilling.

" O dinna ye mind, young man, she said,
When the red wine ye were fillin,
That ye made the healths gae round and round,
And slighted Barbara Allan ?

" He turn'd his face unto the wall,
And death was with him dealing ;
Adieu, adieu, my dear friends all,
And be kind to Barbara Allan.

" O slowly, slowly raise she up,
And slowly, slowly left him ;
And sighing, said, she cou'd not stay,
Since death of life has reft him.

" She had not gane a mile but twa,
When she heard the dead bell knellan,
And every jow that the dead bell gied,
It cry'd, wo to Barbara Allan.

" O mother, mother, make my bed,
O make it saft and narrow,
Since my love died for me to-day,
I'll die for him to-morrow."

The history of the poetry of Scotland is like that of any other country, progressing with its age and reflecting the sentiments of the people. With the Reformation came a different order of songs, which for a time entirely superseded the old style. The Psalms were set to music and sung throughout Scotland. Those wild legends relating the miracles and wonders wrought by the Church, and the enactment of plays where satyrs, devils, angels, and the souls of men were the dramatic figures, vanished before the austerity of Calvinism.

The reformed clergy, in order to wean that strong attachment of the Scots from their ancient ballads, began to change the application from carnal to spiritual matters by means of various adroit substitutions and interpolations. In 1597 appeared in Edinburgh *A Compendious Book of Godlie and Spiritual Sangis and Ballatis*, which consisted merely of pious travesties of the so-called profane ballads and songs then most in vogue. The following is an example in point, the words in *italics* noting the deviations:

" With huntis up, with huntis up,
It is now perfite day ;
Jesus our King is gane an hunting,
Quha likes to speed, they may.

" The wind blawis cauld ; furious and bald,
Thing lang and mony a day ;
But Christ's mercie, we maun all die,
Or keep the cold wind away.

" Hey ! now the day dawis ;
Now Christ on us cawis,
Now welth on our wawis
Appeiris none.

" *Now the word of God rings,*
Whilk is King of all Kings,
Now Christis flock sings,
The nicht neere gone." etc.

It was only for a short period, however, that Psalm-singing usurped the place of the national songs, sprightly

ballads, and tender love ditties. In process of time, eac settled into its proper place, and divided favor.

Alexander Hume, second son of Patrick, fifth baron o Polwarth, saw the futility of attempting to correct the popu lar taste by any such absurd manner as these *Godlie an Spiritual Sangis and Ballatis*, and he was the first wh essayed a purer and truer method. He published a co lection of poems under the title of *Hymnes and Sacre Songs*, gathering his materials from the great open book o nature.

Allan Ramsay is a name that figures largely in Scottis poetry. He was the first to attempt to make a collection o the lyrics of his country. His peculiar forte lay in his happ portraituring of humble life, and as he possessed a frank manly humor, his songs became extremely popular. Ramsa is not as delicate in his mode of expression as society no demands, being too open and free, and warm in his addresse to ladies, notwithstanding which he was very popular amon them. But the difference is that between the first part of th eighteenth century and the latter part of the nineteenth. Th following plaintive little ballad is rewritten by him:

" A lass that was ladened wi' care
Sat heavily under a thorn ;
I listened awhile for to hear,
When thus she began for to mourn :—
Whene'er my own lover was near
The birds seemed far sweeter to sing,
The cold nipping winter-time wore
A face that resembled the spring.
Sae merry as we twa hae been,
Sae merry as we twa hae been,
My heart it is like for to break,
When I think on the days we hae seen.

" There was love in his sweet silent looks,
There was love in the touch of his hand—
I liked mair the glance of his ee
Than a' the green earth to command :
A word and a look and a touch—
Hard-hearted, oh ! how could I be ?
Oh ! the cauldest lass of the land
Wad hae sighed and hae melted like me !

Sae merry as we twa hae been,
Sae merry as we twa hae been,
I wonder my heart disnae break,
When I think on the days we hae seen.

" But now he is far, far away,
Between us is rolling the sea.
And the wind that wafts pleasure to a'
Brings nae word frae Willie to me ;
At night when the rest of the folk
Are merrily seated to spin,
I sit myself under an oak
A-heavily sighing for him.
Sae merry as we twa hae been,
Sae merry as we twa hae been,
My heart it will break ere the spring,
As I think on the days we hae seen."

David Mallet was another Scottish favorite, not so much on account of his more elaborate productions as for two or three of his lyrics. In these there is a sweet simplicity of expression which was sacrificed in his larger poems to a more polished style. The majority of Mallet's songs are of the gentle, unimpassioned order, written with much prettiness, and with more modesty of thought and language than was then common.

His *William and Margaret* is an exquisite little ballad, composed in a style dramatic and yet touchingly pathetic :

" When all was wrapt in dark midnight,
And all was fast asleep,
In glided Margaret's grimly ghost,
And stood at William's feet.

" Her face was like an April morn
Clad in a wintry cloud ;
And clay-cold was her lily hand
That held her sable shroud.

" So shall the fairest face appear,
When youth and years are flown ;
Such is the robe that kings must wear
When death has reft their crown.

" Her bloom was like the springing flow'r
That sips the silver dew ;
The rose was budded in her cheek
Just op'ning to the view.

" But love had, like the canker-worm,
Consum'd her early prime ;
The rose grew pale, and left her cheek—
She died before her time.

" Awake !—she cried, thy true-love calls,
Come from her midnight grave ;
Now let thy pity hear the maid
Thy love refused to save.

" This is the dumb and dreary hour
When injured ghosts complain,
And yawning graves give up their dead,
To haunt the faithless swain.

" Bethink thee, William, of thy fault,
Thy pledge and broken oath ;
And give me back my maiden vow,
And give me back my troth.

" Why did you promise love to me,
And not that promise keep ?
Why did you say my eyes were bright,
Yet leave those eyes to weep ?

" How could you say my face was fair,
And yet that face forsake ?
How could you win my virgin heart,
Yet leave that heart to break ?

" How could you say my lip was sweet,
And make the scarlet pale ?
And why did I, young witless maid,
Believe the flatt'ring tale ?

" That face, alas ! no more is fair,
These lips no longer red ;
Dark are my eyes, now closed in death,
And ev'ry charm is fled.

" The hungry worm my sister is ;
This winding sheet I wear ;
And cold and weary lasts our night,
Till that last morn appear.

" But hark ! the clock has warn'd me hence ;
A long and late adieu !
Come see, false man, how low she lies
That died for love of you.

"The lark sung out, the morning smiled
With beams of rosy red;
Pale William quaked in ev'ry limb,
And, raving, left his bed.

"He hied him to the fatal place
Where Margaret's body lay,
And stretch'd him on the green grass turf
That wrapt her breathless clay.

"And thrice he call'd on Margaret's name,
And thrice he wept full sore;
Then laid his cheek on her cold grave,
And word spake never more."

Of John Home, a writer of plays, David Hume said that possessed "the true theatric genius of Shakespeare and way, refined from the unhappy barbarism of the one, and e licentiousness of the other," which criticism, we fear, ll find but few endorsers. David Hume, though he oc-ionally indulged in the manufacturing of verses, never rose ove mediocrity. James Beattie (born 1735) was a poet of auty, gentleness and repose. He was not only a poet, but a oral philosopher. Many of his verses are of a didactic ture.

James Grahame was also a poet of a religious character. He s the author of a poem called *The Sabbath*, and others like nature, but possessed no genius; his thoughts seldom e above the mediocre or fall below it. His language is mple, though often redundant; he fails in energy but excels tenderness, and, on the whole, will be enjoyed by those o love a moral dissertation, poetical or otherwise.

William Hamilton, of Bangour, was the poet of the polite iety of Scotland during the first part of the eighteenth ntury. His poems were marked for "just sentiment, fanciful vention, pleasing sensibility, elegant diction, and smooth rsification." John Wilson's career as a poet, which had just ened with the publication of the *Clyde*, and which gave nsiderable promise, was brought to a sudden termination. ing impecunious, and having a large family, Mr. Wilson s constrained to accept the mastership of the grammar hool at Greenoch, under the condition that he would

abandon "the profane and unprofitable art of poem-making," which art the people of the thriving port of Greenoch evidently held in abomination.

Robert Ferguson (born 1750) paid but little attention to song writing, appealing more to the fancy than the heart. He wrote both in his own and the English language, but his best efforts were in his own dialect, and his happiest vein runs through those compositions which relate to the home life of Scotland. *The Farmer's Ingle*, *Hame Content*, a satire, and *Leith Races*, are ranked among his best. His distinguishing features are a gaiety of fancy and a melody of rhythm. Burns was not ashamed to model after him.

The ballads of Scotland are strictly national, while those Scottish poets who distinguished themselves in composition not distinctively Scottish lose their identity, as it were, and are immerged into English literature. Such is largely the case with Thomson, Smollett, Scott, Campbell. Burns is preëminently the poet of the Scots, every line of whose verse seems identified with Scotland. Thomson's renown as a poet is due to his *Seasons* which occupies a prominent place in English literature. Thomson was eminently a poet of nature, and notwithstanding his overstrained elevation of style, pomposity, or stiltedness of expression, his keen perception of nature renders his poems particularly beautiful. In anything pertaining to dramatic poetry, Thomson decidedly failed. His representation of passion is cold and vapid, and he possessed little or no ability to depict character. In song writing he also failed, and to his credit be it said, he wrote but few.

We pass over Smollett, merely remarking that he is best known by his novels; but there is another poet of this period without mention of whom the list of the principal Scottish poets would be decidedly incomplete—Macpherson, the reputed author of *The Poems of Ossian*, whom we have before noticed. Tenderness and sublimity are the principal characteristics of these poems. The conception is distinctively dramatic; the time, scene, and person are vividly presented to the reader. The word-paintings are particularly strong and effective. The style is as picturesque as the scene

ıd characters it delineates; it is short, abrupt, and concise, yet ›etical; it is highly figurative and crowded with metaphors ıd similes, which, instead of diminishing its strength, tend to ıcrease it, being generally in such perfect harmony with the hole.

There is no lightness nor levity in these poems, no oc-ısional dropping into a sort of sprightly gaiety. Ossian seems to ng from the fulness of his heart; he depicts the earnest side f human nature, its passions and aspirations. There is a athetic tenderness and a grand sublimity throughout, and we re ofttimes reminded of the Holy Writ—that rich glowing nagery of the East.

"Star of descending night! fair is thy light in the west! Thou nat liftest thy unshorn head from thy cloud; thy steps are tately on the hill. What dost thou behold on the plain? The tormy winds are laid. The murmur of the torrent comes rom afar. Roaring waves climb the distant rock. The flies f the evening are on their feeble wings; the hum of their ourse is on the field. But dost thou smile and depart. The vaves come with joy around thee; they bathe thy lovely hair. Farewell, thou silent beam!"*

Also, "Our youth is like the dream of the hunter on the ill of heath. He sleeps in the mild beams of the sun; he wakes amidst a storm; the red lightning flies around; trees hake their heads to the wind! He looks back with joy to the ay of the sun, and the pleasant dreams of his rest."†

Oithona is such an excellent representative poem of the uthor, showing his delicate skill in portraying a maiden's feel-ngs, that we feel constrained to cite from it.

Gaul, the son of Morni, is obliged to leave his lady-love, Oithona, to join an expedition under Fingal, promising to eturn on a certain day. But when he returns, "darkness dwells round Dunlathmon, though the moon shows half her face on he hill. * * * No long streaming beam of light comes rembling through the gloom. The voice of Oithona is not eard amidst the noise of the streams of Duvranna. * * *

* *The Songs of Selma.*
† *The War of Inis-Thona.*

The gates were open and dark. The winds were blustering in the hall. The trees strewed the threshold with leaves; the murmur of the night was abroad. Sad and silent, as a rock, the son of Morni sat; his soul trembled for the maid; but he knew not whither to turn his course."

Oithona appears to Gaul in a dream, and tells him that a rejected suitor has forcibly abducted her, and hidden her in a cave on a desert island. Gaul immediately goes to her rescue. "On the third day arose Tromalhon like a blue shield in the midst of the sea. The white waves roared against its rocks; sad Oithona sat on the coast! She looked on the rolling waters, and her tears came down. But when she saw Gaul in his arms, she started, and turned her eyes away. Her lovely cheek is bent and red; her white arm trembles by her side. Thrice she strove to fly from his presence; thrice her steps failed as she went!" Gaul implores her to remain. "'Young Chief of Strumon,' replied the maid, 'why comest thou over the dark-blue wave to Nuäth's mournful daughter! Why did I not pass away in secret, like the flower of the rock, that lifts its fair head unseen, and strews its withered leaves in the blast!'"

While they are talking, the chief of Cuthal appears. Oithona beseeches her lover to hide. He refuses, but bids her retire to the cave while he encounters their foe. "Oithona went to the cave. A troubled joy rose on her mind, like the red path of lightning on a stormy cloud! Her soul was resolved; the tear was dried from her wildly-looking eye." Gaul slays his foe, ten of his attendants putting the rest to flight. As he returned to Oithona's cave, he beheld a youth leaning against a rock fatally wounded. It was Oithona. "She had armed herself in the cave, and came forth in search of death. Her heavy eyes were half closed; the blood was flowing from her heaving side. 'Son of Morni,' she said, 'prepare the narrow tomb. Sleep grows like darkness on my soul. The eyes of Oithona are dim! O, had I dwelt at Duvranna, in the bright beam of my fame! then had my years come with joy; the virgins would then bless my steps. But I fall in youth, son of Morni; my father shall blush in his hall!'"

The Poems of Ossian need to be read at one's leisure, a ttle at a time, for one cannot sustain long the high flight of nagination necessary to following their author.

"The poetic genius of my country found me, as the pro- hetic bard Elijah did Elisha at the PLOUGH, and threw her spiring mantle over me. She bade me sing the lives, the ys, the rural scenes and rural pleasures, of my native soil in y native tongue. I tuned my wild, artless notes as she in- ired." * Herein lies the secret of Burns' great power. Al- ough the Ayrshire ploughman is particularly the poet of the cots, and has rendered the poesie of their country immortal y his genius, he opened a new era in the history of English oetry. That elegant classicism that renders the century pre- ding Burns' appearance in the literary world so conspicuous the history of English literature, had gradually worn itself t under the scores of rhymsters who sought to walk in the otsteps of those distinguished poets who had raised poetry an art, and whose shoe-latchet they were not worthy to un- ose. Burns does not seek his inspiration from that which is eyond human ken; he looks upon earth as a revelation of at great beyond; he sees its exceeding beauty, and his art rejoices thereof. Neither does he ransack the storehouse human learning for something he may tastefully dress out verse; nor do we find any of that morbid sentimentalism of ose poets who were on the ebbing wave of classicism, and hose themes were principally death, immortality, and the un- tisfactoriness of life; but we do find occasional cries that em to come out of the lowest depths of human woe, and ut- red when even the light of heaven seemed to veil itself from s longing eyes. But such odes as *Despondency*, which follows, e the rare exception:

"Oppress'd with grief, oppress'd with care,
A burden more than I can bear,
I sit me down and sigh!
O, life! thou art a galling load,
Along a rough, a weary road,
To wretches such as I!

* Dedication of his Poems to the Earl of Glencairn.

Dim backward as I cast my view,
What sick'ning scenes appear!
What sorrows yet may pierce me thro',
Too justly I may fear!
Still caring, despairing,
Must be my bitter doom;
My woes here shall close ne'er,
But with the closing tomb!

* * * * * * *

"Oh! enviable, early days,
When dancing thoughtless pleasure's maze,
To care, to guilt unknown!
How ill exchang'd for riper times,
To feel the follies, or the crimes,
Of others, or my own!
Ye tiny elves that guiltless sport,
Like linnets in the bush,
Ye little know the ills ye court,
When manhood is your wish!
The losses, the crosses,
That active man engage!
The fears all, the tears all,
Of dim-declining age!"

There is also that mournful dirge of *Man was Made to Mourn*, which seems a fit companion to the above. These deviations from his usual sprightly and tender style, however, seem the breaking forth of a heart that is sorely laden with the burden of its own sins. This extract from *A Prayer in the Prospect of Death* gives the key-note to his whole character:

"Thou knowest that thou has formed me
With passions wild and strong;
And list'ning to their witching voice
Has often led me wrong.

"Where human weakness has come short,
Or frailty stept aside,
Do thou All-Good! for such thou art,
In shades of darkness hide."

Burns' poetry was not intended for the cultured few, to be enjoyed only in circles possessed of elegant leisure, but he sang for all; he strung his lyre to the wild wood notes of his countrymen; he sung of their loves, their joys and hopes. He deemed nothing unworthy his muse that the

All-Good" endowed with life. The Scots love him best for ese songs, tuned to so many different strains, sad and gay, tender d sprightly, pathetic and humorous, amatory and convivial.

We find naught of Burns' spirit in Sir Walter Scott. His artial lays are accompanied by fife and drum, with an occsional lute solo. The chivalric strain in his poems distinguishes m above all other Scottish poets of his type. There is no etic elegance in Scott's poems—or rather lyrics, for they are ch, and seem incomplete without the harp and voice of the instrel—and his subjects are always taken from some episode history or tradition. There is little of that poetic sentiment hich has been termed the soul communing with itself in oments of exaltation; but there is an energy, a fire and pidity of narration, a glowing picturing of scenes and incints, that chain the attention of the reader. His expression is rticularly pure, and free from that moral laxity that was so nspicuous in many poets of his day. Scott's reputation as a et, however, is subordinate to his fame as a novelist. His great nius lay in his ability to bring the dead past into the present, d to dress it in colors so true and real that the lapse of nturies is forgotten.

If Burns is the most natural and Scott the most chivalrous Scottish poets, surely Campbell is the most polished. He tained just enough of classic elegance to give his poetry a nished beauty without wearying the ear by that perfect unirmity that so marked the classical period in English literature. here is a subdued passion running through his poetry that casionally bursts its fetters, as in some passages in *The leasures of Hope*, in *O'Connor's Child*, or *The Flower of ove lies bleeding*, and in some of his shorter poems. *The leasures of Hope*, the first and most ambitious of his efforts, minds one much of Pope's didactic poems. Its great popularis owing undoubtedly to the poet's exquisite drapery of ven the most common thoughts:

> "Why to yon mountain turns the musing eye,
> Whose sunbright summit mingles with the sky?
> Why do those cliffs of shadowy tint appear
> More sweet that all the landscape smiling near

'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountain in its azure hue.
Thus, with delight, we linger to survey
The promised joys of life's unmeasured way;
Thus, from afar, each dim-discovered scene
More pleasing seems than all the past hath been,
And every form, that Fancy can repair
From dark oblivion, glows divinely there."

The sweet idyllic style of *Gertrude of Wyoming* is peculiarly happy,—the description of the paradisiacal spot in the wilds of America, of the gentle and dignified Albert, the lovely Gertrude, the manly Henry and of Outalissi.

" A soul that pity touch'd, but never shook;
Train'd from his tree-rock'd cradle to his bier,
The fierce extremes of good and ill to brook
Impassive—fearing but the shame of fear—
A stoic of the woods—a man without a tear!"

Both *Gertrude of Wyoming* and *Theodric* evince the poet's ability to depict forcibly the charms of domestic love, and the tales are simply and naturally developed. Campbell excelled in the ballad style; there is a dramatic element combining with a felicitous mode of expression to render them particularly effective, as in *O'Connor's Child*, *Lothiel's Warning*, etc. His odes are written with stirring power, and his songs with a tenderness and grace that entitle him to a prominent place among the song writers of Scotland.

Among Campbell's college friends was Hamilton Paul, who often contested with Campbell for academical rewards for the best poetical compositions, and received the distinction of at least once having his verses preferred to those of one of Scotland's best poets. Notwithstanding Paul's poetic talent, of which he possessed considerable, he attached little value to his poetical efforts, which were either impromptu, or the work of a sitting, and when written, forgotten, unless preserved by some friend. In his youth he wrote several poems that were received with favor—among which was a ballad called *The Maid of Inverary*—and his songs were sung at many a cottage hearth.

There are many poets subsequent to Burns whose names

eserve some mention if for nothing more than for their eautiful little ballads. Among those poets who seem to orm the connecting link between the old and recent min-relsy of Scotland, is Rev. John Skinner (born 1721), who as an author of considerable repute, of both prose and poetry, he latter compositions appearing under the title of *Amuse-ents of Leisure Hours*; and, notwithstanding the length f Mr. Skinner's songs, none excepting those of the Ayrshire ard have maintained a stronger hold on the Scottish heart. he most popular of these songs are *Tullochgorum*, *John o' Bandenyon*, and *The Ewie wi' the Crookit Horn*, all of which re pervaded with a sprightly and pleasing good-humored irony.

Hector Macneill was likewise a poet of unusual power n depicting the rural life of Scotland. He published many oems and songs which are characterized by "tenderness and athos, combined with unity of feeling, and a simplicity al-ays genuine and true to nature;" also by a "softness and mirth, n insinuating grace of manners, and a decorum of expression, ith no small skill in the dramatic arrangement of his stories." *Scotland's Skaith, or the History of Will and Jean*, and its equel, entitled *The Waes o' War*, ballads which rank mong his happiest conceptions, are representations of rural ife and the debasing consequences of intemperance, the pub-ication of which gave his name a wide popularity.

James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd," passed his boyhood nd early manhood tending flocks, with but six months ttendance at school. His early days were spent in excessive oil, forgetting everything he learned at school, and amusing himself as a country clown. At the age of fourteen he purchased n old violin, and possessing a musical ear, he soon played all his favorite airs. At the age of eighteen he began learning to read under his own tuition, with Henry the Minstrel's *Life and Adventures of Sir William Wallace*, and Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, as his text books. Not till when nearly twenty-six years old did he attempt verse-making, writing for the amusement of the shepherd maidens, who awarded him the title of "Jamie the Poeter." Gradually, very gradually, however, his fame extended beyond the district in which he

lived, and he formed the acquaintance of some of the best poets of the United Kingdom. He published in 1803 a collection of poems and ballads, embodying some old and curious traditions, under the title of *The Mountain Bard.* This was one of his first ventures. His happiest poetical composition, however, was *The Queen's Wake*, which was a narrative poem having reference to the landing of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen Mary. Hogg wrote many poems, all of which are impressed with his genius.

"Next to Robert Burns," says the Rev. Charles Rogers, "the Ettrick Shepherd is unquestionably the most distinguished of Scottish bards. Sprung from the ranks of the people, in the region of the supernatural he stands alone. A child of the forest, nursed among the wilds, and tutored among the solitudes of nature, his strong and vigorous imagination had received impressions from the mountain, the cataract, the torrent, and the wilderness, and was filled with pictures and images of the mysterious, which those scenes were calculated to awaken. 'Living for years in solitude,' writes Professor Wilson (*Blackwood's Magazine*, Vol. IV, p. 521), 'he unconsciously formed friendships with the springs, the brooks, the caves, the hills, and with all the more fleeting and faithless pageantry of the sky, that to him came in place of those human affections, from whose indulgence he was debarred by the necessities that kept him aloof from the cottage fire, and up among the mists on the mountain top. The still, green beauty of the pastoral hills and vales where he passed his youth, inspired him with ever brooding visions of fairy-land till, as he lay musing in his lonely shieling, the world of phantasy seemed, in the clear depths of his imagination, a lovelier reflection of that of nature, like the hills and heavens more softly shining in the water of his native lake.' Hogg was in his element, as he revelled amid the supernatural, and luxuriated in the realms of faëry: the mysterious gloom of superstition was lit up into brilliancy by the potent wand of his enchantment, and before the splendor of his genius. His ballad of *Kilmeny* in the *Queen's Wake*, is the emanation of a poetical mind evidently

the most gifted order; never did bard conceive a finer fairy
e, or painter portray a picture of purer or more spiritual
l exquisite sweetness. *The Witch of Fife*, another ballad
the *Wake*, has scarcely a parallel in wild unearthliness and
ror; and we know not if sentiments more spiritual and
olime are to be found in any poetry than in some passages
The Pilgrims of the Sun. His ballads and songs are sweet
l musical, and replete with pathos and pastoral dignity."*
Robert Tannahill's songs are full of sweetness and grace,
h in description of nature's beauties, and pervaded with
nderness. His poems are inferior to his songs, and are but
tle known. What could exceed the graceful simplicity of
ssie, the Flower of Dumblane:

" The sun has gane down o'er the lofty Benlomond,
And left the red clouds to preside o'er the scene,
While lanely I stray in the calm simmer gloamin'
To muse on sweet Jessie, the flower o' Dumblane.
How sweet is the briar, wi' its saft faulding blossom,
And sweet is the birk, wi' its mantle o' green ;
Yet sweeter and fairer, and dear to this bosom,
Is lovely young Jessie, the flower o' Dumblane." etc.

Allan Cunningham, the author of *Songs of Scotland*, ranks
ext to Hogg as a song writer. Hogg thus speaks of him in
he *Queen's Wake:*

" Of the old elm his harp was made,
That bent o'er Cluden's loneliest shade ;
No gilded sculpture round her flamed,
For his own hand that harp had framed,
In stolen hours, when, labour done,
He stray'd to view the parting sun.
* * * * * * *
That harp could make the matron stare,
Bristle the peasant's hoary hair,
Make patriot breasts with ardour glow,
And warrior pant to meet the foe ;
And long by Nith the maidens young
Shall chant the strains their minstrel sung.
At ewe-bught, or at evening fold,
When resting on the daisied wold,
Combing their locks of waving gold,

* *The Scottish Minstrel*, p. 106.

Oft the fair group, enrapt, shall name
Their lost, their darling Cunninghame;
His was a song beloved in youth,
A tale of weir, a tale of truth."

Cunningham wrote both prose and verse with ur felicity. His imagination was warm and luxuriant, ar sentiment sweet.

John Wilson was not only a dramatic and narrative but a prose writer of unusual strength and eloqu better known, perhaps, as "Christopher North," one o chief supports and for many years editor of *Blacku Magazine*. Although a novelist and poet, he was more distinguished for his elegant dissertations and sophical essays. His poetical works were published ir octavo volumes, included in which is *The City o Plague*, a dramatic poem. Although there is a boldn imagery and a gorgeousness of description in his essay poems are principally characterized by grace and gentle p

A poet of considerable ingenuity and power was D Moore, and though but slightly known in the literary had he lived longer he must have established his name a the most gifted of modern Scottish poets. Although dy his thirty-sixth year, he published a large number of p among which were *The African, a Tale; and other P The Bridal Night, The Bard of the North*, a series of cal Tales, *illustrative of Highland Scenery and Char* etc. The themes were of an exalted character, and his was vigorous, lofty, and rich with imagery. We mus neglect to mention in the same connection Henry Riddell, a lyric poet, who sung of his country, of its moun its valleys; of its people, of their simple joys and life, an altogether one of the most pleasing of national songsters.

While we have thus far omitted mentioning the invocators of the Scottish muse, Scotland owes of her sweetest ballads to the gentler sex, as witness *Robin Gray*. This exquisite little ballad was writte Lady Anne Barnard and published anonymously; but no more than a half a century after its composition di

thoress acknowledge herself. Only one more lyric of her's s been preserved, *Why tarries my love? Auld Robin Gray*, Walter Scott says, "is that real pastoral which is worth the dialogues which Corydon and Phillis have had together, m the days of Theocritus downwards." Ritson considers ere is united in this beautiful ballad all that tenderness and nplicity for which Scottish song has been so much celebrated, th a delicacy of expression that has never before been ained. Both Mrs. John Hunter and Mrs. G. G. Richardson ere also accomplished poets, whose poetry has been very well ceived. Joanna Baillie and Caroline, Baroness Nairne, how-er, are the representative lady poets of Scotland. Joanna illie wrote principally dramatic poetry, and though her amas are deficient in incident, and she did not display the ill that increases the interest till the curtain falls on a grand max, they were very well received, and she stands well among odern dramatists. Her style is almost masculine in its energy d force, but is softened nevertheless by feminine grace. She so wrote many popular songs. Baroness Nairne was a poetess much sweetness and grace; she wrote many lyrics which ere designed to correct a certain looseness and coarseness at pervaded the songs in common use among the peasantry. e wrote *The Land o' the Leal*, *The Laird o' Cockpen*, and any other popular songs.

Having now taken an extensive survey of Scottish poetry, e find that the lyric is the prevailing style. We discover t little of the epic—if we may except *Fingal*—or the tiric or dramatic, which is probably due to the disfavor with hich the theatre was regarded,—those "gate-ways to Hell," a modern preacher has termed it. As card playing was oked upon as an abomination, and many of the amusements hich serve to relieve the tedium of long winter evenings ere classed among those worthy of the devil, the youths of cotland turned to their national songs as a *dernier ressort*. t is to the austerity of Calvinism that Scotland owes many of e most beautiful ballads of either ancient or modern times.

MAY F. MILLER.

Art. V.—American Mines and Mining Interests.

1. *Mineral Resources of the United States from 1866 1876.* J. Ross Browne and Rossiter W. Raymon United States Commissioners.
2. *Reports of State Officers in California, Nevada an Colorado, and of the Governors and Territorial Of cials of Utah, Montana, Arizona and Idaho f 1878-79.*
3. *Annual Reviews of Business, etc.*, published by t daily journals of Denver, Salt Lake, San Francis Leadville, etc. 1879.
4. *Reports of United States General Land Office; Maj Powell's Report on the Public Lands; United Sta Mining Laws*, and sundry Bills before Congress.

One would hardly expect the late A. T. Stewart to appe in the role of a sage, or wear the garb of an ethical philosoph Yet some evidence of prescience on the part of the gr merchant has been found, which deserves mention. In diary kept by an old-time mining pioneer and engineer, a entries going back to the early days of 1850, when the diari landing in New York, a youth of nineteen, *en route* from I home to that Ultima Thule of all adventure—California—fou himself, in accord with a promise to his distant parents in t north of Ireland, calling on Mr. Stewart, then just rising in eminence as the prince of merchants. The youth's father a the dealer in dry goods were old school-fellows, whose frien ship had continued long after. Naturally enough, objecti had been made at home to the young man's bold ventu and Mr. Stewart had been asked to persuade the eager argona

o stay his quest for the modern golden fleece in Manhattan sland, at least. The merchant faithfully fulfilled the request. inding it impossible to move the young adventurer from his urpose, he turned to the task of entertaining him during his rief visit. The diary records in summary the conversation, r rather monologue, that Mr. Stewart indulged in, and it is this or which this introduction is designed.

Mr. Stewart, so the diarist records, talked at length about he new gold discoveries, advising his young friend as to the ourse he should take and the business he should follow. He proeeded to say, among other things, that as to the extent and mportance of the discoveries there could be no doubt whatver. He questioned very much, however, whether or no it as an event likely to prove in the end beneficial to this epublic. His words impressed his visitor strongly, for he ecorded them at some length. The effect of the gold discovries would be, said Mr. Stewart, enormously to increase the ational wealth, but it would also, he added, change the habits f the people and deteriorate the moral character of the ommunity itself. From a simple and prudent nation, of oderate social aspirations, we should become one of complex ssociations, acquiring luxurious habits, and assuming the easy ices of speculative wealth suddenly acquired. Our merchant oralizer suggested, as recorded by his visitor, that it was to im more than questionable whether the change would not in he end undermine the republic itself, by corrupting and estroying the simple virtues which, in his view, best befitted democracy, and alone made it possible or desirable.

Perhaps Mr. Stewart was too much of a pessimist in his onclusions, but it is certain they give striking proofs of a lever sagacity for which the world, except on matters of rade, has hardly given him credit. Whatever may be said of is moralizings, it is certainly true that the discovery of gold n California has exercised a wonderful influence upon the haracter and movements of the American people. Its force as been dynamical, and its influence almost subtilely psyhological. Hardly can its effects be said to have been surpassed y those of the civil war. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the

latter would have occurred at the time it did, but for that discovery in a lonely California valley during the Spring of 1849. And not alone has that event changed America. It has influenced every bourse, and controlled or shaped the operations of every exchange. It has made and unmade empires; for without the profit resulting from the event at Sutter's Fort, troops could not have been equipped, and the vast armaments of Europe could not have been maintained.

Let us consider, for a moment, the marvellous decades of adventure that followed; the new and striking series of strange and fascinating industries that have been evolved; the sterile mountains and deserts that have been scaled and conquered; the vast capital that has been created; the mighty enterprises that mining for the precious metals has organized and put into fructifying activity; and the wondrous play of dramatic intensities that have accompanied the Age of Gold, the rush of speculation, the mastering fury for obtaining riches. Let us recall the career of the new millionaires, and follow the lines of their sudden rise. Truly, "the last shall be first," but as yet the first are not the last. From the bar-room and the stable to the bank and the mine; from prospecting poverty-laden labor to bonanza-crowned superlativeness; from cabin to palace, from penury to affluence, and ofttimes, in later years, from the latter to the former, have been among the distinctive incidents of mining life and society. Its influences are shaping the lintels of every ambitious household in the land, as we step lightly and unreflectingly into the garish light of a great speculative era, and stand eager amid the babel of the marts, to achieve a sudden access of riches, each individually striving to obtain something for nothing, and the majority failing to perceive one iota of the long foreground of toil and preparation, endurance and struggle, failure and achievement, that has gone before in order to make possible that ready flow of assured prosperity which seems to be accompanying the great revival of interest in mining for the precious metals.

In a national sense, the large production of bullion must

tend to increase our international influence and power. At this period of the world's material civilization, it is evident that the nation which possesses in the largest degree the greatest area of natural productiveness, which holds the readiest methods of accessibility to distributive channels and agencies, and commands the largest consociation of trained energies, is the nation which will hold the largest place in the world's affairs. It is not necessary to name the nation now possessing these attributes in a preëminent degree. A glance at some striking figures will amply establish the fact—whatever other discoveries of the precious metals may be made—that the United States is really the world's principal resource of gold and silver—and that the production is now on the eve of a great increase.

The most superficial student of history will find that the increase or decrease of the precious metals has had a marked influence in aiding or retarding civilization. Probably this will be found due, on analytical investigation, to certain striking facts,—in that the pursuit of the precious metals on a large scale has always intensified the struggle for existence, moving masses of men from firm roots, and forcing them through the crevices and rents of conventional habits and associations, thus developing strength of character; and also in the economic reason that no production of bullion on a large scale can be achieved without compelling a consumption and distribution on one almost commensurate with it.

But to return to the proofs of the assumptions herein made: *First*—That the production of bullion and its increase or decrease have had a marked influence for good or evil on civilization; and, *Second*—That the United States are largely to be the world's cashier, and therefore likely to become the controller of its exchanges, and foremost among the chief promoters of its activities.

During the discussion of 1876–'77–'78, relating to the double standard, on the floor of the Senate, as well also as in the able report of the Silver Commission with its appendices and accumulated expert testimony, Senator John P. Jones, of Nevada, the very able advocate of bi-metallism, who

led that debate and presided over the commission
presented in a striking form, and one that has
controverted, a tabular statement illustrative of the
upon civilization of the world's supply of the precious
The senator presented this table as a potent a
against the fallacious policy of forced contraction as
of bringing about a resumption of business prosperi
showed that a decrease in the volume of money, wh
coin or of any substitute, was accompanied by fallin
and that the latter were always the sign and evidence
nation in business, enforced idleness for willing labo
ruptcy to capital invested in production, and profit onl
which loans, lends, and can accumulate on the misfo
the community. It is not proposed here more than
to this view of a theme so pregnant. The stock on
various historical periods indubitably shows that p
attends the production and accumulation of the
metals.*

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* In a recent Leipsic publication, Dr. Adolph Soetbeer has mad
lowing tabular statement of the world's production of gold and silver
amounts on hand at the different periods named :

TOTAL PRODUCTION OF PRECIOUS METALS FROM 1493

COUNTRIES.	—According to Weigh SILVER. kilogrammes.	GOL kilogra
Germany	7,904,910	...
Austro-Hungary	7,770,135	460
Various European Countries	7,382,000	...
Russian Empire	2,428,940	1,033
Africa	.....	731
Mexico	76,205,400	265
New Granada	.....	1,214
Peru	31,222,000	163
Potosi (Bolivia)	37,717,600	294
Chili	2,609,000	263
Brazil	.....	1,037
United States	5,271,500	2,026
Australia	.....	1,812
Various countries	2,000,000	151
Total	180,511,485	9,453

The American reader can make a calculation as to the values in the above table upon the basis of a kilogramme (1000 grammes) b to 15,434 grains Troy : this will give for silver $\$41\frac{637}{1485}$, and for gold standard of the United States. The estimates can be made in dolla basis of $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver and of $23\frac{223}{100}$ grains of pure gold.

Let us glance for a moment at the amount of the production the precious metals since the historial era:

THE WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF GOLD.

From earliest dates to the Christian Era.....	$1,400,000,000
From the latter date to 1493	3,900,000,000
From that date to 1853	3,000,000,000
From 1853 to 1879	2,025,597,158
Total.....	$10,325,597,158

As to the other metal, the following is the best estimate t can be obtained of

THE WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF SILVER.

Before 1493...	$1,129,000,000
From that date to 1879..... ...	6,554,022,132
Total.	$7,683,022,132

Of this vast total it will be instructive to learn how ge a proportion has been produced in the United States ce the discovery of gold in California. The following ures are those of the United States Mint, of the State reports Nevada and of the annual statements of Wells, Fargo & Co., e leading carriers of bullion:

GOLD.

From 1849 to 1879 (30 years).....	$1,493,843,430

SILVER.

From 1858 to 1879 (21 years).....	$420,000,000

The United States has produced in the thirty years above ed about one-fourth of the world's total gold production, d of silver in the twenty-one years named, at least one-third it. These facts establish the rank of America as a bullion oducer.

A little further analysis will serve to throw light on th subject of the relations of the world's stock of bullion an the social condition of mankind. Before the Christian era th average annual gold product was but $2,000,000. There is n means of estimating the average increase of silver in civilize Asia at the period indicated. From the beginning of our er until the discovery of America by Columbus, the annual averag production of silver was but $3,000,000. From 1493 t 1849 — a period of three hundred and fifty-six years — th annual yield of gold-bullion, owing to Mexican, Peruvian an Russian mining, rose to $24,000,000. Taking the first decad of our thirty years, embracing the Pacific Coast and antip dean discoveries and production, the total production reache at least $80,000,000 per annum. Since that date it has bee not less than $78,000,000 per annum. The increase of silve has been proportionately large.

The area from which this vast production of the precio metals has been obtained, presents in its wonderful physic features, its sublime scenery, its remarkable geological an other economic aspects, its climate and its enormous exten features that command the statesman, attract the artist, encha the traveller and arouse the scientist, the adventurous and ente prising. In general terms it may be stated that within th United States (not including Alaska), the mineral-bearin mountain system, including the foot-hills on its longitudin flanks east and west, extends from the Rocky Mountains to th Sierras, about 1,200 miles, and from the boundary of norther Mexico to the basin of the Columbia, about 1,000 mile The American Cordillera, says Gov. Wm. Gilpin, "is longitu dinal in direction, uniform in structure, in rocks and in conten throughout its whole length of 12,000 miles from Cape Hor to Behring's Strait." The mountain formation of the norther continent is most remarkable in the grand simplicity of i features. Passing the outer rim on the east of the continent, vast basin is crossed from the Alleghanies to the foot-hills o the Rocky Mountains. This stupendous mountain system bea on its face the evidence of the vast ocean-waves that once bea against its eastern marge; while on the far western lines, th

e left even more indubitable proofs of them. Longi-
the general course of the Cordillera is very nearly
south, with a slight trend to the east at the south
e west at the north. From the front range of the
ntains to the massive singleness of the "cloud-com-
Sierras, the distance is about 1,000 miles. In a
se it may be said that between these two lines lies
nountain plateau. It is in fact only that at its
ermination, where the enormous formation known
ts as the Colorado plateau is to be seen. There are
t basin divisions, separated by transverse mountain
hese basins are the Colorado, Salt Lake, and that of
bia. They are supplemented on the east by the
figurations of the Rio Grande and by the Yellowstone
the north and south. These primal features are to
n mind, as they have much to do in deciding
rial development of this great region. There
the face of the basins indicated, parallel mountain
nding, as a rule, north-east and south-west. At one
the whole of this mountain area were spread the
es of a great ocean, and at a subsequent date the stiller
a later geological sea. These facts are of great im-
in ascertaining the mineralogical value of this
The evidence is abundant of the great agencies,
dynamic and chemical, by which metalliferous accre-
been created and rocks mineralized in "place and
s lode, vein, pocket, fissure, contact, deposit, or from
d glacial action, as gravel, seam and placer. The
of the inter-mountain region indicates, as clearly
geological features the mineralization of the region,
gineer will find in the troughs of the parallel ranges
le road-beds of an interlacing system of narrow
lways, carrying the local errands and freight;
standard gauge lines, mainly crossing from east to
erve as the arteries, of which the other system will
ne veins and nerves of intercommunication. What
be accomplished can readily be seen by taking note
s already been achieved during the thirty years in

which mining for the precious metals has been carried
various, and as a rule quite separate and isolated, porti
the great region under consideration.

Nothing will better exhibit this achievement than a co
hensive summary of what has been accomplished in the g
of population and of the facilities for transportation. Be
in mind that, thirty years since, the whole of the regio
of the Missouri River was marked either as "Indian terri
or the "great American desert," and the facts are inde
tounding. Let us take the population first, and the
railways. The annexed tables speak for themselves:

Population of the Mining States and Territories

[*Given by U. S. Census, from 1850 to 1870, with an estimate of population for*

	1850	1860	1870	
California*.....	92,597	379,994	560,247	
Colorado	——	34,277	39,864	
Nevada.....	——	6,857	42,491	
Oregon.....	13,291	52,465	90,923	
Arizona†.....	——	——	9,658	
Dakota†.....	——	4,887	14,181	
Idaho	——	——	14,999	
Montana	——	——	20,595	
New Mexico	61,547	93,516	91,874	
Washington	——	11,594	23,955	
Wyoming†.....	——	——	9,118	
Utah†.....	11,380	40,273	86,786	
Totals.....	188,815	623,863	1,004,691	

* California had a population of nearly 15,000 two years befo
was discovered at Sutter's Mill on the American River; this consisted
of Mexicans and Indians.

† Arizona formed part of New Mexico until 1863. The Indian po
of the new territory was about 18,000, and the white (chiefly Mexica
not over 2,000. A part—not more than a fraction of the 4380 persons
as in the population of Utah in 1850—were inhabitants of the Carson Va
one or two other points in what now forms the State of Nevada, then embr
the territorial lines of Deseret, as the Mormons designate the great m
basin of Utah. Dakota was unnamed in 1850, and formed part of the t
of Minnesota.

ROAD MILEAGE WITHIN THE MINERAL-BEARING AND TERRITORIES OF THE WEST FROM 1866 TO INCLUSIVE.

1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.
306	382	468	702	925	1,013	1,042	1,208	1,328	1,503	1,919	2,080	2,165	2,165
—	—	—	—	157	328	483	603	682	807	957	1,045	1,238	1,305
—	30	402	402	593	593	601	601	601	601	631	631	631	631
19	19	19	60	159	159	241	241	248	248	248	248	284	314
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	183
—	—	—	—	65	234	275	275	275	275	275	290	305	525
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	126	216
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	126
—	—	—	257	257	257	349	372	459	506	506	506	506	636
—	82	447	447	459	459	459	459	459	459	459	465	465	465
—	—	—	—	—	25	65	105	110	110	110	197	206	206
325	513	1,336	1,868	2,615	3,068	3,515	3,864	4,163	4,509	5,105	5,362	5,956	6,770

atter of fact, our entire inter-continental railroad t of the Missouri River is due mainly to the ven by California and Nevada mining; and its pro- rease is largely the result of the development of this al region. Taking, then, the railroad mileage of plains, foot-hills, and mountains—with its wondrous y, plateau and basin region—as seen in the trans- ction and our mountain area, and we shall find the uggestive facts of

RAILROAD MILEAGE:	Miles.
.....	1,072
.....	4,821
.....	8,808
....	11,235

grand total, at least two-thirds of the whole may be rectly to the influence of our mining industry. The timulus it has given for the past thirty years to the f the whole country, and especially to that connected ast region more immediately under consideration, is . Remembering that, thirty-one years ago, on the

eastern line, from Kansas City to Pembina north and south, and from San Diego to Puget Sound on its western ocean bounds in all the great area between these two lines on the east and west, and within the British-American boundary on the north, and by the upper lines of Texas and the Mexican frontier on the south, there were not more than 25,000 white inhabitants, either American or European, and that the only other inhabitants consisted of 200,000 savage nomads, and 50,000 half-breeds, Mexican or French Canadian voyageurs, vacqueros, peons, and rancheros—the change affected is indeed marvellous. The first glistening of those tiny nuggets of yellow ore which, at Sutter's Fort, was washed out of the dirt turned over in preparing a mill-race, and then plunged by a woman into a pot of lye in order to test its character—this first discovery of gold in California, so far as Americans are concerned, was indeed an event carrying with it momentous consequences. Within this almost untrod wilderness, only explored to the north by Lewis and Clarke, Bonneville, Isaac Stevens, and a few others; explored to the southward by Pike, Bartlett, the gallant Phil. Kearney, Joe Johnston, Emery, and other officers of the regular army; and in the centre by Pike, Fremont, Gunnison and a half-score of other gallant men, we now find a population of at least 3,000,000 persons, divided among six great States and eight territories, capable of being subdivided into at least fifteen States, having over 12,500 miles of railroad lines constructed, equipped, and running; possessing one great city—San Francisco—worthy the name of commercial metropolis, and two score or more of other cities of great local importance, some few of which, as Denver, Leadville, Salt Lake City, Tucson, are destined to become great centres of business; presenting an assessed property valuation of several hundred millions, with at least 25,000 miles of railroad and telegraphs; counting, also, the two greatest wheat-producing States in the Union—Kansas and California—with Nebraska, Dakota, Montana, and Oregon scarcely inferior; having also a great corn-producing region, the finest cattle and sheep-grazing area within the two seas, enormous bodies of timber lands; great rivers flowing into either ocean, navigable for several thousand miles; a western

of 2,000 miles,—altogether forming a physical con-
stupendous in its aspect and wondrously captivating
nts of nature and sciences. That this development
ow the discovery of gold and the successful working
des, is, in itself, a fact of amazing significance.
he present revival of interest in mining enterprises
of profitable investment, it is but proper that the
npensation should take its course. If it be true
old mining of California and the silver mining of
ve had so remarkable an influence upon the settle-
levelopment of the great mountain west, up to the
ad reached at the close of 1879, it follows as a
equence that the increased mining facilities should
augment the area of profit and the field of
rations. If the trans-Missouri railroad system owes
re of its activity to the influence of mining, it is
nexpected that transportation corporations should
tend the area of a pursuit so profitable to them-
is an axiom with the Central Pacific managers
od mine is more profitable to a railroad than the
small town. At the present time, therefore, and
derable period previously, the land-grant railroad
have been making and stimulating, more or less
estments in mining enterprises.
reat railroads, the Union Pacific, the Kansas Pacific,
chison, Topeka and Santa Fe—a corporation which
possessed with the idea that it really has duties to
well as privileges to possess—have opened up, and
t settled with a hardy and industrious population, the
of Kansas, Nebraska, and Colorado, besides adding
the progress of Wyoming. These corporations
1868 moved nearly a million persons, settling them
eretofore supposed to be fit only for grazing
These roads have found themselves blocked in
by the mountains. To build roads over them is
stop building is almost as expensive, and far more
n to construct. These railroads, and others related
ave done and are now doing all that is possible

to stimulate capital to invest in mines. Possibly this v
be denied, because mining has heretofore been regarded a
"wild-cat" business. Even while this article is in course
preparation, a responsible business man in the commer
metropolis denounces to the writer in very harsh terms
mining enterprises, and declares he would ask any gentlen
associated with him in the conduct of a great ocean-carry
company, who should invest his own money in a mining en
prise, or be interested in its management, to vacate the of
of which our conservative critic is the American manager.

Investment follows the lines of operative, constructing
projected railroads. A review of the western railroad extensi
now in progress shows this—taking Colorado for an object
point. A sharp struggle between the combination effec
by Jay Gould and his backers, and that of the Boston capi
ists who, from Chicago, St. Louis and Kansas City,
reaching out to hold Colorado, secure the new south-w
as a tributary section, open for future control the north
States of Mexico, and, entering California, compete w
the Central Pacific itself for a share of the great traffic
that remarkable region, has been in progress for over a y
though now settled temporarily, at least, by a compromise wh
may or may not end in a permanent combination. However t
may be, it is certain that the influence of both these power
agencies is necessarily, and as a matter of self-interest, tur
to aiding a large development of mines and mining for
precious metals. It will be interesting to trace the lines
extension and completion. These lines divide quite ap
priately into four groups: The first is the trans-continen
or east and west routes. At this time there are two
structing, the Northern Pacific and the "thirty-fifth para
route," projected first under the name of the Atlantic
Pacific, and known later by the corporate title of the
Louis and San Francisco Railway. Both these railw
will prove of great importance to the development of min
On the northern route, the mineral fields embraced
Montana, Idaho and the western portion of Washington T
tory will be made accessible, stimulating production

the distribution of the struggling and adventurous
f our population. To the south, New Mexico,
rizona and southern California are to be immensely
The railroad to Guaymas, Mexico, which is part
on corporation's plan, will largely aid in opening up
rn New Mexico and south-eastern Arizona, with their
mining possibilities, especially in the latter-named
ile at the same time cementing the friendship of
and the northern Mexicans.
ce to these arterial railway extensions across the
would, of course, not be complete without calling
the Southern Pacific, which has within five years
ucted over 1,000 miles of a continental route, and in
nas lifted a great mining territory (in its possi-
rizona— from poverty and neglect into present
and future prosperity. Next to the east and west
eries, mention must follow of three other lines or
roads running almost necessarily in a north and
tion. These are:
narrow-gauge railroads along the east flank of the
ntains, whose germ was the road known as the Denver
rande, with its adjuncts, extensions and correlated
. Under various heads it will be seen that the
ginning can be perceived in Colorado of a railroad
ain ere long to extend from the southern borders of
co, and perhaps even from the Rio Grande as far
e Gulf, on the Mexican side of the border valley
to the Yellowstone River, and doubtless also to the
he Saskatchewan. This system has its centre in
om Cheyenne, south to El Moro and Trinidad, along
ain flanks, and at Golden, Denver, Pueblo and
t projects across the front range of the "Rockies,"
ear Creek, the Platte Cañon, the Arkansas valley
and cañon, and further south up the smaller
he San Juan section, and is fighting its way to the
rk and beyond; to Leadville and the remarkable
County, and from Alamosa and Conejos into the
at wonderful region known as the San Juan, with

its San Luis Parc. Beyond these there must come unification of the mountain climbers, and out in the Gra River Valley beyond the Gunnison, there will meet and westward another huge network of transportation agenci Not one of these things is possible without the exploitati of the mineral fields known to exist in the bosom of o stupendous mountains.

All these links are now in process of active constructi It is to these things, that those who believe that mining w hereafter take rank among the very foremost of our gr national agencies of production and profit, can point wi a certainty as to their conclusions. At the present tin the railroads, operating along the mountain flank fr Cheyenne to El Moro and Conejos, north and south, a entering the Rocky Mountains mainly to the east and we have a line of at least 700 miles, and this, also, witho counting any portion of the Kansas and New Mexican line, n running from Pueblo to Sante Fé and beyond. Before t present year closes, it is probable that from 400 to 500 m miles now projected in Colorado, and about a third of which already graded, will be completed and in operation. It certain that the Saguache and Sangre del Christo ranges, t highest and most formidable portions of our Andean c tinental divide, will have been scaled and passed.

From Cheyenne, north, routes to the Black Hills are p jected, and along the mountain flank and foot-hills western and northern Wyoming, the Union Pacific has engineers in the field. By the autumn of 1880, other lin will be added to the railway chain that is to bind as one t eastern foot-hills from the Yellowstone to the Rio Grande.

II. The next, and one of the most notable openers of mining region, is the remarkable railroad system now in p constructed or in process of construction through the Ut basin. From Ogden, north and south, two long lines of r ways already extend. The physical configuration of interior of this country enables engineers to constr them with comparative ease between the lines of axial dividing ranges, having a general longitudinal direction, so t

Northern narrow gauge railway has reached Montana
and will soon be bending north-westerly, seeking
waters of the Columbia as a possible resting place;
standard gauge Utah Southern is so far south on
o Arizona as to be within twenty-five miles of San
and its famous Horn Silver, and Cave mines.
his inter-mountain system of longitudinal roads has
linear length—taking the little feeders which in
of the Jordan and elsewhere tap the Utah coal
nes, etc.,—of not less than 525 miles. The Utah
has 290 miles of three-foot track. By the middle of
), it will be at least 150 miles further into the heart
na.

still further west, Nevada has two narrow gauge
rating about 180 miles, and is also planning a large
It is almost among the near certainties that the
road that first reaches the Grand river, and the
Utah, as well as the projected narrow gauge roads
n Eureka, Austin, and Wadsworth, in Nevada south
e on the Colorado river, will all of them meet in
ern portion of Nevada and join there to enter
and also open up the mountain mines of southern
. At this time, at least 1,000 miles of interior com-
n are being provided for, and a considerable portion
o be soon placed under construction.

Next in order come the California longitudinal roads,
or projected. The narrow gauge railways of the
tate have a linear extent of about four hundred
rom San Francisco north there is one road of about
in length. From Colfax, on the western slopes of
s, over to Nevada City, runs a short line of twenty-
soon to be extended. There are other small links in
The physical configuration favors the construction
ocal errand-bearers, whose tracks, like ships "bound
t and a cargo," will be found winding up and down
p to camp, until at last that wonderful belt of
ng quartz, which extends for three hundred miles
he foot-hills and lower portions of the Sierras in

California, will again be alive, and that too with an activ exceeding by twenty-fold anything it has known in the pa Between the foot-hills and the Coast Range, California i great trough-like plain, admirably adapted to the passage the scientific highway.

It is worth while in passing to take a glance at the mini fields most prominent before the public, and endeavor to indic those which are likely to attract attention at an early d And at this point it may be well to call attention suggestiv to the reasons, or some of them, which have retarded progress of the mining interest for some years past. As to Pacific States, it seems to the writer that in the first place failure to receive therein the money of the country (as it found when the civil war closed) has had a potential influe in retarding population and industrial activity. East of vada all values were calculated on the greenback basis; w of that line all of them were arranged on the basis of go Mono-metallism sat enthroned, symbol of the most suici act of sectional nullification that was ever perpetrated in American Union. The gold payment policy was dicta solely in the interest of the bullion dealers, bankers and wh sale merchants of San Francisco, who, to secure it, appealed the natural pride of the miners in favor of the metals drag to the light by their labor. As a matter of fact, it really be fited no one but the classes named. But like all acts dicta by supreme selfishness, it has turned against them. By policy a severe blow was early struck at the national cre But it is to the effect of this species of nullification on the m ing development of California and Nevada, that this refere is more directly intended. A man with a few thous dollars in greenbacks, at the close of the war, could in rea do nothing of moment in the Pacific States. His mo shrunk one-third, and unless he could have bought o larger scale than was possible, he would not have secured more for what, when reduced to a gold basis, he may have left, than he would have elsewhere secured for greenback the same amount. California and Nevada are striking il trations of the golden blessing attending golden mo

—only to the banker, exchanger and capitalist, of Many thousands of persons would have migrated to a after 1864, but for the gold basis; and many millions would have gone thither that were shut out because policy. It is equally as certain that the sectional ius created has greatly increased the long agony of , poverty, and bankruptcy endured at large in the get down to "hard pan," by means of forced con- nd enforced resumption. The recuperative energies eople and the natural forces at their command have en so well made manifest as by the steady change of n and industry that has been going forward during ve severe years, on the great plains and in the mining d territories. This is the great proof of a genuine on—one that forces the banker to unlock his idle nd the capitalist to bring out his millions, because longer commands profit by remaining locked up. It for its interest, or otherwise eat up even the

econd cause of the temporary depression of Califor- Nevada mining interests which has, outside the Com- , characterized the last six to eight years, is due to the mine itself. And the reasons why, relate themselves nctly to the cause first assigned. Without an ex- old standard, while all the rest of the country ear the consequences of paper currency, or rather equences of the civil war which brought it into the Bank of California and a half-dozen or more of es, would never have been able to grasp such utter s they did of the great Comstock mines. Having y shut out the average eastern investor, they shut ational banking system also, by which such investors s of more means would have combined, and thereby apital to an increased amount. A monopoly of ave them control of the mines. They were then for speculation and the personal aggrandizement of gers; not for permanent investment and the ad- of stockholders. Following the Bank of California

came the "Bonanza Kings" and the Bank of Nevada. Th enormous rise in stocks, far more than the dividends declare created an excitement which withdrew capital from minin and labor from its rewards until, for the last eight years least, money has not been obtainable in California for an purpose other than for stock gambling, except at rat wholly disastrous. In the year 1878, during two month in which the "deal" in Sierra Nevada and Union Co solidated made a brief period of startling activity, there w done (and the fact shows the extent to which stock specu lation is carried on in California) at the two boards of Sa Francisco a business which aggregated 17,831,310 sales, th shares represented by which ranged from one cent each up $261, while making in all a money total of $148,257,585. Th lowest number sold in any stock was 100 shares; the highe three were Sierra Nevada, 423,785; Mexican, 428,030; Co solidated Virginia, 542,475 shares. The nominal capital of th Pacific coast mining corporations is at least $3,000,000,00 The annual assessments levied have aggregated from $12,000,0 to $18,000,000. The total dividends during the past decad from the Comstock mines alone have reached nearly or qui $95,000,000, of which $73,750,000 have been paid by the tw bonanza mines alone. There is a class of mines in Californi rich, but not numerous as yet, which pay largely, but whose present results but little information can be obtaine Reference is had to the gravel or hydraulic mines, the plac workings, and the vein, lode, and seam quartz mines. The are generally private property, and their yield is seldom know

As to the mining fields that now invite attention, puttin aside Leadville, the Comstock, Eureka, some Utah and Bla Hills mining districts, so well known as not to need speci mention, it will be seen that:

First, from the Black Hills in the north and slightly to th east, running down in a south-westerly direction, there a wide mineral belt which will ere long be found to be practical continuous, bearing both gold and silver, though largely t latter metal, and ranging from Dakota through the weste portion of Wyoming, running west of Gilpin and Cle

counties, Colorado, and in fact, the major part of
lle, through northern, central and south-western Colo-
crossing the Middle Parc, the Gunnison region, and
n Juan, as it enters Arizona and extends into Utah.
ceedingly rich belt is now being extensively operated
f this, and embraces all the older portions of mining
do, New Mexico and southern Arizona. The great
f this year's prospecting will be done along the belt first
. Into that region 100,000 hardy men will pour. It
e remembered also in calculating the future productive
es of mining, that the present movement carries some-
more than the old mining camp, with its hoisting works
lls, its dug-out adobe or log-hut, its faro bank and dance
—it carries with it homes, towns, schools, printing
, churches—in short, eastern life and civilization.
ss Leadville with its two years' growth; its 30,000
its; its bullion product of at least $12,000,000 last
its $20,000,000 of business; the investment in its
of $30,000,000; its dividends already reaching
00 per month; its water and gas services; its four
papers; its three public schools and six churches; its
five smelting furnaces, and its one hundred mines
ve operation!

cond, beyond this line, the next field to the west and
is that of Utah. This territory will perhaps serve better
ny, outside "the Coast," as an illustration of what mining
fect. The Mormon hierarchy have done and still do all
possible to discourage it. Utah stands fourth as a mining
. This has mainly been established within ten years.
tal investment has been about $50,000,000. The present
of the permanent works, etc., is about $100,000,000.
ggregated production has been nearly $47,000,000, with
nual yield of $4,700,000. If the mines of Utah were
and her smelter fires put out, no one but the
on leaders would rejoice. The Utah mining region
to run in a belt as continuous, though not as extended,
t named in the first place. It follows the same general
.

Third, outside these two accessible and central lines ther will be found other two great centres to which attention already turning. Montana and Idaho to the north, and Ne Mexico and Arizona to the south, are daily attracting mone and population. The south-west region will not only attrac but hold and increase in interest. Montana is becoming mor widely known. With 30,000,000 arable acres, with 12,000,00 acres of grazing lands and 18,000,000 acres of the fines timber, with a gold field that has already yielded $158,000,00 and silver bearing lodes that have furnished $8,000,000 i bullion, it is quite certain that this territory, whose future po sibilities are vastly greater than its past results, will take leading place.

Fourth, in Nevada, mining is reviving on every hand Fields abandoned for years are again being worked. Ne ones are being opened. Especially is this true of the south and the east and west Nevada. The Eureka district ha produced $50,000,000, on an outside expenditure of $5,000,00 Esmeralda county has produced about $15,000,000, on a expenditure of not over one-fourth. Let us condense her some figures from the report of the State Mineralogist o Nevada, for the year 1877 and the first three-quarters o 1878:

In 1877, ten counties, having two hundred and twenty-tw tax-paying and producing mines, produced 916,190 $\frac{746}{2000}$ ton of ore, of the gross value of $46,661,831.86.

For the first nine months of 1878, the production i eleven counties, having one hundred and fifty-seven mine was 604,964 $\frac{444}{2000}$ tons of ore, of the gross value o $26,785,158.98.

Fifth, coming to California, the evidence of activity, no yet fully expressed, can be traced on every hand. The adver of eastern capital argues a change for the better. The grave mines of that State are likely to prove the first of agencie in attracting eastern capital. This wonderful industr with its net-work of lakes, real and artificial, immens dams and reservoirs, hundreds of miles of flumes and ditche its many million acres of gold-bearing gravel, and its certaint

able returns when wisely managed, will long continue
and hold capital.*

hardly necessary to reproduce the figures which
results of the past thirty years of mining for the
metals. Still, as there is such an inclination to throw
on a pursuit so fascinating and so productive, it will
appropriate to state in round numbers at least, the vast

d, from 1849 to 1879, ...	$1,493,843,430
er, from 1858 to 1879, ...	420,000,000
	$1,913,843,430

nce King, Director of the U. S. Geological Survey, is
as estimating the out-put of American mines as
increase until an annual yield of $1,000,000,000 is

Of course, the first question will be—where is the
or such an immense production, or for even one-half
To this it may be replied that we are in no immedi-
er, taking the entire product of the world into the ac-
reaching such a total at any present appreciable date.

ise, in his work on the *Natural Wealth of California*, gives with an
e accuracy the figures relating to the gold yield from 1848 to 1867.
, they underestimate the earlier years. Many Californians consider
r the first ten years to have been from $50,000,000 to $60,000,000
From 1867 down to 1879, the figures are from the Mint Reports
f Wells, Fargo & Co. The Custom-House returns at San Francisco
show a treasure export of $861,000,000. Here are the totals:

.....	$10,000,000	1864.....	$26,600,000
.....	40,000,000	1865.....	28,500,000
.....	50,000,000	1866.....	26,500,000
.....	55,000,000	1867.....	25,000,000
.....	60,000,000	1868.....	22,000,000
... .	65,000,000	1869.....	22,500,000
.....	60,000,000	1870.....	25,000,000
.....	55,000,000	1871.....	20,000,000
.....	55,000,000	1872...	19,000,000
.....	55,000,000	1873.....	18,300,000
.....	50,000,000	1874.....	20,300,000
.....	50,000,000	1875.....	17,700,000
.....	45,000,000	1876.....	18,600,000
....	40,000,000	1877.....	18,200,000
.....	34,700,000	1878.....	18,900,000
.....	30,000,000	1879.....	18,200,000
		Total for 32 years.....	$1,100,000,000

The increase is so gradual as to accommodate itself t the necessities of the world's demand. Take the presen year for an example. Those who anticipate any ver large additional bullion-yield for 1880 are doomed to disap pointment. The work will be, in the main, exploration an development, and consequently what mine-managers techn cally term "dead work." But there will be a sufficient re turn for what is invested to make a large market, and t stimulate further activity. It is not too much to say tha the coinage demands of the civilized world are sure to increase The United States alone is consuming of silver over $2,000,00 per month. Its annual gold necessities are at least $35,000,000 The United States Mints' statistics for 1879 are as follows:

Gold coinage, ...	$35,005,959
Used in arts and manufactures, ...	3,869,125
Exported, ...	24,774
Total, ...	$38,889,858
Silver coinage, ...	$22,951,768
Used in arts and manufactures, ...	5,977,300
Exported, ...	11,883,064
Total, ...	$40,812,132

It is proper to say here that the period given is the fisca and not the calendar year, 1879. Had the latter period bee accessible the showing would have been proportionately large With the return of activity in business it may fairly be pre sumed that the use of bullion in other forms than coinage wi largely increase. Some estimates have been made which pu this increase for the United States at $15,000,000. The coinag account will not be less than $65,000,000. Adding then the in dustrial use and that for exportation, and the annual demand i the United States alone will be equal to $95,000,000. Ther is one immense field for silver consumption which must, in th nature of things, eventually be utilized in large degree by th United States. Reference is had to Asia, whose consumptio of silver is one of the wonders of the world. Political reasons an the control of institutional machinery, enables the Londo

which buys and consumes, and has no relation with pro- to control exchange and purchase with India and China, est silver consumers of the world. Slowly, but steadily, ncisco is making breaches in this wall of custom. It ed at Washington that the modification of our treaty ina, now pending, is likely to bring about a wider in that empire for the sale of this one of our metals. The American market itself will, however, than likely to consume all we shall produce, even e high pressure for out-put that speculative forcing of s and a dividend demand will create. It is difficult accurate statistics of consumption outside of coinage countries. Humboldt, in 1803, estimated the Euro- lustrial use at a total of $23,000,000. Mr. William 1831, made a careful review of the bullion-consuming ons of Great Britan, and on that review, and from other estimated the annual use of gold and silver for all other than coinage, as follows:

eat Britain,	$12,285,000
nce,	6,000,000
itzerland,	1,750,000
e remaining countries,	8,025,000
	$28,060,000

he present writing, according to United States diplo- ports of our representatives in twenty-three countries, ency and coinage circulation is as follows:

lation estimated 400,000,000; paper currency 36,352; in gold $2,374,940,875; in silver (full and egal tender) $1,002,704,178, making a specie coinage 7,645,053. To this total must be added the stock of currency in the United States, which Mint-Director d estimated, on the 30th of June last, at $286,490,698 and $112,050,958 in silver, making a total of $398,541,- he silver coinage of British India, from 1835 to 1876, d to $958,769,275. The average annual absorption of y India is not less than $38,000,000, and by China, 00 at least, making a total of $47,000,000. There is no

reason to apprehend a decline in this demand, but, rather, a increase. All the signs point to a large activity on the part o our Asiatic neighbors, more especially the swarming inhabitant of the Chinese Empire. In all the possibilities that loom up on that side of the Pacific Ocean, there can no events happe which will not inure to our commercial benefit. Our bullio producers must win at every move. These figures and fact must establish to the intelligent reason the fact that the bullio market is large and active enough for any out-put that is likel to be obtained. Legitimate mining is seen therefore to be o a solid basis, and with honorable management and busines sagacity will maintain a leading place in our great industrie

Important as our mining interest is seen to be, great as are th results that have already followed and are still to follow, it woul not be proper to close this paper without some brief reference t the dangers attending the speculative character of minin enterprises. Even at its very best, mining for the precio metals has more or less the aspect of rash venture. So muc is hidden in the earth, that nature plays with loaded di against the audacious man who stakes his labor for h secrets. The prizes are so great that it is forgotten that th risks are many. Skilful manipulators constantly manage unload the risks on the many, and so carry off the profits f themselves. With reasonable prudence, men who invest mines at first hand can protect themselves, and make almost certain that great profits will follow. But to the sma buyer of shares, what has he to depend upon? He is general buying for an investment and to obtain dividends. Necessari he is dependent for security on the character and honest dea ing of those who promote and manage them. It is at this poi that legislation must step in and place safeguards. Some these protections can be thus indicated:

1st. Strict limitations as to capitalization, and the *bon fide* character of the share payment. At present the rule very largely for promoters to purchase reputable names f official figure-heads with allotments of stock, and then up the credit thus obtained, unload the remainder on the sma buyers, dealers and operators. The law can check such tra

and it certainly should do it. As to excessive capi-
n, the answer usually is that of the California speculator,
nine is what it brings in the market." While in a
sense this is true of mining companies, it is truer that
ing of fictitious millions as the stock capital is the
ation of a falsehood so great that it must inflate values
eive the unwary.

Fixing with greater definiteness the responsibility of
rs and managers. They should be held personally
o the fullest extent for all misrepresentation and
t or reckless management.

Providing for the representation of minorities in all
of directors, and of the right of any shareholder to
e mine and examine it, or the books, etc., of the company,
easonable time and under any reasonable circumstances;
viding for the punishment of directors, or other officials,
ll hold back from the stockholders any decisive intelli-
f the condition of their mining property, whether the
good or bad, and especially prohibiting such officials
aking use of such information for their own benefit
exclusion of the remaining shareholders. Such an
is in the nature of swindling, and should be rewarded
penitentiary.

Prohibiting managers from contracting with themselves,
or indirectly, for providing supplies, milling ores,
iating tailings, or in any other similar way plundering
sociates. The history of the Comstock mine will aid
est framing of laws to this end.

Providing for the publication of regular reports, sworn
cessary, of the condition of the mine, the yield of ore,
ion of bullion, and of all other matters by which
and investors may be able to judge fairly of the con-
f the property.

e things are essential to a proper organization of this
dustry. By means of them, and others that will readily
themselves, the exploitation of our mineral fields, of such
nportance in the present and future progress of nearly
our continental area, will proceed with reasonable

security to an assured prosperity. While it is probab
beyond question that ruinous speculation will follow, y
it will not be as wide or as deep in its effects as at first sig
appears probable. The necessity of finding new fields a
avenues for labor, which at different periods in our histo
has become so marked, is upon us with greater force than ev
What field so captivating, so striking, and so permanently a
vantageous, as that which is found in our vast mountain are
Capital requires large space in which to play its several par
and here is a grand opportunity to expend its surplus. It
as sensitive to whatever affects its welfare amid the sa
brush and alkaline plateaus of Nevada as in the verdant fie
of Pennsylvania, or the busy streets of New York. Eve
dollar invested in California by New York owners bin
the wide Pacific to the Atlantic. The money used to op
a silver mine in the gray-toned mountain sides of arid Arizo
is a guarantee for the future loyalty of the community the
existing. Self-interest is a swift destroyer of sectional feelin
The present national importance of the mining industry
a growing pledge of future security for the Union and t
Republic.

RICHARD J. HINTON.

Art. VI.—The Third-Term Question.

Constitution of the United States was ratified by the
New York at a convention held at Poughkeepsie, the
of July, 1788. That convention was presided over
ge Clinton, the first governor of the State. Among
distinguished members were Alexander Hamilton,
y, Robert R. Livingston, James Clinton and Melanc-
ith.

e had been a sharp conflict in that convention as to
the ratification should be absolute or conditional. A
jority of the delegates were, at first, in favor of only a
al ratification, dependent upon the adoption of certain
ents proposed. Finally, however, news having come
sent of New Hampshire, and only one State more being
to the adoption of the Constitution, it was decided
the ratification unqualified; but the resolution adopted
at the Constitution was ratified by New York, in full
ce that the proposed amendments would be adopted.
the amendments proposed by the State of New York
following: "*That no person shall be eligible to the
President of the United States a third time.*" *
sition to a third term, then, is not a new thing in the
New York. This amendment was never formally
ated into the Constitution, but the principle embodied
s ever since been acted upon. Up to this time, no
as been elected or voted for, for a third term, as
t of the United States.

ief statement will present the historical facts bearing
s subject:

ington was twice elected, but peremptorily refused

* Elliott's *Debates*, Vol. I, p. 365.

the use of his name as a candidate for a third term. It l
been argued, by the recent advocates of third-termism, tl
his declension was not from any conviction of duty or rega
to public interest, but was the result of purely selfish cons
erations, viz.: his desire for the peace and tranquillity of
tirement. It must be conceded that the pomp and power
high station had little attraction for the Father of his Count
Personally, he doubtless preferred quiet and retirement, b
he was always ready to sacrifice his own private intere
to the public good; and there is ample evidence that in t
act of his life, by which he renounced the greatness and pow
of his high position, his ideas of public duty entirely coincid
with his private inclinations. He desired to retire at the e
of his first term, and in anticipation of this event he wrot
letter to James Madison, dated May 20th, 1792, in which
expressed this wish and asked him to assist in the preparati
of a suitable farewell address. The following is his languag

"I desire that you would turn your thoughts to a valedicto
address from me to the public, expressing, in plain and mod
terms, that having been honored with the presidential chair, a
to the best of my abilities contributed to the organization a
administration of the government; that having arrived at a peri
of life when the proper close of it in the shades of retirem
becomes necessary and will be more pleasing to me (and as
spirit of the government may render a rotation in the elective offi
of it more congenial to the ideas the people have of liberty a
safety), that I take my leave of them as a public man," etc. *

In answer to this, Madison sent to Washington a draft
the proposed address, in which he endeavored to put the id
of Washington, as conveyed to him orally as well as by t
letter above referred to, in a clear and suitable form. In t
draft we find the following language:

"May I be allowed further to add, as a consideration far m
important, that an early example of rotation in an office of so h
and delicate a nature, may equally concur with the republi
spirit of our Constitution, and the ideas of liberty and safety
tertained by the people.

"Under these circumstances a return to my private stati

* *Vide* the entire letter in Sparks' *Life and Writings of George Washing*
Vol. XII, p. 382.

to the purpose with which I quitted it, is the part which
ell as inclination assigns me."*

rue that this draft was never used, for the reason that
on was prevailed upon to serve a second term. But
ained by Washington. It concurs in spirit with the
used in his own letter to Madison. There is every
believe that it was fully approved by Washington.
close of his second term, when his farewell address
ally given to the public, this draft by Madison was
ne president to Hamilton, that it might be recast and
to the changed circumstances then existing. It
herefore, that Washington was opposed to prolonging
dential office beyond two terms. He thought that
n that office was in accordance with the spirit of the
ent and with popular ideas of liberty and safety.

hn Adams was only elected for one term, the question
d term, of course, did not and could not arise with
ne next incumbent of the presidential office was
efferson. He had originally been opposed to making
nt reëligible at all. His views on this question, how
nged. In a letter to John Taylor, dated January 6th,
r his second election but before the expiration of his
, he says:

pinion originally was that the president of the United
uld have been elected for seven years, and forever inel-
rwards. I have since become sensible that seven years
ng to become irremovable, and that there should be a
way of withdrawing a man in midway who is doing
The service for eight years, with the power to remove at
f the first four, comes nearly to my principle, as corrected
ence, and it is in adherence to that that I determine to
at the end of my second term. The danger is that the
e and the attachments of the people will keep a man in
after he becomes a dotard; that reëlection through life
me habitual, and election for life follow that. General
on set the example of voluntary retirement after eight
shall follow it, and a few more precedents will oppose
cle of habit to any one, after a while, who shall endeavor
his term. Perhaps it may beget a disposition to es-
by an amendment to the Constitution. I believe I am
nt, therefore, in pursuing my principle. I had determined

* *Life and Writings of George Washington*, Vol. XII, p. 338.

to declare my intention, but I have consented to be sile on the opinion of friends, who think it best not to put a contin ance out of my power, in defiance of all circumstances. The is, however, but one circumstance which could engage my acqu escence in another election, *i. e.*, such a division about a success as might bring in a monarchist. But that circumstance is ir possible. While, therefore, I shall make no formal declaration to t public of my purpose, I have freely let it be understood in priva conversation. In this I am persuaded yourself and my frien generally will approve of my views." *

Again, upon the expiration of his second term, Jefferso was solicited to consent to a continuance in office. This w asked for by the legislatures of various States. His answ was as follows:

"That I should lay down my charge at the proper period is much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some terminati to the services of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the Co stitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for fo years, will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easi that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a represent tive government, responsible at short periods by election, is th which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I fe it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principl and I should unwillingly be the person, who, disregarding sou precedent, set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish t *first* example of prolongation beyond the second term of office

Jefferson's second term expired with the year 1808. 1812, after a retirement of four years, he was again solicit to permit himself to be elected president. But he did n consider the four years' interregnum as affecting in any w the anti-third term principle which he had avowed, and he aga peremptorily declined; and although his party continued power up to the time of his death, no further attempt w made to restore him to the great position which duty had l him finally to resign eighteen years before he died. His su cessors—Madison and Monroe—each served for two terms, a each retired when the second term ended, not asking nor p mitting their friends to ask for another nomination, during t many years of their subsequent retirement.

In 1828 Andrew Jackson was elected, as the nominee of t

* *Vide* Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, Vol. III, p. 132.

democratic party, and was reëlected in 1832. He
dol of his party—a great military leader and popular
But at the ending of his eight years' service, he volun-
ired to the peaceful shades of the Hermitage, where
ned an interested observer of the history and progress
untry, but not a candidate, active or passive, for a re-
neither asking nor suffering his friends to ask the
gain to put him in the foremost place of power and
ntil his death in 1845. Since his administration,
nt is the only president who has served two entire

1812 to 1875 there was no suggestion that any presi-
ld be reëlected after his second term.
75 it was apparent that some of the friends of Gen.
sired to secure his election for a third term. When
osition became manifest, it is not surprising, in view
istorical facts above detailed, that there was a very
prising against such an attempt. The attention of
n State conventions in that year was called to this
and almost without exception they adopted resolutions
g their disapproval of the movement. As early as
Pennsylvania republican convention announced as
nent of the republicans of that State:

we declare and affirm unqualified adherence to the un-
w of the republic, which wisely, and under the sanction
st venerable of examples, limits the presidential service
itizen to two terms; and we, the republicans of Penn-
in recognition of this law, are unalterably opposed to
on to the presidency of any person for a third term."

republican convention of the State of New York
l in September, 1875. Among its resolutions,
y an overwhelming vote, was the following:

gnizing as conclusive the president's public declaration
not a candidate for renomination, and with the sincerest
for his patriotic services, we declare our unalterable
to the election of any president for a third term."

after State followed these examples; and on the 15th
December, 1875, on motion of Mr. Springer, of Illi-
rules were suspended and the following resolution

was passed, by the House of Representatives, by a vote 233 to 18:

"*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this House the precede established by Washington and other presidents of the Unit States, in retiring from the presidential office after their seco term, has become by universal concurrence, a part of our repub can system of government, and that any departure from t time-honored custom would be unwise and fraught with peril our free institutions."

The third-term movement subsided, and Gen. Gran name was not presented to the republican National Conve tion in 1876. But the scheme was not given up. Its p moters were persevering and cunning. They resolved th although they could not carry out their plan in 1876, th would only defer and not abandon it. Taking advantage Gen. Grant's voyage around the world, of the cordial mann in which he was welcomed and entertained by kings and rul in Europe and Asia, and of the enthusiasm which w naturally aroused by his return home early in the prese year, they started what, in the slang language of the day, termed a third-term "boom," fancying that all the circu stances which have been mentioned, and others which tend to favor it, would make it irresistible and successful, notwi standing the general public sentiment on the subject.

The arguments used to promote this scheme and to ov come the popular feeling against a third term, were varic and not altogether consistent. The friends of the Gra movement claim: 1. That the sentiment against a third term unfounded in reason or principle; 2. That if it has any fou dation it applies only to the *continuance* of a president in off for more than two terms, and has no application as an objecti to the reëlection of a president after an interregnum of fo years; 3. That, even assuming the soundness of the object to three terms as a general rule, and conceding its appli bility to any election to the presidency of a person who served two terms, there is a special emergency at this ti outweighing these objections and requiring the nominat and election of Gen. Grant. In support of these views, th articles have appeared in the pages of the *North Ameri*

which it is perhaps fair to consider as presenting the grounds upon which Gen. Grant's reëlection is d. These articles appeared, one in February written Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, one in March, by W. Stoughton, of New York, and one in the April by Hon. Geo. S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts. Let hem up in their order:

Howe's article deserves little comment or attention. falsification of history, foolish vituperation and flattery, garnished with choice bits of Scripture, are in about equal proportions in this most discreditable The settled convictions of the people are called by useless clamor." The almost unanimous views of the f Representatives are termed "a champion piece of ry." The general apprehension of danger to free ns from a long continuance of the presidential office, n of as a "soft spook,"—whatever that may mean. ho are opposed to a third term are said to be "seduced worship of God to that of mere metallic calves." ve states that the only criticism upon reëligibility he convention of New York, which ratified the United onstitution, was made by Mr. Melancthon Smith, and ound no one to second his idea in that body; in the face act that that convention unanimously proposed an ent, that no person should be eligible for a third ial term. He states that not even in North was a man to be found to object to the reëligibility resident, although in fact one of the amendments by that State was, "That no person should be capa- erving as president more than eight in any term of ears." He, by implication, charges Washington with e, and gives as a reason for his retirement at the end cond term, that he could not bear the gibes of his before which Grant never quailed. But his most calumny relates to Jefferson. Ignoring the fact that s upon the subject of a third term were well known s second term commenced, Mr. Howe directly charges erson's only reason for declining a third term was that he

could not get it; and accuses him of duplicity and deceit i giving expression to his views, as he did, in reply to the legisla ures of Vermont and other States, which had desired him t become a candidate. He asserts in the face of the evidence c history that the republican States of Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia had "positively refuse to join in the Jefferson boom," before his declension wa announced. The only evidence which he gives of this a sertion is the fact that the legislatures of these States, at tha time, more than a year before the expiration of Jefferson' second term, had not acted upon the subject. But in fact, not on of them had expressed itself as against Jefferson. The "positiv refusal" is a pure invention of Mr. Howe. Madison wa Jefferson's secretary of State, and intimate political an personal friend. There was never any rivalry or hostility be tween them. Jefferson was the founder and the leader an idol of the republican party. At his second election he ha received one hundred and sixty-two of the one hundred an seventy-six votes cast—the only States voting against him bein Connecticut and Delaware. The other States all voted unan mously for Jefferson, except Maryland which gave him nine c her eleven votes. At the close of his second term he was equall popular with his party; and no student of history, except M Howe, has ever pretended that he could not have received third nomination if he had sought to obtain it, or would hav accepted it.

Finding it necessary, in order to carry out the line argument which he had adopted, Mr. Howe does not scruple make Washington a coward and Jefferson a liar. He calls Ge Grant "the foremost man of his age standing upon the mountai top, upon whom the eager world has set the seal of primacy He says "the world will make a mistake, if it shall tu from Jesus of Nazareth to follow Mr. Springer of Illinois closing his remarkable diatribe with the following peroratio "Paul taught the Hebrews that without sacrifice there w no remission of sins. Americans are taught that not ev sacrifice will save a president from rebuke after eight ye service, although he has been sinless." Precisely what

this last language it is quite difficult to judge. We even Gen. Grant himself would claim to be " although Mr. Howe found an apt disciple in an tic member of the late Utica Convention, who pro- this "sinless" man "standing on the mountain top," God of battles!"

evident that Mr. Howe in his Scripture researches had ed the warning given by Paul to his sainted name- O, Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy oiding profane and vain babblings." Charity might to account for this astonishing exhibition by the that he had made too personal an application of that ssage, in which Timothy is enjoined by Paul to no longer water." For it would be humiliating to nat a man capable of writing such stuff in his sober , ever occupied the high position of Senator of the tates, and confidential adviser of the president. No of a third term could desire any more effective cultivating the anti-third-term sentiment, than the irculation of Mr. Howe's extraordinary article.

Stoughton's article is in a different spirit. It is not le with the folly or the falsity of Mr. Howe's pro-

Stoughton admits that there are doubtless worthy ns who are opposed to the third term, and kindly says hall not sneer at nor ridicule such superstition, for the at he has known few men of strength of character or who did not nurse one of some kind. And he compares osition to a third term to the superstitions which some men to expect bad luck from seeing the new er the left shoulder, or to refuse to start a new e on Friday.

opponents of the third-term movement must feel gly grateful to Mr. Stoughton for his great amiability g them off so easily. When we come, however, to his arguments, we are not impressed with their In alluding to the example of Washington, he says declension was upon purely personal grounds, and

not from motives of public policy. We have already show in this article that this is a mistake, and that Washingto retired at the end of his second term because, in his viev public policy, as well as his own personal inclinations, require the step. Mr. Stoughton thinks that the only substanti objection to the enjoyment of consecutive presidential term by the same person, is that a president desiring a renominatio might corruptly and wickedly use the power and influence o his great office to obtain it; and finally perpetuate his rule b methods hostile to the Constitution and destructive of h country's liberties.

If that is the only objection to a third term, then it mu be conceded that there is some force in his argument. But M Stoughton is mistaken in saying that the only valid objectio to a third term consists in the assumption that by his influenc as president he may perpetuate his rule by renomination as will be shown as we proceed. Perhaps it is not strang that the ex-minister to St. Petersburgh, said to be an arden admirer of that "paternal government" which has produce such happy results in Russia, should on his return become di tinguished as an advocate of third-termism for America.

Mr. Boutwell puts his argument upon a somewhat differen basis from either Mr. Howe or Mr. Stoughton. He conced that the examples of Washington and Jefferson and the tr ditions of the fathers are against a third term. But, he say the opinions of Washington and Jefferson are entitled to th highest consideration as opinions, and nothing more. H insists that there is a question now demanding attention o greater importance than the ancient tradition against a thir term, viz.: "Shall this government be destroyed or subverte permanently by the usurpation of the minority?" And h argues that the only sure way of answering this question i the negative is by the nomination and election of Ge Grant. If Mr. Boutwell is right in his premises, we must co cede that he is right in his conclusion. If the destruction an subversion of our government can only be prevented by th election of Gen. Grant, we should all yield our objections to third term, and unite in his support. But we must rememb

. Boutwell, as he is good enough to remind us in his occupied a place in Gen. Grant's cabinet. He, no stimates the Grant administration quite as highly as s permit. His opinion is valuable simply as Mr. Boutpinion, and people must judge for themselves whether any such emergency as Mr. Boutwell says; and if whether the best way to meet it is by Grant's renomi- By most sensible men the emergency will be believed only in the imaginations of Mr. Boutwell and other lders under Gen. Grant; and the remedy proposed by be considered quite inappropriate for the imagined

ne assertion of Mr. Boutwell we desire to interpose hatic denial. He says: "The republicans of the New York, appreciating the solemnity of the crisis importance of their position, have declared their to support Gen. Grant for the presidency." The ans of the State of New York have done no such thing. purpose of forestalling public opinion, the State con- was called in that State, as in Pennsylvania, in Feb- elect delegates to the National Convention to be held There could have been but one object for such an able call, and that object was not to secure a deliberession of the will of the republicans of New York, revent and defeat such expression. The very fact that vention was called in February deprives it of all y as indicating the "sober second thought" of New publicans. What honest reason can be given for calltate convention in February to select delegates to National Convention in June? Are arguments and ns of any value? If so, why not let such arguments cussions be continued until the necessary time for arrives? But the New York convention was not led with fraudulent intent — it was fraudulently ed. Grant delegates to this convention from Albany ected by a fraud so gross and palpable, that no ble republican newspaper in the State could be found d it. Delegates of the same character from Utica,

who were declared elected in violation of every rule o parliamentary law, were admitted to the floor of the convention The same is said to be true of delegates from Brooklyn and from Buffalo. And in a convention so called and s packed, a resolution was passed by a bare majority of thirty seven, favoring the nomination of Gen. Grant! Not the re publicans of New York, Mr. Boutwell, but the wire-puller and the machine-managers of New York, have declared thei purpose to support Gen. Grant for the presidency! The rank and file of the party, as you call them, in New York, have neve expressed themselves in favor of Gen. Grant. Nor, if we may believe the evidence already obtained and constantly accumulating, is it true of the republicans of Pennsylvania No fair expression favorable to Grant's nomination has ye been had from any State in the Union.

Having thus reviewed briefly the arguments of these three champions of a third term, let us consider the subject some what upon its merits.

The example of the fathers and the traditions of our history are all opposed to a third term. Are these examples and tra ditions entirely without foundation in reason? It is assumed by those who insist that the anti-third-term doctrine has no appli cation to the present attempt to renominate Gen. Grant, tha the only ground upon which indefinite reëligibility has been opposed, is that it enables a president, by the use of hi patronage and power, to secure his own reëlection. But it will be seen by reference to the expressions of Jefferson, already quoted, that that is not the only objection made by him to such indefinite reëligibility. He says the danger is from th indulgence and attachments of the people, as well as from th undue influence of the president. It is not pretended tha there is any special magic in the period of eight years. It was a favorite doctrine of the Henry Clay whigs, that no perso should be elected president for more than one term. But th great point is, that there should be some limit to prevent from becoming a life office; and example and republican tr dition have fixed that limit at two terms. It is essential t republican government that there should be no distinctive

class. When a person has served eight years as
nt of the United States, his retirement into private life
oming a private citizen and nothing more is the highest
ial to the solidity of republican institutions.
ex-president is, and should be, nothing more than any
izen; nay, in one sense he should be less, for it should
rstood that, having possessed that high honor for a term
years, he is no longer an aspirant for the position. A
t who has for eight years had the patronage and power
great office, especially when he has been Lieutenant-
and had intimate relations with the entire army,
as the great corps of office-holders, is not, in the
f four years, so entirely divested of this advantage
cannot avail himself of the influence and power thus
to promote his reëlection. Especially is this the case
n. Grant. He has not, in the ordinary sense of the
come a private citizen since the expiration of his eight
During all this time he has been conspicuously before
lic eye, as the honored guest of the various nations of
d. All the influence of the general Government has
erted to give him public prominence. A Grant
per organ has said that he is now "fresh from
ple." But from what people is he fresh? He has
had little to do with Americans since his term
Is it believed that his association with the Chinese,
e and Siamese, or with the rulers of Europe, has im-
upon him the habits and duties of an American citizen?
ile he has been travelling about the world, the men
e placed in office have, as a rule, remained in office.
uliar civil service theories of the present administration
to the retention in office of the great body of the
lders appointed by him—the men who ran the political
ery in most of the States. The party organization is
inly in the hands of those who controlled it during
nd term. Practically, nearly all the objections to
term exist now which existed in 1876.
t is the supposed emergency urged as a reason
parting from established usages? and, if it exists,

how will Gen. Grant's reëlection meet it? Some say tha Gen. Grant is the only republican who can be elected On the contrary, it seems evident that no republican ca be nominated, against whom such strong objections can b made, and who is so certain to fail of the support of a larg portion of the party, as he. It is said that no other man, i elected, can be inaugurated. If this is true, then it is useless t try to nominate and elect Gen. Grant. If this is so, we may a well abandon the republican form of government at once and ac cept the least objectionable despotism that can be obtained. Bu it is not so. The will of the people, expressed by constitutiona methods, will be enforced. And it matters not who is th standard-bearer. For whoever is declared elected through th mode known to the Constitution and the laws of the land, wi certainly be inaugurated as president on the fourth day o March, 1881. If this argument in favor of Gen. Grant mean anything, it means that he will not allow himself to be declared defeated; that he will decide in favor of his own election, an no other decision shall prevail. Are the third-term advocate prepared to sanction this construction of their favorite as sertion?

There are very grave reasons why vast numbers of republi cans believe that Gen. Grant should not be nominated. In doing this, they do not "rebuke" him, nor do they in any way dero gate from his claims upon the gratitude of his country. Tha he sacrificed any more for his country than did many others cannot be maintained. His fortunes were at a low ebb when th war commenced. During the war he did his duty like hundred of thousands of others. To vast numbers of these, this di charge of duty brought death, or wounds, loss of fortune an loss of health. To Gen. Grant it brought glory, riches an power. For his efforts, his skill, his perseverance, his abilit as a general, he has received rewards such as have never bee conferred by this country upon any other citizen. The America people are not to be charged with ingratitude, because they with hold from him an honor which was not conferred upon Washing ton or Jefferson; an honor the bestowal of which the majorit of the American people have ever believed to be incompatibl

the safety of free institutions. And it must be re-
ered also that while the American people honor Gen. Grant
s military services, there is by no means the same una-
y with reference to his merits as President of the United
. Criticism of his administration is not confined, as Mr.
hton in his article implies, to rebels and democrats; nor
pposition to his election, if nominated for a third term,
confined. To the scandals of his second administration
nnecessary to do more than to allude. The mention of
mes of Leet and Stocking, Belknap and Babcock will
. It is not necessary, nor would it be just, to charge
Grant with complicity with the corruptions that prevailed
1872 to 1876. But they did prevail. They pervaded
en who were nearest to him. A peculiarity of Gen.
's character is, that he can see nothing wrong in those
he deems his friends. It cannot be forgotten that Gen.
signed the law, which not only allowed members of Con-
their notorious "salary grab," but also doubled his own
. Nor can it be forgotten that when Gen. Babcock was
al in St. Louis, Gen. Grant, by an act the most arbitrary
njustifiable that was ever performed by the elected ruler
free people, peremptorily removed, during the trial, the
el who was conducting the case for the Government with
d skill and vigor, for the alleged reason that he had made a
k which was construed as derogatory to Gen. Grant, per-
y. For this constructive disrespect, denied by Mr. Hender-
e was thus removed. The acquittal of Gen. Babcock fol-
, and followed, as many believe, as the result of this most
rantable interference by the president. This is mentioned
y one instance showing Gen. Grant's frequent utter disre-
of republican principles. He was never trained in civil
He was never taught to respect constitutional rights.
leas of government are purely military. He did, and if
ted will again, administer the government of this country
s he would govern an army.

he same corrupt men who formerly gathered about him
gain surround him, if he shall be reëlected. This is
n by the accounts given by his friend, John Russell

Young, of his conversations during his voyage around th world. There was in Gen. Grant's cabinet certainly one ma who was earnest and vigorous in the prosecution of offender That was Benjamin H. Bristow. By such earnestness an vigor he won the approval and applause of great numbers o his countrymen. His candidacy for the presidency was favore by many good and patriotic republicans. But we are tol that Gen. Grant said in one of his later conversations (an these conversations have been published with his approval) that he would have supported for the presidency any candidat who might have been nominated by the Cincinnati convention except Mr. Bristow, whom he would never have supported.* Why was it that Gen. Grant resolved that he would not sup port Gen. Bristow, if nominated? Can any reason be given except that Gen. Bristow was an independent and efficien officer, and that in the vigor with which he prosecuted offend ers against the law, he did not spare those who were connecte with the president's military household, thereby incurring th president's displeasure? Gen. Bristow was a republican. Gen Bristow's whole offence was that he had impartially an vigorously done his duty.

Argument in favor of Gen. Grant for a third term, base upon the idea that a "strong man" is needed, is dangerou and antagonistic to the whole spirit of our institutions. W want no strong man, if by that is meant one stronger than th Constitution and the laws. We want no man strong enoug to disregard constitutional obligations! And we have in thi country and in the republican party no lack of men who ar strong enough to enforce the Constitution and the laws. Th idea that Gen. Grant is the only man who can execute th laws of this country is a slavish and an anti-republican idea

> "When went there by an age, since the great flood,
> But it was famed with more than with one man?
> When could they say till now, that talked of Rome,
> That her wide walls encompassed but one man?"

The arguments in favor of a third term and against th examples and instructions of the fathers on the subject, are a

* Vide *Around the World with Gen. Grant*, p 273.

pon distrust of popular institutions. The aim of true should be to cultivate the opposite sentiment—faith in canism, faith in the Constitution, faith in the intelligence triotism of the American people. This can be best n the present emergency by discarding the one-man, rm idea, and adhering to the teachings of our fore-; heeding the warnings of history, and preserving our s and our republican form of government by discouraging eory that any one man is necessary to the prosperity rmanency of the republic.

s with reluctance that the believers in the doctrine of ngton and Jefferson which holds a third presidential be of evil tendency, have felt themselves constrained to lisparagingly of Gen. Grant's civil administration. They o disposition to detract in any respect from his fame. re as ready as any to express their admiration for all admirable in his character and distinguished in his ments. But when thinking men are asked to depart he usages of the republic and disregard the example wise and good men who secured our independence, e compelled to examine carefully the claim presented; they see reasons against such departure, to declare ankly and boldly. On the one side they see the example teaching of Washington and Jefferson, Madison, Monroe kson, the declared conviction of the New York con- which ratified the Federal Constitution, the expressions republican State conventions of 1875, and the almost ous resolution of the House of Representatives of ar. On the other they find the opinions of Messrs. ton, Boutwell and Howe, Senators Cameron and ng, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the premature and conventions of Pennsylvania and New York of Feb- 1880.

he latter authorities are clearly right, let us follow them, where the reverend gentleman would lead, to fourth, d an indefinite number of terms. But if the reason and nciple of the matter are with the dead presidents; if the e of the founders of the republic tends more surely to

the preservation of the republic, let us adhere to it, even thoug
the new lights be disregarded. The maxim *via antiqua, vi*
tuta, may not be of universal application, but it is worth
of some respect. There are doubtless inconveniences resultin
from the frequent changes incident to a "government o
the people by the people and for the people." But unles
we are prepared to admit that such a government "must perish
forever from the earth," let us hold fast to the traditions of
free people, and bear the ills we have, rather than fly to other
that we know not of.

MATTHEW HALE.

Art. VII.—The Railway Problem.

There are four distinct classes of questions which have been brought into existence by the birth of the locomotive; and the engineer, the railway manager, the political economist, and the statesman are called upon to deal with them from different points of view. The engineering and mechanical questions connected with the locomotive were those which first occupied the attention of the railway world. The manager's function is to make the enterprise commercially pay. The political economist was called upon to deal with the great social changes incident to the development of wealth which the railway stimulated and brought into existence; and lastly, the statesman is called upon to deal with the questions which the vast success of railways as industrial entities and factors has brought about in the modern civilized world.

The questions with which the statesman has to deal are quite new. The railway had not only to pass the period of possibility and commercial success, but also to reach a development far superior to any other industrial enterprise, before state-craft was required to consider it as a power formidable enough to be held in check, and to be properly subordinated to the public weal.

There is no phase of modern industrial history which so well illustrates the practical tendency of the Anglo-Saxon race, or shows how little it is given to speculations or governmental anticipation of the immediate future, as the manner in which it has dealt with the railway problem. The existence of this problem was at first unsuspected, then for a time ignored, then dimly recognized, and is now practically if not philosophically dealt with, both in England and in America. Other

civilized powers, on the contrary, either anticipated the govern mental relations to the railway, and thereby forestalled th necessity of dealing with it as a question; or, foreseein that railways would in time largely supersede other high ways, they have, in conformity with the State's functio to construct highways, built wholly or in part the railways o the realm, so that with such nations the railway admini tration is but a part of the general problems of the State government. This has been done in countries other tha English-speaking, very largely at a sacrifice of the competitio as to the building of lines, and of the competition for thei development and for business, which has so strongly charac terized English and American railways, and added largely t the number and, to a considerable degree, the usefulness o these enterprises which, in many ways quite apart from thei profitableness in themselves, have aided in the developmen and advancement of the prosperity of the English-speakin nations.

The history of the railway in this and other countries easily told. From the middle of last century down to th first quarter of this, rails placed on supports of some kind and generally made of wood, existed in almost all th larger mines of England for the transportation of ore fron the drift to the mouth of the pit. The railway car axle an railway carriage wheel were developed and improved fro time to time, so that little was to be done to complete th modern railway when Stephenson came upon the scene, bu to apply steam traction to locomotive purposes. The Stock ton and Darlington line was, at the outset, a horse-railway fo the hauling of ore, when Stephenson became connected wit it; and it was upon this road, in 1821, that the first locomotiv was tested. As early as 1824, a committee for the organ zation of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was formed with the view of obtaining an act of Parliament to unit those two cities by a railway to be operated by steam. Prio to that time, tramways or horse-railways had already been i existence; so that, when the Liverpool and Manchest Railway Company was organized, twenty-nine or thirt

tramways were already in operation, running cars by horse-power, uniting two densely populated centres situated a short distance apart. Among these tramways, the one from Wandsworth to Croydon was the most noteworthy and important. At the same time, there was in France a coal-road operated by horse-power near St. Etienne, and one in Austria from Prague to Pilsen, and from Lintz to Budeweis.

Frederick List, the political economist, who owned some coal mines at Tamaqua, Pennsylvania, had a coal-road tramway from that place to the Schuylkill canal. In a correspondence between List and the French Government, he suggested as early as 1831 the advisability of governmental building and supervision of railways, and proposed then the very plan which, about fourteen years later, was carried into effect, of building from Paris great roads through the departments of France to the uttermost ends thereof, making one great web uniting all the parts of France, with Paris as the central point.

In England it seems not to have occurred to any one but Stephenson himself, that the Government should build the railways. He early suggested that competition could not be relied upon; that where combination was possible, competition was impossible; but his voice was unheeded, because no difficulty had been experienced either as to the management of turnpike trusts, which were largely in private hands, or with the canals, which were wholly in private hands. Excessive charges and monopoly rates or individual discriminations were, as to them, unknown; and the first railways were chartered with provisions like those contained in the canal company's acts, as to the rates of toll, and making it in some instances compulsory to allow individuals, or corporations other than the railway itself, to put their carriages upon the road, and even in some instances to supply their own motive power. The language of the English as well as American charters clearly indicates that, in the opinion of the law-making power, the railroad companies would own the roads, and private enterprise would send carriages and freight-wagons over them as over the turnpikes.

The first official appreciation that this was an impracticable

scheme, that the railway company would be compelled to s
ply its own motive power, and that the privilege to put
riages which had no motive power upon this new highway
an illusory one, and of no substantial benefit, is to be foun
the report on railways, by the "Select Committee on Rail
Communication," made to the House of Commons in M
1840. On the 21st of January, the House ordered th
select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of c
munication by railways, and to report their observation ther
to the House. This committee was composed of Sir J
Guest, as chairman, Mr. Labouchère, Sir Robert Peel, I
Granville Somerset, Mr. Thornly, Lord Sandon, Mr. Fr
field, Lord Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby, the leade
the tory party), Mr. Green, Sir Harry Verney, Mr. He
Baring, Mr. Easthope, Sir James Graham, and Lord Seym
The committee express their conviction that the early
were all drawn under a mistaken idea, in the following wo
"The original error consisted in a total misapprehension of
best means of providing locomotive power on railways. Pa
ment at first considered that this might be safely left t
supplied by public competition, and its measures were acc
ingly framed with the view of affording free scope to
persons who might be willing to undertake to engage in s
an undertaking. * * * The legislature, in its anxiet
prevent a monopoly which was not sought even by the
moters of the bills, enacted that any person might place
run his own engines, carriages, and wagons, on the railv
subject to the payment of certain tolls, but under such r
lations as might be made by the company. * * * Pa
ment, in pursuance of the same erroneous view, consid
that it had sufficiently provided for the interests of the pu
when it had limited the amount of tolls and enacted that
should be regularly published. * * * *It is obv*
that all these restrictions and limitations were useless ex
under a supposition that there should be a free competi
among the parties supplying locomotive power."

Then they say, that, although several railway compa
endeavored to allow free competition as to motive powe

was found that they could not, "with due regard to the efficiency and safety of the public, allow rivals and private parties to place and run engines and carriages on the same lines." And then they quote approvingly from a special report of a committee made in 1839, which admits that it is indispensable, both for the safety and convenience of the passengers and the public to prohibit, as far as the locomotive power is concerned, the rivalry of competing parties on the same line of railway, although such prohibition involves the establishment of the monopoly. Admitting, then, in this report, that the railway company was to be confirmed in the possession of the exclusive authority and management of its own line, the gentlemen forming this committee see that this necessarily results in a monopoly not contemplated by the legislatures which had previously chartered the various companies. The committee also reported that fixing maximum tolls and special rates upon the articles to be carried by no means governed the whole subject, and that the interest of the public required some additional safeguard not contained in the acts of incorporation. They came to the conclusion that "monopoly is inseparable from the nature of these establishments; that, in the absence of any effectual check upon the operation of free competition on their respective lines, this committee think it is advisable to subject the monopoly to some general superintendence and control;" and they therefore recommend that the Board of Trade is that department of the executive Government to which it shall properly be made subject. The recommendations were subsequently incorporated into an act called "Lord Seymour's Act," he having been the draughtsman of the bill. The operation of this act became, on the following year, the subject of criticism before another select committee, largely composed of the same gentlemen, but who restricted the operations of the Board of Trade by recommendations limiting the discretionary power which had been given by the eleventh clause of the bill, and which, in a controversy by Pickford and Co., the great forwarders, against the Grand Junction Railway Company, was supposed to have been arbitrarily and somewhat violently exercised against the railway company.

The recommendations made by these committees of 1840 1841, together with the acts which they brought into existe are contemptuously spoken of in the report of the very royal commission that sat in 1872 upon this subject in I land, which seems to have considered both the recommendat of the committee and the parliamentary results as very l conclusions to the very intelligent appreciation which the c mittee of 1840 appeared to have, as to the public relation railway traffic and the governmental problems to which it rise.

The great development of railway speculation, w reached its culminating point in 1844, and brought in its t wide-spread disaster, resulted in the appointment of ano committee, of which Mr. Gladstone was chairman, to into consideration the whole subject. This committee n three reports, the third being the fullest and containing stantially the other two. They came to the conclusion parliamentary concessions should be more carefully guard that both passenger rates and tolls on goods were excess that while, on the one hand, the franchise which had bee liberally conferred by Parliament to build competing l brought about some competition, yet, on the other, the c petition would do more injury to the railway companies t good to the public; that the effect of monopoly both on public directly, and indirectly on the railway company, wa be guarded against; and that Parliament was to be n sparing of concessions, and the Government more exactin rights than they had theretofore been. They recommen as to new lines, that when the profits shall have amounted certain percentage, the Government shall limit the incom such percentage by reducing the rates, but with the guara of the percentage of profits; also that when such period s arrive, the Government shall have the option to purchase line at a certain number of years' annual divisible profits. report recommends that the number of years after which Government could purchase should be fifteen, and that divisible profits should not exceed ten per cent. on cost. It ommends, also, the compulsory running of workingmen's tr

such as are now known as parliamentary trains. This report was followed by the statute of 1844, which gives to the Treasury the power to purchase any railway already built twenty-one years after completion. This bill provides that the Treasury may reduce the rates on goods and passengers after the dividends have reached ten per cent.—on the conditions, however, that the Treasury guarantee the profit thereafter of the shareholder at ten per cent.; and that after fifteen years the Treasury may buy any new railway for twenty-five years' purchase of the average annual profits for the preceding three years. And then this statute contains a clause which is substantially a repeal of the other two sections,—that there shall be neither revision of the tariff nor purchase, except by act of Parliament. The bill of 1844, therefore, simply amounts to a provision that Parliament may at some future time revise railway tariffs so as to limit them to ten per cent., or buy up the railways, which, without this bill, Parliament could have done or may at any time do just as effectually.

The real reason why the bill, as passed in 1844, presents itself to practical men as a useless measure, is, that while the bill of Mr. Gladstone, as reported by him, was a substantially good and efficient bill, the bill on its passage was so amended in favor of the railways that it has been a dead letter. It is worse than useless, because it fixes the rate of profit at so high a figure, and the purchase at so high a rate, that it gives sanction to the idea that the railway has a vested right to have ten per cent. annually on actual outlay of capital, and fixes a very high minimum rate as the basis of a governmental purchase of the lines.

In pursuance, however, of Mr. Gladstone's report, the Board of Trade was strengthened in its supervisory powers over railways; and a board was constituted in that year under the control and within the council of the Board of Trade, the chief duty of which was to report upon new railway schemes and bills with reference to their position, and comparative advantages to the public. This board is known as Lord Dalhousie's Board, and, during its brief existence, made an elaborate series of reports for the guidance of the railway committees of Parliament.

Sir Robert Peel, at the opening of the following sess declared that the Government did not intend to support reports of the Board of Trade, but to leave the bills to judgment of the private-bills committees. This made reports of the special railway board of no use, and the bo was accordingly dissolved; a step which is thus referred by the joint commission of 1872: "Thus came to an the only vigorous attempt which has ever been made to trol and guide the course of the railway legislation."

In 1846, there being upwards of two hundred bills taining provisions for railway and canal consolidation, ano committee of the Commons was appointed to consider whole subject. This committee again came to the conclu that there should be a department of the executive Governm so constituted as to command general respect and confide to be charged with the supervision of railways and ca with full power to enforce such regulations as may from t to time appear indispensable for the accommodation and gen interest of the public.

They refer to the many cases of private arrangements tween railroad companies, substantially amounting to ama mations or consolidation, without parliamentary sanction; to dangers of amalgamation, and the impossibility for the rail committee of the House of Lords by general legislatio deal with this subject; and the necessity of a consta supervising executive body, representing the public, to to it that no harm shall come to the commonwealth f the steadily growing power with which these corporat were being clothed, both by legislation and by the forc circumstances.

In 1846, an act was passed constituting a railway c mission, consisting of five persons,—a president to be £2,000 a year, and two other members receiving £1,500 a each, and two unpaid members who were required to members of Parliament.

In 1847, a bill was brought in to extend the powers of railway commissioners. In 1851, the commission was abolis and its duties again re-transferred to the Board of Tr The duties of this commission were substantially what t

of the Board of Trade had previously been, namely, to examine and report on railway bills, and to see to it that corporations should be confined within the four corners of their chartered privileges.

The reaction which took place consequent to the speculative period covering the interval between 1840 to 1846, lasted until about 1853, when speculation in railway building and railway extensions once more revived. The great companies were beginning to stretch out, to become the exclusive controllers of their own field of activity, and to extend their lines into the domain of other systems; and another select committee was appointed, of which Mr. Cardwell became the chairman. This committee again, with as much clearness as the committees that preceded it, recognized the fact that extension and combination is the law of railway being; expressed their hope that it may be avoided by legislation, but did not clearly see how; and were anxious that these extensions and amalgamations should result in perfect interchange of traffic, in legislation carefully guarding the public interest when amalgamations are made, and in revising the private-bills legislation, so that the public should be represented through the Board of Trade, or by some other body, upon every railway controversy before the private-bills committees.

This committee had under consideration the question of discriminations, both as to localities and as to individuals; and the practical permanent result of the committee's work was the "Lord Cardwell Act" of 1854, which incorporated two principles into the general statutes on railways: First, that every company should afford proper facilities for forwarding traffic, on whatever line it may originate; and second, that no undue preferences or personal privileges should be given.

Through the influence of the railway companies, the Court of Common Pleas was substituted for the Board of Trade as the tribunal to take cognizance of infractions of the charters of companies by their managers; and an additional check was provided against any effectual interference by the public with the corporation, by charging a judicial branch of the Govern-

ment with an executive supervision, which, of course, pro
ineffectual.

In 1863, a great many of the general clauses which
found their way into the special charters which relate to
leasing, working agreements between companies, agreeme
for the maintenance and management and working of railwa
apportionment of receipts, etc., were thrown together into
act known as "The Railway Clauses Act."

Again, in 1865, the whole subject was referred once m
to a royal commission, which made its report in 1867. T
commission was more useful in collecting a great mass
testimony both as to British and foreign railway manageme
than in dealing with the questions involved. Its recomm
dations were vague, and no substantial results followed from
sessions. During the years beginning with 1848 and end
with 1868, the English legislator seems to have been unde
constant apprehension of amalgamation and excessive ra
He dimly suspected that competition was not to be rel
upon as the regulator of rates; and yet he was impotent
deal with the subject radically, because Englishmen, dur
that period, were so convinced that competition ruled
things, that he could not and would not admit that railv
rates were not subject to competition, and were to be trea
upon the same basis as taxation in private hands. It must
be forgotten that the success of the free-trade legislation had
fully vindicated the reliance of the Corn-Law League agitat
on competition as a safe and beneficent regulator, that
time had not yet come safely to admit that there w
exceptions to the operation of this law.

In 1872, however, a new commission was appointed, c
posed of Chichester Fortescue, now Lord Carlingford,
chairman, and Earl Derby, Duke of Devonshire, L
Belpur, Lord Redesdale, Earl Cowper, Marquis of Salisbu
and Messrs. Cave, Cross, Hunt, Dodson and Childers,
members.

This commission took thousands of pages of testimony
examining the whole field; took testimony as to the c
ditions under which the railways of other countries were b

and operated; and finally reported that there was no safety for the public except through the instrumentality of a special tribunal, in other words, a railway commission, having power over rates, and power to enforce obedience to the legislative public will, as expressed in the acts constituting the corporations operating these highways. This tribunal was to sit as a court to do prompt and final justice between private litigants and the great corporations, which, by successive appeals and the expensiveness of the procedure in England's common law tribunals, could tire and wear out private litigants. The committee reported as its conviction that competition could not be relied upon in relation to railway enterprises; that amalgamation would necessarily proceed; and that it had already by that time proceeded to a degree far beyond the anticipations of the earlier committees, without bringing with it some of the evils of which the earlier committees had such lively apprehensions; but that further consolidation should be jealously watched, and put under the supervision of the new tribunal; that the canal system of England, which was being rapidly absorbed by the railway system, should be carefully guarded; and that the statutes, in short, should recognize the fact that the railway was a public highway in private hands. This joint committee recognized the fact, without stating it in words, that the private capital which was invested therein was entitled to protection, yet that it was nevertheless an investment in an enterprise of such a character that the public copartnership therein was constantly to be recognized; and that this copartnership arose from the fact that the public had, through the instrumentality of its law-making power, conferred upon these private corporations many quasi governmental privileges and concessions. As the railway companies exercised the sovereign right of eminent domain in the construction of the roads, and substantially exercise the taxing power in their operation, there was no well-grounded reason for a complaint on the part of these corporations if the public insisted in becoming an active, as it had been for many years a dormant, partner in the conduct of these vast enterprises.

As a result of the recommendations of this committee, the

"Regulation of Railways Act" of 1873 came into existenc
creating a court known as the "Railway Commissioners
This act empowers the commissioners to take cognizance
all infractions of the "Railway and Canal Traffic Act" of 185
of the "Regulation of Railways Act" of 1868; or of any ac
amendatory thereof, or of any private bill under which th
railway company operates its line. It gives the commissione
power to allow the railway company an opportunity
explain the conduct complained of, before actually ente
taining the bill of complaint, if they see fit so to do.
gives them the power, when any differences arise betwe
railway companies or railway and canal companies, or
canal and a railway company, to arbitrate such difference
and it transfers the general powers of the Board of Trad
under the third part of the "Railway Clauses Act" of 186
as to working arrangements between railway compani
and amalgamations, to this commission. It amends and e
plains the enactments in relation to discriminations, and th
forwarding and interchange of traffic between companies, an
clothes the commissioners with special powers, under such e
planatory legislation, to enforce the provisions of previous la
in that behalf. It gives the commissioners power to deci
that any proposed through rate is due and reasonable, notwit
standing that a less amount may be allowed to any forwardi
company on such through rate than the maximum rate su
company is entitled to charge; and to allow a portion of su
rate accordingly. It gives them jurisdiction to entertain co
plaints by municipal boards or public corporations, local an
harbor boards, without any evidence of special damage to th
complainants; but requires that there shall be a certificate
the Board of Trade attached to such a complaint that it
proper matter for the adjudication of the commissioner
This statute of 1873 requires that every railway and can
company shall keep at each station and wharf, where
receives goods, a book or books showing the rate, and al
containing all special contracts made, and giving the rul
governing rates for certain distances; and that such rates sha
be open for public inspection, without the payment of any fe

This statute also gives the commissioners power from time to time, on the application of any person interested, to make orders, with respect to any kind of traffic, requiring the railway company or the canal company to distinguish in such book how much of the rate is for carriage, which includes locomotive power, and how much for expenses of the haul—in other words, to divide the haul from the terminals. It gives the commissioners power to hear and determine every question which may arise with respect of the terminal charges of any railway company; and, where the charges have not been fixed by an act of Parliament, to determine how much is a reasonable sum to be paid to any company for loading and unloading, covering, collection and delivery, and other services of a like nature. It forbids all railway companies and canal companies from making traffic arrangements of any kind with each other without the consent of this commission; and provides that all such traffic arrangements to and with each other shall be void unless the commission's consent has been obtained. It then provides that the machinery by which the consent shall be obtained is by a deposit of plan and intended agreement, etc., etc., and their publication; and finally contains elaborate provisions as to the carrying of mail matter.

The remainder of the act gives and clothes this commission with the necessary judicial powers to carry out the jurisdiction previously conferred. No appeal is allowed from the decision of this commission, unless the commissioners themselves certify that it is a proper case for the consideration of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

With this act commenced a new era in railway legislation in England. Under it Sir Frederick Peel, William P. Price, Esq., M.P., and Walter H. MacNamara, Esq., were originally appointed commissioners, and after the death of Mr. MacNamara, Alexander Edward Miller was appointed in his place. The first is the son of the great minister, and himself an experienced member of Parliament; the second is a great authority in the English railway world, who acquired his reputation as Chairman of the Midland Railroad, and the third was a lawyer of eminence. The commission was originally

constituted for five years, but on the expiration of its ter in 1879, it was recreated with additional powers. Althoug its institution was bitterly opposed at first by the railwa corporations themselves, and although many members of th parliamentary bar regard the tribunal with some prejudic which mainly arises from the fact that two of the com missioners are laymen and not lawyers—Mr. Miller being th only lawyer on the commission—the existence of the commissio and its work, have resulted in very great benefits to Englis railway investors, to the efficiency of the English railway, an to the security of the public.

The criticism that is now made against the commissio after six years of activity, is no longer that it is of little us but that the questions that are brought before it are of suc importance that it should be made a part of the judicial syste of England, and that an appeal should in all cases be permi ted to be made to the higher courts.

One of the objects, however, for which this special cou was instituted, was to prevent expensive litigations betwee private litigants on the one side and wealthy corporations o the other, and to promote speedy settlement, if not stri justice; and the suggestions as to appeal are antagonistic t this purpose of the creation of the commission.

On this point the London *Times* in a leader of the 25th o August, 1879, says:

> The Railway Commission was instituted expressly to provic the public with prompt and cheap redress for injuries sustaine at the hands of the great companies, who, possessing a monopo of the conveyance of goods and passengers, were sometimes foun to exercise their privileges in a hurtful and oppressive manne In one place the property, say of a market gardener, was serious reduced in value because the adjacent railway would not affor him proper facilities for the despatch of his perishable product In another place a merchant or tradesman found himself beate out of the field because his rival, on some pretext or other, ha been able to secure exceptionally favorable terms for the condu of his traffic. In another place the inhabitants were cut off fro access to London, or to some local industrial centre, except a inconvenient hours or under irksome conditions. To say tha such abuses prevailed is to say no more than that railway man agers are human; but, until the Commission was establishe

redress for any grievances so arising was not to be obtained, and the sufferers could get no better consolation than such as might be derived from pouring forth their woes in letters addressed to *The Times*. When the conduct of a railway company was clearly actionable, prudent men were averse to seek this remedy. It was the traditional policy of railway solicitors to carry litigation from court to court, and to weary the souls and exhaust the purses of plaintiffs by those delays which the wealthy can command. The desire for an appeal is enough to justify a suspicion that this policy might be again resorted to, and that companies might derive a practical immunity in wrong-doing from the costs which it would be in their power to accumulate. It is clear that the Commission ought to be composed of men strong enough for their work, and able to command the confidence of the country. With this provision, it would be far better that they should sometimes decide a case wrongly, and that the decision should be final, than that their judgments should be liable to be reversed by a higher tribunal, to which, as a matter of fact, they would probably in every instance be submitted.

It is not within the compass of this article to dwell at length upon the questions which have been presented to this railway commission. Discriminations such as have existed and now largely prevail in the United States, by which whole classes of producers and manufacturers have been driven out of business, would be absolutely impossible in the administration of English railways under the laws which apply to them, and the tribunal which enforces and exacts obedience to such statutes.

The railway problem in Germany and France is one of an entirely different nature from that which has vexed England and which is now vexing America; because there the main question is other than the control of the tariff of the railways. In Germany the tariff is subjected to the double controlling influence of the part proprietorship of the railways by the Government; and the direct supervision of the operations of all the lines by the governmental administrative departments. In France the railway companies have but a limited term of years within which to operate the roads. In about fifty years its railroads, although constructed by private capital, aided in some instances by the loan of governmental credit, become the property of the State; and the tariffs of the railways have been from the time of their organization under constant and more or less stringent

public supervision. The conditions of the railway questio in those countries is therefore not pertinent to this discussio

In the United States, the Mohawk and Hudson Railroa Company's charter was the starting point for railway buildin by public corporations. It was chartered a few days i advance of the passage by Parliament, in the same year, of th charter to the Manchester and Liverpool Railroad.

This pioneer statute limited the railroad charges both fo the transportation of passengers and freight, as a maximun to the amount of the tolls and duties, together with the freigh charges on the Erie Canal.

The original act gave the legislature the power to purcha the road on behalf of the State within five years after th completion of the railroad, on the payment of the amou actually paid out for the cost thereof, and interest, and deduc ing therefrom the amount received in the way of tolls o passengers and freight. This act was amended in 1828, a thorizing the State to acquire the railroad only after ten an before fifteen years after its completion, on the payment o fourteen per cent. interest, and deducting the tolls received.

This legislation was followed in rapid succession by th chartering of new lines in the State of New York and the Ne England States. The early bills generally contained the sam clauses with reference to the acquisition of the roads by th State; and when it was found that it was possible for the Ne York roads to carry, in addition to passengers, a large quantit of freight, they were required to pay to the State, in the wa of tolls on their local traffic, when carried on a line contiguou to, or running parallel with, the canal, an amount equivalen to the tolls that the canal would have earned had such good been transported thereon. This latter act was repealed i 1850.

The misconception of the function of the railway durin its early period can best be shown by a report made by thre of the leading engineers of the State of New York to th legislature of 1835, wherein they declare as follows:

"The railroads admit of advantageous use in district where canals for the want of water would be impracticable

ll probably be preferred where high velocities are
and for the transportation of passengers, and under
cumstances for the conveyance of light goods."
mistake was made in England as well as here, for the
glish railway charters, as well as the general railway
1848 and 1850, carefully guarded the rights of the
of the State against extortionate or discriminating
for the conveyance of their persons, while they left
way, in what ultimately became its main function as a
ter of goods, substantially free from supervision.
the extension of the railway system between 1865
0 by the consolidation, leasing and stock control of
constituting what are now known as trunk lines, the
corporations of this country became a much more
ble power than they had been theretofore; economies
troduced which made them successful competitors
e waterways, for the bulky traffic originating in
ern States, and the railway question first became a
nt factor in our political life. About at that period,
territory where the railway antedated the ordinary
, as in most of our western States (then the far west
substantially the middle western States), a public
was being created against the monopoly power of the
But this was not of long duration. The roads were
ently in the hands of the courts, and operated under
ction of the courts, that the rigorously oppressive
r of the continuous direction of solvent corporations
siderably mitigated. The passage of general railway
thorizing railway building without limitation and
special legislative sanction, by the State of New York
, and imitated in a majority of the sister States,
purpose of doing away with the scandals of the railway
securing franchises to speculate therein, and, as was
d, to secure in railway enterprises the beneficial regu-
the law of competition which, in other departments
n activity, secured to the people the highest efficiency
ce at the lowest rate of compensation, inaugurated a
in railway enterprises.

At first the establishment of through lines brought al
a competition beween the various railroads centering at Chi
and Milwaukee, of so active a character, and reduced
price of freight to so low a point from Chicago as one te
nus to New York as another, that the intermediate po
particularly those situated in the States which chartered
trunk lines, had their interests sacrificed; and New York,
instance, was compelled to see cereals which were raised in
far west, flour, and the hog products, which were respecti
milled and dressed for market at the Mississippi, pass the d
of millers and pork-packers in the interior of the State, at
places as Rochester and Buffalo, and thus carried to market
rate much lower than the actual rate which prevailed from
given State points to New York City; producing this resul
that not only were the advantages of contiguity to a ma
overcome and destroyed; not only was the farm in the far w
that cost three dollars an acre, placed upon a level with
which cost one hundred dollars an acre, but the nearer so
of supply was frequently placed at a disadvantage so great
compared with the farther terminal point, as to make
difference a reasonable commercial profit upon the commod

The fact of this discrimination of a ruinous character
testified to under oath before the recent railroad investigat
committee by farmers from the interior of the State, by
stantially the whole milling interests at Rochester, by p
packers and millers at Buffalo, by stock raisers throughout
State, and by many others.

Another effect of allowing railroads to do as they ple
in relation to freight charges was, that for a considera
period of time the two great trunk lines in New York,
Erie from 1865 to 1874, and the New York Central d
to the present time, had, and have substantially for the wh
sale or larger traffic, no local tariff. As was shown before
special railroad committee during its nine months' sess
the tariffs of these various corporations were mere start
points or maximum charges beyond which they agreed no
charge; but in each special instance when the proper press
was brought to bear, or it was shown that the article could

ported at the tariff rate, individual modifications by means of a special contract or the naming of a ate, either for the one shipment or for a given time party, be made, varying the tariff from forty cents a rate, down to ten cents a hundred rate, as the interest ipper, or the interest or caprice of the railway manager t agent might dictate.

absence of all regularity in freight charges which ized the whole of the local traffic was, until the pool- acts were consummated, the uniform and habitual con- the through traffic. So much so was this the case, that e leading grain-shippers of this country testified before nittee that he never paid any attention to what the aw fit to call their tariff, from the time that he went iness until the very period when he was testifying; ad heard of such things as a railway tariff, but he paid ion to it; that in each particular instance he made his ontract for the shipment of his freight without any ge as to what his neighbor was paying, and with some f confidence that he was paying as little as, if not his neighbor.

chaotic condition of affairs was still further compli- the existence of what was known as fast freight lines, rom lines originally formed by the railway managers t their trusts by getting for themselves a percentage dvantages of the through traffic and the absence of bulk, had developed in the course of time into ve lines to which each particular corporation over the which the fast freight line would run contributed cars tion to its mileage. The fast freight line was a per- tural development. Take a shipment from New York, ample: It would have to go from New York to Buf- the Hudson and New York Central Railroad; at break bulk and be re-transhipped to the Lake Shore ; and then again to the Michigan Southern, or Michi- ral. The fast freight line takes the shipment from k to Milwaukee over the lines of these various roads breaking bulk. This was a great economy of time

and of expense; an economy which first inured to the bene
of private personal interests, but which now almost whol
under the coöperative system, inures to the benefit of t
shipper in speed of delivery, and lessened freight charges.

There are, however, in connection with the various ra
way companies, many of these fast freight lines organize
Before the pool of 1877, each line was the competitor for bu
ness as against the other lines, and frequently the competit
for the business *over the same line of rail* against other f
freight lines running over the same line of rail.

In this hot competition for business, and the recognition
the fact that the tariff was a mere upset price which only t
unwary and the simple-minded would pay, each competit
would attempt to underbid a fellow competitor in rates, a
compel the freight department of the railway to acquie
therein under the threat that otherwise the business wou
go over some other route,—with the result, that the railro
company had one tariff at which it carried some few good
that the bulk of its larger shipments were carried at ma
other tariffs and many other special rates; that the railw
company had running over its line an express company wh
carried at another rate; that over the same line ran numer
dispatch companies and fast freight lines, carrying at otl
rates to the same points, so that the rates would vary at p
ticular western and south-western points from five to ten cent
hundred on the same day to the same or different individua
and these through rates were still further varied by time c
tracts. The local traffic was, as a rule, and is still in many
stances, carried at a rate far above the through traffic, not o
relatively but absolutely, and as to such local traffic the wild
caprice, most unreasonable personal preferences and discrim
ation, as well as local discrimination, prevailed.

In one form or another, these grievances are as old as
history of transportation; and the recognition of the fact t
possession of the highway makes extortion not only profita
but easy, has caused the civilized people of the earth to in
that the highway shall be either in the possession or un
the control of the Government for the general public w

is the highway of nations, and all the people of the
e free to put their ships thereon, and this highway is
for the benefit of them all by the powerful navies of
n. The great estuaries and waterways of a nation are
ts own people. Turnpike companies have either been
ed to give way to the public highway, or had the
which they were permitted to charge strictly limited
cribed. The railway alone is in this country allowed
reedom as to freight charges, and that from a combination
mstances and misconceptions as to its function which
v the business of the people to ascertain and remedy.
ne first place, as already shown, it was supposed that
vay was not qualified to carry freight in competition
waterways; secondly, the through lines had not been
ed or even thought of; thirdly, the material prosperi-
e country which followed railway building caused the
on and favoring in every possible way of railway
tion, and one of the most effectual methods of
ng it was to leave the building free to all, and
when built free from restriction as to its operation.
lso thought that this freedom would produce an active
ion between railways, so as to bring about a steadiness
s of freight, precisely as steadiness is produced by
petition of conflicting forces in the purchase and
commodities. There is no example which proves so
the non-universality of politico-economical rules as
re of the law of competition to apply to, and beneficially
ate, railway freight charges. In other business the
l competitors continue the business; the vanquished
rom it. In railroading, the vanquished continue in the
after, as before, insolvency—freed, however, from the
n to pay interest on bonds and dividends upon stocks;
me more formidable rivals than they had previously
ven threatening with bankruptcy the solvent roads, as
iver can afford to run his road simply for operating
, while the others must earn enough to pay dividends
k and interest on bonds over and above operating
.

This fundamentally reversed situation results in rever all the effects of competition in ordinary trade, and ma competition so dangerous an expedient to each managem that they are under a constant and powerful pressure to c bine rather than to compete.

While there is in other business a pressure for combinat in none is that pressure so powerful, in none is the conseque of non-combination so disastrous, and in none is combina so easy of accomplishment. For even if you build to c petitive points many lines of rail, they will never be numerous but that the managers thereof can be gathe together in a single room and can be made parties t contract. It was therefore a mere question of time whet the evils already set forth would cause either the Gov ment of the United States and of the several States, or railways themselves to move, the one through regula and the other by combination, to get rid of the disastrous sequences of uncertain and fluctuating rates which gave business enterprises a speculative and gambling character, m the incomes of railways extremely precarious, and placed treasury of the great corporations not only under the con of the freight department, but substantially under the con of the fast freight line agents. For not only were spe rates agreed and entered upon, but, in a great many instan drawbacks, rebates and overcharges were deducted from rate that was contracted for, either by a pre-arranged plan the purpose of keeping the actual rate a secret, or else paid a concession to a customer, if, after he had paid a contra rate, he could show that at the same time some rival house getting over the same line or over some rival road a lower r During the railway contest of 1870-75, the community it was beginning to realize that the low rates of freight char while desirable in themselves, were not nearly so desirabl certainty and equality of rates. For low rates on wes cereals meant a higher payment for the product to the wes farmer; higher rates, a lower payment for the product to western farmer. As the price of cereals is made in Lon and depends upon the condition of the market the world c

rence in the freight charges falls not upon the middle- even upon the consumer, but upon the producer. rcantile classes of the eastern States were therefore nterested in having freight impositions equal to all and ed as to rates, so as to take out of business transactions timate nature the gambling and personal element of ht rate, even though this certainty and equality were d at the expense of higher rates. It was felt that to a system which demoralized business and made lependent upon back-door influences with the railway s was becoming intolerable.

all purposes of dealing with great questions, there is great organizing minds. Mr. Fink, formerly the vice- t of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, and subse- the organizer of the Southern Railway and Steamship ion—the first successful pool based upon the division e which had been carried out in this country, which o existence by an agreement dated the 17th of Sep- 1875, and which, under the commissionership of Mr. s successfully maintaining freight rates,—proved the y of making a kind of contract which, unlike the contracts of former periods, could be carried out. that time, railway presidents, particularly of the trunk l over and over again met to make agreements as to charges, only to have them broken before the ink of gnatures had dried. Indeed, the making of the was generally accompanied by enormous increase l contracts, dated back to favored shippers for the of cheating the contract. So well known was the of the railway presidents to make a contract that old, that the fact that a contract was contemplated moved the stock of either road. There was nothing good faith of the railway officials to secure com- and where that good faith was, in practice, to be by a large number of underlings and agents not connected with the railway—these agents particularly rsonally interested in the way of commissions in the f the agreement—it can very readily be seen how irre-

sistible was the temptation to break away from a mere writ
agreement made by the presidents of these corporations.
Fink conceived the idea, not only of making an agreem
as to rates, but of having a common bureau at the expens
all the railways which entered into the agreement, which wo
see to it that there should be a division of traffic based u
what normally each road would be likely to do. And
normal division was fixed by a pre-arranged definite percent
This division of traffic was carried out without the sligh
reference to the shipper; and without the slightest refere
to the accidental increase or decrease of business for the t
being on any associated line. This ceased to make it
interest of any railway to get a larger share of business
cutting of rates; and, by stopping the operation of
interests antagonistic to the contract, the contract was m
tained. The trunk line managers, from the west to the east
seaboards—more especially represented by the New Y
Central, the Erie, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Penn
vania roads—finding that all their efforts at the maintena
of rates and to prevent cutting were unavailing, determi
upon the adoption of a scheme similar to that which
proved a success in the case of the Southern Railroad
Steamship Association, *i. e.*, the pool, and invited Mr. Fink
whom was mainly due such success, to take the position
commissioner for the trunk lines and organize this system
them. This was done in 1877 by agreements respectiv
dated April 5th and June 8th, 1877. As already stated,
pool was confined to west-bound traffic only; but in the Spr
of 1879 a like agreement was entered upon as to east-bou
traffic, a scheme more difficult of accomplishment, becaus
involved in its establishment the consent of a much lar
number of railways, as by common usage the trunk lines had
control of the west-bound rates, while the western roads h
prior to the east-bound pool, the control of naming the e
bound freight rates.

The pooling contract of the 5th of April contained a cla
by which it was agreed "that the differences in the rates fr
Baltimore and Philadelphia below New York shall, on th

l fourth class and special, be the same as the differ-
ked on east-bound business" [which were two, four and
s a hundred respectively], "and on first and second
eight cents per hundred less from Baltimore, and six
ss per hundred from Philadelphia, than the agreed
om New York."

letter written by Mr. Vanderbilt on the 18th of April,
hich was designed to answer the opposition made by
cantile bodies to this discrimination against New York,
"That to require the New York roads to carry freight
from the west at a rate which would disregard the
f cost of transportation from Philadelphia and Balti-
and from foreign ports, would give to the New York
its such advantage as would destroy the commerce of
ies; their roads would not submit to this, nor would
ties permit them to, until they had been exhausted in
ggle to maintain a fair equilibrium."

letter concedes that this pooling arrangement had
ct of placing New York upon an equality commer-
ith Philadelphia and Baltimore.

a considerable time prior to this arrangement, east-
ates to Boston had already been made for export pur-
e same as to New York, notwithstanding the longer
, so as to place Boston upon an equality with New
its export trade. On west-bound traffic the rates were
y the same—frequently lower, through the instrumen-
f the competition of the Grand Trunk line. The
ul war of rates that the Grand Trunk line in years
de against the powerful New York corporations for
nd and west-bound traffic from Boston to Chicago is
he strongest illustrations of the fact that competition
e relied upon as a governing factor in determining rail-
es. Here was a road confessedly and admittedly
t, with much greater mileage, and greater difficulties
ome in the way of gradient, and but little local traffic
d with the rich New York and Pennsylvania roads,
et could successfully compete and underbid its more
ble rivals in a war of rates. From the very fact that

it was insolvent, it became a most formidable competitor, a forced its more powerful adversaries not only to recogn it as a factor in the making of rates, but finally to take under the pooling arrangement, into copartnership to prev it thereafter from "running wild," to use the railway phras

This letter of Mr. Vanderbilt in April, 1878, is still furt a confession that not only was it the deliberate intent, but t it was within the power, of the railway corporations of State of New York to place New York upon a level w Philadelphia and Baltimore, and to wipe out the advantages its superb harbor, its comparative freedom from ice obstructi during the winter, and the enormous bulk of its traffic co pared with its neighboring seaboard cities. The railways l grown tired of warring with each other and patched up a pe in a manner not unlike the practice of great national pow which have been engaged in strife. They patched up a pe at the expense of weaker principalities which were neit parties to the war nor partook of the advantages of the pea

By one of the articles of peace, New York City was ar trarily placed upon a level with its less favored sister cities, that the Erie might emerge from bankruptcy and the N York Central be prevented from going into it.

It is true that tariff differences in former years were times, even more favorable to Baltimore and Philadelphia th those which the pooling arrangement fixed and determi upon; but the conditions of trade of previous years w likewise very different. New York City had control of enormously valuable import trade—European cargoes of gr value, paying high freights, came almost exclusively to N York,—among the Atlantic seaboard cities, and this course trade to New York determined the policy of loading return cargo at New York, notwithstanding advantages rail rates in favor of other cities; the return cargo be substantially in lieu of ballast. Whatever the European s earned homeward bound was regarded as so much ga The operations of our tariff, the practical effect of the Atlan cable, and the gradual return to a specie basis have, in course of years, changed the conditions of commerce. T

as fostered a larger home manufacturing industry vented importations. The cable has brought the con- lose to the American producer and reduced the profits orts to a minimum. The gradual return to specie ts made the tariff still more prohibitory, produced a ion of prices which prevented importations, and ships formerly had been laden with valuable cargoes to dis- t New York, came over largely in ballast and earned ole of the value of the charter party on the return from New York to Europe.

consequence of all this was, that a difference of two or six cents a hundred was, in fact, in 1878 a discrimi- against New York far more violent in its operation elve cents a hundred was ten years previously; and it came evident, both by the statistical returns of the Exchange and the pressure upon business interests York City, that a considerable diversion of traffic was by the operation of the pool.

r these circumstances the Chamber of Commerce, as esentative commercial body, took up the whole question, an elaborate report of its sub-committee on railroad tation showed in a masterly argument submitted on of February, 1878, with detailed schedules annexed the effect of these discriminations against New York s commerce, and concluded that day its deliberations he resolution: "That the committee on railroad tation be instructed to cause to be introduced in islature a concurrent resolution to appoint a com- or committee to inquire into what legislation was neces- protect and extend the commerce of the State, and report in relation to the powers and obligations of the s chartered by the State." A memorial was thereupon d to the legislature asking for the appointment of such ission or committee, which passed the Assembly, but ed in the Senate. In the following year a resolution opted by the Assembly, again at the request of the r of Commerce and Board of Trade and Transporta- appoint an Assembly committee to investigate the

abuses alleged to exist in the management of the railroad the State. Of this committee, Mr. A. B. Hepburn, one of most able and fearless members of the legislature, was m chairman, and a well-constituted committee of eight appointed to assist him in his investigations.

This committee began its sessions in the city of Alb on March 26th, 1879. The Chamber of Commerce and Bo of Trade and Transportation made elaborate and speci charges against the management of the New York railw This was followed by a like series of charges on behalf of State Grange and millers of Rochester and various other terests in the State. All these charges were attempted to met by the presidents of the New York Central and l railways by a "joint letter," in which they denied *seria* the justice of the complaints and insisted that the inve gation would show them to be wholly groundless.

The committee thereupon met in the city of New Yorl take testimony, and both the complaining commercial bodies the railways were represented by counsel, and testimony taken with the same care and under the same rules of evide as established in courts of justice. The committee sat, v short intervals, for a period of about nine months, submitt at the conclusion of its labors an elaborate report sig by all the members but one, substantially finding that charges of the commercial bodies and agricultural interest the State had been fully proved, and submitting a serie bills for the purpose of preventing a recurrence of the e complained of and which had so abundantly been show exist.

It was demonstrated, during the course of this inve gation, that the reports made by the several railroads to the S engineer and surveyor were, in the absence of a bala sheet, wholly untrustworthy, and that, even as to the det the absence of investigation as to their truth encouraged most curious twisting of the meaning of language and the quirements of the law, by each auditor of a railway corporat in order to determine for himself what the State meant its demand for information in certain particulars; and s

d with the law in conformity with his own interpre-
of the law and the interests of the railway that he
ted.

as shown that, under the proxy system as it prevailed,
locks of stock were voted at elections for boards of
s without any proprietary interest therein by the voter,
it was possible to obtain, under the prevailing system,
of corporations, the stock of which was held in Europe,
nere purchase of proxies, or the influencing of proxies
es which stood in the names of past proprietors of the
persons to whose name the stock was transferred for
udential reasons, and who never had any actual owner-
rein.

as shown that discriminations against the citizens of
te of New York in favor of western cities had been
d to an extent which threatened certain large indus-
articularly the milling industry of the State of New
with extinction, and very seriously affected the value
products in the State. It was shown that, in the case
local traffic, the New York Central railway had no
to rates, and no principle governing the same, except
vidual whim or caprice of its assistant general freight

as further shown that the assumed basis for making
eed differences of rates between Baltimore, Philadel-
l New York, because of a difference of ocean freights
Liverpool and those cities, had become by that time
unfounded; that the altered conditions of trade which
the volume of valuable imports and brought ships
allast had equalized freight rates between the various
the Atlantic coast north of Norfolk to Portland; and
bulk of the grain trade was moved in sailing vessels
Cork for orders, which could be chartered at the same
insurance and at the same rate of freight in London or
ol, to obtain their return cargoes either at Baltimore,
lphia, New York or Boston, as the prevailing rail rate
et, when the ship arrived, might dictate its course.

testimony, which covers over 4,000 pages, is of

course replete with information on many other points, but limits of a review article forbid reference here to any the more salient elements. Attention, however, should drawn to what was developed before the committee in rela to the business in petroleum, as showing most conclusiv how special rates originate and the logical result to which t lead. This great traffic, involving, between 1872 and 1 the carriage of crude and refined oil of an average of upw of eight millions of barrels per year, was, by a special which in 1872 was originally agreed to be given to the Sc Improvement Company and then given to the Standard Combination, so consolidated and concentrated that abou the beginning of the year 1879 it substantially contro upwards of ninety per cent. of the business; and even terminal facilities of the great trunk lines, the Erie and the N York Central, were in the hands of this combination, so they had control completely of the rate, to the exclusion other shippers. In addition, the combination had either exclusive contract for the rolling stock of the railway or ownership thereof, and also the control of the term receiving points at New York, by means of which it co prevent the railways from violating their contract with th without such breach being followed by immediate detect

At the sessions of this committee, the leading rail experts and railway managers were examined. The sali points of their testimony were spread before the commu from day to day, and the report of the committee whe appeared, together with the recommendations which accom nied it for legislation, were, as a whole, received by community as the first serious and well-directed attempt deal with those great carrying corporations in a statesmanl manner.

The bills which the committee reported were: First, improve the reports to the State engineer and surveyor so a compel a truthful exhibit from year to year of the operati of these great trusts; second, a bill to create a railway co mission; third, a bill to prevent discriminations both aga citizens of this State in favor of western States, and of l

the State as against other local points, and of indi-
ippers as against other individual shippers; fourth, a
prove the system of elections for the directions of
ons by preventing any but actual owners of stock to
e in such election; fifth, a bill to prevent the con-
or leasing of lines without the consent of the railway
on; and sixth, a bill to regulate the manner by which
capital of railways may be increased; it having
wn before this committee that about $49,000,000 of
of the Erie Railway Company represented no values
as actually expended upon the road, and that a large
n of its bonded indebtedness, variously estimated at
5,000,000 to $20,000,000, was actually without any
t in construction. It was shown, moreover, that, as
ew York Central, $11,000,000 of its bonded indebted-
mere bonus to stock on the original consolidation,
about $44,000,000 of its stock was watered capital.
ate of these bills is as yet undetermined. The pressure
opinion in their favor is a very strong one; but
the acknowledged powerful influence of railway
ons in the politics of the State, and the very natural
to offend such formidable adversaries on the eve of
tial election, together with the concentrated money-
t these bodies wield, can be overcome by the pressure
opinion, is as yet uncertain.

ny other ways has the attempt been made in this
o deal with the railway problem, with more or less
The western States, in 1873 and 1874, attempted by
known as Granger legislation to fix a hard-and-fast
the railways;—legislation from which they have been
l in great measure to recede, but which, however, has
rmanent mark on the legislative and judicial history
untry in two important particulars—that in the States
ard-and-fast tariff with pro rata rates were first insti-
h as Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin, the recession from
y has still left upon the statute books and in the practi-
ization of their State governments provisions for the
n of railroad commissions, which are in active operation

and have considerable supervisory powers over the co
rations within the limits of those States. The contest over
constitutionality of the Granger legislation resulted in a se
of decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States,
which the public character of the carrying corporations
fully recognized, and the right of the State to control th
was asserted to be substantially without practical limit.

These decisions of the Supreme Court of the Uni
States swept away a considerable amount of rhetorical rubb
which had been previously expended upon this ques
upon the theory that these corporations were conducting
entirely private business, which should be left as free fr
public interference or public supervision as the making
hats or the baking of bread.

The reports of the Massachusetts Commission from 187
1878, of which Mr. Charles Francis Adams was at the h
exercised a continuously beneficial educational influence by
appreciation and a clear understanding on the part of
commissioners of the conditions of the railway problem
the United States. Massachusetts, the pioneer in so m
fields of thought in this country, was likewise the pion
in the establishment of a commission to investigate the s
ject of railway polity. Through the concentration of pu
opinion by means of the commission, that commonwealth
brought to bear upon the railways of that State a press
which makes their freight charges reasonably just, and v
largely prevents the strife and bitterness that exist in ot
communities of the United States where there is no interven
body between the clash of interests,—those of the public
the one side and of the railway corporation on the other.

Mr. Fink's writings, before he became the general railw
commissioner, and more especially his answers to a series
inquiries propounded to him by Mr. Nimmo, the chief of
Bureau of Statistics of the United States, in the preparation
the report for 1876 on the internal commerce of the coun
have also considerably aided in correctly stating the conditi
of railway traffic; although, according to the opinion of
writer of this article, the conclusions drawn from th

ns do not solve the railway problem in the United

rge amount of information has been gathered and
cessible to the people of the United States in the very
elaborate reports of Mr. Nimmo of 1876 and 1879 on
rnal commerce of the United States, in which, aided
est experts he could summon to his assistance, he has,
at care and fidelity, stated the conditions of the railway
, the relation of the railway systems to each other, and
able consequences of such conditions to the people of
ed States.

freedom from control of the main lines of railway of
ntry, and the rapid consolidation of all the railways
United States, is a matter which has already
d the attention of European publicists to the status of
stion here. Dr. Von Der Leyen, the chief of the
Bureau of the Prussian Government, says:

e common-sense view of the American people seems to
ceived that matters should not continue in this state longer.
he last few years many attempts have been made to deal
evil. Should the railways be left to themselves as they
etofore been, it is expected by those familiar with the
hat a consolidation of the several great lines will result.
s has not yet occurred is due to the fact that in their
of each other the rival magnates are not inclined to submit
ion. Meanwhile, a few more railroad wars will have the
developing the master spirit who will compel acquiescence
vereign rule. In a governmental system like that of the
tates of America, with its loosely organized confederation
republican form of government, the establishment of such a
imperium would necessarily bring with it unlimited power.
lt is inevitable,—that the head of a combination of rail-
ould possess far greater power than even the president of
blic; and we may live to see the exhibition, not of a mili-
ator, but of a railroad director making himself the absolute
a republic. The apprehension of this result is so well
that no delay should be had in making all necessary
uccessfully to introduce railway reforms. Who knows
it may be too late to accomplish to-morrow what may
readily done?"

this is not an exaggerated statement of possible con-
must be quite clear to any careful student of our con-
neous history, when he reflects that by the end of the

current year more than five thousand million dollars will
invested in the railway property of this country; that it
embrace upwards of eighty thousand miles of line; that s
money power, which is at the same time the largest emplo
of labor and has the most capable corps of administrat
talent in this country, is vastly more formidable, if
solidated even in few hands—not to speak of one guid
mind—than the administrative machinery of the Uni
States,—and beyond all comparison superior to the pow
intelligence or influence exerted by any State government.
the jealousy which the founders of our institutions exhibited
nobility, primogeniture, and perpetuities as establishing
perpetuating class and personal privileges were well-found
there is abundant reason for apprehension in the growth
a power compared with which all the commercial monopo
which have existed in the past and all former corpor
institutions, foundations or family properties sink into in
nificance indeed. And it is high time that the people of
country should recognize the fact that freight charges are
the nature of taxes, that the railroad corporation collects
the way of tolls a larger annual contribution than the
gatherers of our various governmental institutions; that it d
so without any regulator but the most spasmodically appl
and widely diffused governmental regulation, and without
natural regulator of wholesome competition which prevails
other industrial institutions of society; that in this departme
competition has ceased to be operative and has now,
the leading lines of railroads north, south, east and w
been definitely and publicly abandoned; and that, if
people of this country desire to maintain their rights unde
form of government of their own selection without danger
having a power behind the throne at all times more power
than the government which they have established, they m
see to it that the power which has grown up within the p
generation in the railway office be, if not broken, at least ca
fully watched, jealously circumscribed, constantly guard
and made subservient to, and instrumental in, advancing
interests of the public.

SIMON STERNE.

III.—Politico-Railway Problems and Theorists.

nathematical, mechanical and financial phases of the railway problem having been solved by the engineer ocomotive, encouraged and supported by the capita- more abstruse negative theorems determining the and legislative relations of the railways and the public ner remain largely unsolved; nor can they by their very determined by inflexible rules such as control the the contractor and the banker. Yet this seems to be vor of many of the transportation empiricists of the se failure to appreciate the legislative as well as al impracticability and injustice of the rigid appli- mathematical laws to statutes regulating railway l rates only, while leaving every other compensation rate industry free, has caused much of the public in relation to the railway problem.

iticians desire public applause, it can be gained never or safely as by inconsiderate assaults upon corpo- f the industries of a locality, a State, or perhaps a nation ccusation is so easy to make as that railway carriers public needs; and the doctrinaire can reach notoriety kly by discussing causes which never before touched ; or experience. To all such, and to the unthinking ne sovereign remedy for the disorders which they to induce, is inflexible legislation. They would deny s that reasonable elasticity of judgment common to gement of all other corporations, and most essential to ansportation conclusions, because transportation deals ss directly with the interests of most business men. of this public misconception has been incited and d correction from the fact, that although the railways

represent the most important industrial and financial inte in the land, they have the scantiest literature, and have writ little in self-defence.

Their silence has proceeded from various causes: exceptionally rapid growth of the national railway syst which constantly modifies the conditions of the problem; the riety of public and railway relations; unequal and diverse lake, river and canal competition; dissimilar and freque antagonistic legislation by the various States; the absenc national enactments harmonizing State legislation; the ma tude of the problem in a country as vast in extent and activ as our own; and the incessant labor of railway officers— men best qualified to write upon it because daily engage the solutions of its intricacies.

This latter opinion may invite question; but the lead railway managers are men who are constantly dealing with intelligent iteration of the oral views and written statement merchants, manufacturers, agriculturalists, mineral workers lawyers in all parts of the country, as to the influences of way rates and methods upon local or extended business velopment, rivalries and rights; until the thoughtful rail manager becomes the most universal merchant and publicis trade. He possesses more opportunity and more knowledg each field of trade, than those engaged directly in any such f can have touching the science and practice of railway ministration.

This view seems proven by the mere suggestion that so vast a territory as ours, the transportation measures prop in New York may differ in essential particulars from t required in Texas; the question in inland Ohio undeni has many phases not common to sea-girt California; agricult Kansas may ask conditions unlike those called for by m facturing Rhode Island; and Pennsylvania, with its control mineral interests, might antagonize, as oppressive, laws in cattle-grazing Wyoming might be most liberal. It therefore, the practice and duty of railway managers on all through lines to rise above the artificial barriers of State bou ries and local interests, and apply themselves to the solu

arrying problem with comprehensive fairness. And
t justice to them that they should be met with the
gree of liberality. In this broader and higher spirit,
ay officer should demur to any just public discussion
ts the problem into this fairer issue and clearer

the history of the steam engine and the railway,
the article on the *The Railway Problem* in this
of the REVIEW, the legislative discussion has little
It may, however, be remarked, as an interesting
t iron rails were first used at Whitehaven, England,
and that Mr. Sterne is in error in stating that the
motive was tested on the Stockton and Darlington line,
Trevithick and Vivian patented a high-pressure loco-
n 1802, and built one for the Merthyr-Tydfil Welsh
in 1804, which worked well on levels and slight ascents.
of different pattern was tried in 1811 on a coal
near Leeds; and Stephenson constructed his own first
ve in 1814.

e reminiscences are, however, mainly useful to con-
public joy at the success of these first results—when
re doubtful, and when such rates were authorized and
by the new railways as would appal the modern
ter—with not only the forgetting of these benefits, but
e inconsiderate attacks of the present day upon rail
and this, too, although our railways have reduced the
transportation charges of the American public by
below those current in any country of the world, and
New York than in any State of our federation.

can the review of the railway legislation of England
great value in the United States, in view of the
r conditions and enactments which exist even in
States of our own country, unless parities of fact,
fect, circumstance, need, governmental similarity and
stify the like policies and laws, and their application
unless, indeed, we may learn to avoid the errors, con-
y enactments, and repeals which have occurred in
, and by them be taught the wisdom of legislative

caution. That such parity does not exist may be read ev by him who runs.

First.—All charters in England since the first one, give for the Wandsworth and Croydon line in 1801, are grante regulated and enforced by one supreme Parliament, and co vey nearly like and equal powers upon like conditions, vari only by local facts or the wider light diffused by time a experience. In the United States, charters have been grant by all the States upon conditions more various than the number, with the growth of experience and complication or as party urgency, geographical rivalries, the parallelism waterways, the laws permitting, limiting or preventi municipal, township or State contributions, encouraged retarded them, and stimulated private jobbery, or stained purified legislation.

Our general Government has also chartered and aid Pacific railways, which afford our only likeness to Engli governmental railway charters. It is also well to recall t large free donations of public lands to land-grant railways li the Illinois Central, and to note the fact that in such gifts o people did not restrict rates except upon the supplies a troops of the Goverment, yet those were concessions of und niable public wisdom.

Although the transcontinental lines were built mainly public monies or credit upon lands given by the people, whi in a wider sense is eminent or national and free domain, th charters authorize, and those railways charge, higher rates th any lines built by private capital on rights of way paid for high valuations under the much-prated power of eminent St domain; but the Credit Mobilier and the more recent a continual litigation as to the respective rights and pow of the Government and those corporations, do not encoura further congressional charters. Indeed, in England the ite for so-called "parliamentary expenses" equal, in some instanc $7,345 per mile, and on the Great Northern Railway $16,0 per mile.

Here, then, is a primal and radical difference between single conferring and enacting power, regulating all carri

alike over one entire and homogeneous jurisdiction—
ore than forty States, besides the general Govern-
giving as many original grants, treating the internal
vements of neighboring States with jealousy as often
h coöperation, and giving varied decisions in their
whenever railway charters or rights require legal
ination. In a word, we have over forty govern-
as independent and powerful upon this subject within
everal local jurisdictions as is Parliament over the whole
Great Britain; and the national solution of this great
m by the varying legislation of forty States is for
ngle reason forty times as difficult.

cond.—The United Kingdom, including its adjacent
, contains 121,115 square miles, with about 17,500
of railway, and a population in 1871 of 31,817,108;
the area of the American Union is 3,026,494 square
with about 85,000 miles of railway, and a population in
of 38,923,210, and now estimated at 45,000,000.
differently, Great Britain has one mile of main railway
ery seven square miles of its territory, while the United
has one mile of railway to thirty-five square miles of
y, or but one-fifth that of the British Isles.

is comparison farther proves that there are about 1,820
s in England to each mile of railway; while
United States there are but 530 persons to support each
f its railways with their travel and traffic, or less than
ird as many.

was argued vehemently by Mr. Sterne before the recent
railway investigation, that density of population,
large local business, giving greater volume per mile of
and tonnage, justified the demand that both should
rried much cheaper than otherwise; and it would,
ore, be presumed that England had the lowest railway
ortation rates extant. This brings us to

ird.—In 1877, the average cost per mile of the 74,112
of American railways then constructed was represented
capital and funded debt averaging $60,700 per mile;
in 1873, the railway capital of the United Kingdom paid

in was equal to $180,000 per mile for its 16,082 miles of
way then in operation. It is, therefore, clear that the Eng
public was expected and required to pay returns upon a
way capital about three times as great per mile as in
United States; notwithstanding their exceptionally com
and economical traffic conditions. That they did, in fact,
much higher rates, brings us to our next point of
dissimilarity:

Fourth.—In 1877, the 74,112 miles of the United States'
ways received average gross revenues of $6,380.94
mile, and $2,306.94 per mile net, while in the United Kingd
its 16,082 miles earned in 1873 nearly $18,000 per mile g
and $8,400 per mile net; the net English railway receipts
mile being one third more than the gross receipts per mil
the United States, the English railways working their lin
an average of 52 $\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. of their receipts, because
their higher rates, while it cost 63 $\frac{85}{100}$ per cent. upon the
lower charges in the United States.

Fifth.—England has no foreign carriers within or nea
borders by railway, river, or canal, competing with its o
and its maritime rights protect all its coast and border
carrying monopoly of its own citizens. Any railway
ditions and rates established by corporate compact or
parliamentary authority can therefore be, and are, maintai
without extraneous interference.

The American Union is bordered on the north by for
and rival soil, over and through which rival railway and w
carriers compete with our trunk lines, which are the espe
targets for legislative rifle practice, and those foreign tr
porters constantly seek to divert and carry American prod
away from our lines, not only upon carrying conditions a
lutely free from our enactments, but also exempted even f
the laws of its own parent government, which are held u
our imitative admiration. Does any one doubt, if Engl
were separated only by a navigable river from parallel
carriers in rival-producing Germany, that such a potent
would have largely shaped English railway legislation?
insular position is clearly exceptional.

h.—The United Kingdom has not, running through all
s, free navigable rivers to impose their cheap rates and
ecks against exactions, and compel liberal conditions
arallel railways, as in our country through its entire
greatest tonnage production and movement; yet our
es of congressional railway control have never sug-
as even a just or experimental preliminary transpor-
tep, the regulation of rates upon the river, lake and
courses confessedly under its control, before fixing
conditions upon the adjacent railways over which
ntrol is questioned.

nth.—"English canals are wholly in private hands,"
Ir. Sterne, and for that excellent reason the English
854 was the "Railway *and Canal* Traffic Act," while
York the anomaly is presented, that its transportation
make no suggestion, and the State no effort, to fix,
or regulate transportation charges upon the canal it
d built with public monies, but direct all their efforts
and adjust carrying rates upon parallel railways, built
xclusively with private funds, even when the railway
largely determined by those of the Erie Canal.

the English public built and owned such a controlling
rrier through its longest central distance and densest
on and traffic, does any fair mind doubt its influence
rmining just legislation as to railways, built with the
of its citizens, within sight of passing boats?

th.—The traffic conditions of England differ es-
from our own. We raise, gather, transport, and sell the
food it lacks, buys, imports, and distributes. England
urchaser in the lowest market; America, both the car-
seller, against the cheapest white labor of the world, in
agricultural fields of Russia, which uses far less rail
s. It is Chicago against Odessa. To succeed, we must
ur largest tonnage products over long rail distances,
an average of five States, having diverse and even
rying laws; while England distributes the same articles
ports of receipt, over short hauls, at local rates, through
n solely under one uniform civil power, uncut by

independent States, and undisturbed by contradictory actments.

In payment for a full car-load of our grain or cotton, take one box of goods or a cask of hardware; and Engl rates for railway transportation on both the articles we sell them and those we buy from them, average, under and s tained by the identical laws commended to our adoption, m than double per mile those we charge our citizens on the sa articles before they leave and when they reach our shores.

Ninth.—There are exceptional traffic conditions in British Kingdom over its short distances which are simi to our almost uniform requirements, and in those cases th practices are like our own. For example, through transportat from Belfast to London *via* Dublin and Holyhead is made of rail carriage to Dublin, thence by steamers across the Ir Sea to Holyhead, and again by rail to London, comparing in t respect with rail transportation from Rock Island to Chica thence by lake to Buffalo, and thence by rail again to N York; except that in our case, the water course is paralle by competing rail lines restricted as to rates by the carry conditions of open lakes. But the local railway rates betw Belfast and Dublin, and Holyhead and London, exceed proportions of the through rates accruing between the sa points on the through traffic cited; and every English tra portation act recognizes this necessity, aids in its solution governmental apportionment, and confers upon the railw discretion as to competing rates against rival carriers direct sea between London and Belfast. This is directly contrary the urgency of our modern transportation reformers, who find no consistent refuge for their logic except under the r of a pro rata law as proposed by the recent so-called "A discrimination Act," discussed in the New York Legislat and proposed and urged by a committee of enquiry after c about three months' labor in eight months of intermittent tings.

These salient and essential differences of condition may thus epitomized:

A small insular territory governed by one law enacted

by one tribunal over short distance railways, with five
much railway mileage per square mile of country as
, costing three times as much per mile as our own,
through traffic three times as dense as our own, and
three times as much per mile gross and nearly four
much per mile net as our own, at rates averaging
uble per mile the rates charged by our railways, and
foreign rail or river rivals or free internal competing
rolling canals, navigable lakes and streams.

he other hand, our Union of forty-seven States and
es covers a continent feeding a world contesting our
each State making carrying laws as absolute within
limits as those of Parliament over all England; our
ng and complicated, the parallelism of rivers, lakes
ign carriers positive and controlling, and our popu-
latively sparse.

y condition requisite to the cheapest rates exists in
; yet our charges average about one-half theirs, and
her rates are sustained by a railway pool, consolidation
ing-house recognized by its law, and sustained and
by its Parliament, courts, Railway Commission and
f Trade.

American railways receive or save the same earnings
as do English carriers, and all at local rates, we could
re quackery in legislation; but to ignorantly or pur-
isregard such plain diversity of facts is to do deliberate
avoidable wrong to no justified ultimate purpose.

eciting the early railway legislation of England, Mr.
ays: "Excessive charges and monopoly rates were as
unknown," referring to canals and turnpikes. So were
d certainty, but it seems a full answer to this entire
that now that they *are* thoroughly known to exist by
through the repeated investigations of Parliament,
charges that in America would be deemed grossly ex-
re nevertheless confirmed and enforced by its authori-
all railway carriers, solvent or bankrupt, over long or
tances, are combined under that parliamentary authori-
protection into a cohesive, unbroken, and absolute

monopoly power, with a rigidly organized clearing-hou
maintain it.

The earlier attempts to avoid this result in Englar
giving forwarders the right to supply their own power
cars as horses and boats are furnished on canals, and b
other means, have come to this legalized national result in
land, through a series of railway investigations and a ma
railway legislation of the most contradictory character.

The railway committee appointed January 21st,
reported a "total misapprehension" in providing locom
powers by preceding legislation, and said it was "ob
that all these restrictions and limitations were useless,"
that "monopoly is inseparable from the nature of
establishments;" and the "Seymour Act" was introd
authorizing the Board of Trade to publicly regulate that p
but not in conflict with charter rights. Another select
way committee of the following year criticised its predec
and advised limiting the discretionary power previously
to the Board of Trade, because in a noted case that powe
been unjustly used against the railway involved.

The royal commission of 1872, the ablest that ever
sidered this subject in any country, spoke of the committ
1841 "contemptuously" and of its conclusions as "
results." Even the bill passed in 1844, upon the Glad
reports of that year, Mr. Sterne says presents itself "ev
practical minds" as a "useless measure" and "worse
useless."

Regarding the commission created within and by the I
of Trade in 1844, so able and conservative a statesman a
Robert Peel declared the next year so strongly against it
it was dissolved.

Another special committee was formed in 1846 upo
same subject, and in the same year another railway commi
was formed with large powers and salaries, only to be
abolished in 1851. Another special committee was appo
in 1853, which justified railway combinations, and enacte
"Railway and Canal Traffic Act of 1854," still in active
and which act the London *Times* thus epitomized :

imposed on every railway and canal company the duty of
g all reasonable facilities for receiving, forwarding, and
ng all traffic, whether of passengers, goods, or animals;
any company to give an *unreasonable* preference or
ge to any particular person or company, or to subject any
ar person or company to any *undue* or *unreasonable* preju-
disadvantage; and enacted that companies working rail-
canals which form part of a continuous line of railway,
ve all reasonable facilities for receiving and forwarding
rriving *via* another railway or canal."

1865, another royal commission was formed, of which
erne says: "Its recommendations were vague, and
substantial results." This conviction upon his part
oceed from the following very clear rather than vague
ion announced by them in their final report of 1867:

equality of charge in respect of distance, besides being a
ry consequence of competition, is an essential element in
ying trade; that is to say, the principle which governs the
company in fixing the rate is that of creating a traffic by
g such a sum for conveyance as will induce the product of
rict to compete with another in the same market.
e power of granting special rates thus permits a develop-
trade which would not otherwise exist, and it is *abundantly*
that a large portion of the trade of the country at the
time has been created by, and is continued on the faith of
ates. * * * The conditions under which such rates
ted are so numerous that no special law could be framed
them."

withstanding this studied and intelligent conclusion,
islators and railway theorists think that in a country
e far more complex local and through conditions herein
out, they can nevertheless frame a special law to
meet and regulate them.

1872, still another special railway commission was
ed, which, upon the same much-vexed subject of special
eported in confirmation of the like judgment of the
sion of 1867. After concluding that the enforcement
l rates was "inexpedient" and "impracticable," this
mmission gave the following excellent reasons:

would prevent railway companies from lowering their rates
compete with traffic by sea, by canal, or by a shorter or
se cheaper railway, and would thus deprive the public of

the benefit of competition, and the company of a legiti
source of profit. It would prevent railway companies from
ing *perfectly fair* arrangements for carrying at a lower rate
usual, goods bought in large and constant quantities or for c
ing for long distances at lower rates than for short distances.

In introducing the bill based upon this report to the H
of Commons, the Rt. Hon. Chichester Fortescue, Chair
now Lord Carlingford, said on the 10th of February, 187

"There was the question whether *the unlimited powe
varying their charges to the public which the railway comp
now use* (note this, notwithstanding former legislation), cert
with great freedom and in a manner which led to complaint
sometimes to suspicion, ought not to be limited, and whethe
system of equal mileage rates exactly according to dist
should not be imposed upon the companies. They were
carefully considered, and in *all* these cases the committee ca
the conclusion *unanimously* that they were not conditions wh
was *either practicable, or for the public interest,* to impos
railway companies."

The Act of July 21st, 1873, then first introduced, doe
go farther as to special rates in all its thirty-seven sections
the Act of 1854, already quoted, and under which
Fortescue said the railways possessed "unlimited power
variation. On the contrary, both acts, and both the
reports which preceded them, distinctly recognize not
differential but preferential rates, if not "undue or unrea
able."

These are the conclusions of intelligent and conserva
English thought upon special rates and the whole ge
subject, after thirty years of repeated investigation by
commissions, legislation and experiments, during which
liament had six special railway commissions, and two sp
commissions or powers given the Board of Trade, bot
which it abolished; and enacted over three thousand rail
bills at enormous cost to the public and the railways, n
of which it afterward repealed. Under existing law and
railway commission, appointed for five years upon the re
of the great committee of 1872, the whole has resulted in

1. National recognition of the mercantile necessity
equity of special rates, provided they shall be public and "
unduly or unreasonably preferential."

vernment and not the commission may reduce the
r ten per cent. dividends have been earned, or may
the railways after twenty-one years, by guaranteeing
ent. dividends thereafter to the shareholders.

ginning with the "Railway Clauses Consolidation
1845, amalgamations or consolidations are fully
d, by which rates may be and are maintained at
ards fixed by the railways, not in excess of their
rovisions; in pursuance of which power practical
ions of revenues in the London Clearing-House are
d and sustained, where actual amalgamations have
red.

e decreeing powers of a court of arbitration given to
nission, as between railways and canals, as to each
d between those carriers and the public on public

e apportionment of through rates between different
g railways, and as between carriage and terminal
the technical approval of joint railway and canal
angements; and minor powers not essential to this
.

uld also be remembered that this great problem has
eived in England the unprejudiced and states-
ttention of such men as Gladstone, Peel, Fortescue,
and others—names in strong contrast with those most
the anti-railway legislation proposed in America,
public sentiment here is so easily fired that publi-
leaders have greater need to be circumspect and
ive.

viewing the mass of experimental English railway
and conclusions, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., tersely
n Chairman of the Massachusetts State Railway Com-

here has the system of special legislation been so
y followed, and nothing, it may be added, could have
complete than its failure. * * * The result of thirty
uccessive and and wholly abortive effort in this direction
d, has at last settled down in the conviction that the
ent and necessities of trade in practice, always have

nullified and inevitably must nullify the special acts, no ma
how carefully and skilfully they may be prepared."

As the principal criticism of Mr. Sterne is on special ra
and is so disposed of by the very testimony invoked by hin
will be well to observe further that nowhere in English
way legislation is the pro rata suggestion or principle inco
rated or supported, while it is a prominent and ann
feature of proposed State and national railway legislation
America, where the application of so abstruse a princ
is far more difficult than in Great Britain. All this
the important testimony of intelligent and national
clusions.

Another valuable lesson England teaches us is, that it ne
attempted positive railway legislation upon rates beyond
contained in its charters granted, until after the reports of
two first commissions; yet Mr. Reagan, of Texas, with a consi
able congressional following, urges our national assembl
adopt in this vast country, with complications far gre
than those of England, positive and most radical rate le
lation without prior investigation by a national commissio
as thoughtfully urged by the railways and the conserva
elements of the mercantile public, and repeatedly pointed
as the frequently recurring railway policy of England.

Even in commercial New York a committee of n
politically unanimous as to eight of its number and upon
eve of a national election which its reports were intended
affect, reported a bill for the most radical and impractic
pro rata legislation, contrary to their own former report,
simultaneous with their recommendation for the appointn
of an advisory commission, not even awaiting its appointn
and reports.

To answer that its information and report were full
conclusive is to claim that six citizens of New York can be
solve, under the influence of a hostile indictment ma
disproved, what England learned in thirty years through
laborious study of practically eight commissions, although
one committee possessed a minimum of transportation—
little legislative—experience, and dealt with carrying

infinitely greater than those of any other State of the
nd greater than those of all England.

Sterne also withholds from his English discussion and
ll reference to the present state of feeling in England
s important subject. In a railway petition presented
Senate of the Parliament of Canada on the 12th of
1880, its intelligent author, who was repeatedly
to by the English commission of 1872 for practical
ion and advice, and did much to shape the parliamenta-
which he refers, says:

nparatively simple as was the subject in England, the
med under the imperial act referred to (July 21st, 1873)
iven satisfaction either to the commercial or the railway
and your petitioners respectfully submit that the appli-
Canadian railways of provisions from the imperial act—
lly inadequate where every corporation and interest
were under the jurisdiction of the British Parliament—
fraught with peril to your petitioners and other similar
ons."

being true of Canada, how much more is it pertinent
y conditions in our many States! Another recent
of the Northern Railway of Canada to its Parliament

r petitioners submit that railway operations in England
eason of the insular and isolated character of the country,
ively simple, as in relation to kindred operations in
which are largely guided, controlled and dictated by the
onal character of the carrying trade of the country."

e section of the Queen's dominions urges the inap-
y of the home act to Her Majesty's American pos-
how much more cogent is such reasoning when applied
nited States.

the subject is even yet regarded as an open and dis-
e in England, is farther proven by recent litigation, in
n order of the railway commission upon the South-
Railway was resisted by that company and was carried
ourt of Queen's Bench, which decided in favor of the
Commenting upon this decision, the London *Times*
ry 14th, 1880, said:

e jurisdiction of the railway commission has received a

heavy blow. Their powers prove to be by no means what were supposed. * * * *The Lord Chief-Justice drew a c argument from the past policy of the legislature, which was t pose terms as to the original construction of a line, and afterw to leave its owners to manage it as they deemed proper.*"

This is a condensed final definition, uttered by its l Chief-Justice, of all past English legislative railway po which is clearly entitled to more weight than the theore interpretations of misleading authors. To prove further the general question is still open in England, it is agair gaging the attention of Parliament, and in answer to a mo of the Earl of Cork in the House of Lords, on the 12t February last, for a comparison of English rates with tho various other countries, including our own, the Earl Beaconsfield replied in part:

" In the United States every State had a railway law o own and possessed unlimited discretion without any legisl (*i. e.* national) action, as to altering the railway rates on e route and on every article."

Mr. Sterne next says that the conditions of the rail question in France and Germany are "not pertinent to discussion," to which bare assumption a demurrer is ente

No abler paper upon this general topic has been pe than that of M. de la Gournerie, Inspector-General of French Corps of Bridges and Highways, and first publishe February, 1879, in the *Bulletin of the Society for the Encou ment of National Industry.* His conclusions, so announ are largely observed in the present railway methods of Fr

It may be premised, that the French railways have constructed in systems radiating mainly from Paris like spokes of a wheel, and certain territories and districts permanently assigned to each railway system, within whic others shall refrain from interference. Their construc bonds were mainly guaranteed by the Government, in re for which and other acts the railways revert to the Go ment, or it may become possessed of them after long per the intermediate profits up to ten per cent. belongin the share-holders, the Government meanwhile reserving general supervision of management. While governmental

ttle farther go without full ownership, the maintenance
tariff rates far in excess of those in the United States
measures far more effective than pools and clearing-
could not be more absolute; and we thus find two of
at governments of Europe in accord in the practical
ion of adequate returns upon corporate interests and
ents against the public and private follies of un-
l rivalry and inconsiderate public interference. Not-
nding this imperial protection continued by republi-
nce, the world-wide questions of long and short hauls
gular and special rates arise and call for adjustment as
y other country.

his masterly review, M. de la Gournerie says:

spite of some peculiar circumstances, the operation of
s, like all other industries, is subject to the great law of
ics; * * * * the prices should be regulated ac-
to the value of the transportation as determined by the
f supply and demand, and that, when different bases are
, such as the length of haul or the amount of cost, we
into contradictions and impossibilities."

in:

article of transportation, like every article of goods, and
ry service, has a value determined by the action of supply
nand. We should pay for it, *not what it costs, but what*
rth. An exception to the general law of transactions
e made only for powerful motives."

further:

railroad in its own interest, and in that of the country,
ot to neglect any traffic of a kind that will increase its
more than its expenses."

following paragraph is commended to those who regard
g strange that railways cannot fix one unvarying unit
portation:

e different units of transportation carried by a company
rom giving equal profits. If, because some of them leave
rofit only a very small part of the receipt, we assume to
the tariff so that it shall get only the same proportion of
le gross receipts, it will not be able to meet the obligations
has contracted. The certain result of requirements of
l would be to lead the companies to refuse all shipments
they could not make a high profit, and consequently to

abandon a considerable income, while depriving the countr cheap transportation for a great quantity of merchandise."

A pamphlet issued in September, 1877, by the Adm tration of Public Works for France, commenting upon hig rates for short than for longer distances, declared:

"These anomalies, so much charged against the railro were not, however, a new event in the transportation busi Before the establishment of railroads, the carters likewise imp a higher rate from Paris to Angers (191 miles) than from Par Nantes (246 miles), and we see that, over this route, the rail had only followed the old cartage irregularities. The boats their part, formerly took more from Chalon-sur-Saone to V franche (60 miles) than from Chalon to Lyons (81 miles); r from Lyons to Tarascon (156 miles) than from Lyons to A (165 miles)."

Upon this statement, M. de la Gournerie comments:

"Freight could be shipped from Paris to Nantes by naviga of the Seine and by barges. We understand, therefore, under the action of supply and demand, transportation from had less value to Nantes than to Angers.

"The transportation from Chalon to Villefranche was effe by flat-boats destined for Lyons, which had to make land and lost time, or by special boats, for which it was difficult to full loads.

"The railroads are under the same conditions as the ca and the boatmen. I do not see how it could be possible to estal that transportation never has a less value for a longer for a shorter distance, or that each separate transportation sh not be paid for according to its value."

Proceeding from this to comment upon uniformity tariffs, he remarks:

"A good deal is said of uniformity of tariffs, of regulating rates according to the distance carried, without taking into count the value of the transportation. * * * Good re can be attained only by fixing rates closely in conformity to *value* of transportation. If they exceed it, the road is of utility to the country and yields small receipts. If they are than it, they are a gift to the community. Except for grave reas an arrangement contrary to the rules universally admitte commerce ought not to be adopted. Uniformity of tariffs w occasion much greater inconveniences in France than in a sm country, all parts of which would be under nearly the same nomical conditions."

In discussing the regulation of tariffs by cost, he says:

"Some have proposed to regulate the tariff in accord

ıe cost of the transportation. This basis could not be ap-
o those roads whose net earnings cannot cover the inter-
the capital invested. For others it tends to fix the rates
ow."

ıe following is particularly commended to those who
expressed great surprise that railways cannot promptly
exact cost:

t is important to observe, however, that the value of any
ransportation on a railroad is not known with precision, be-
it results from a maximum."

ıe following is also of great clearness and interest:

'he permanent intervention of the Administration in the
ion of railroads is sought to be justified by saying that the
nies, relieved from all competition, fix their rates in a
r wholly arbitrary. I will first remark that the monopoly
absolute, for the railroads find as competitors, under differ-
rcumstances, the coasting vessels, the river and canal boats,
ıge coaches and the freight wagons, and next, that a privi-
ıodifies the effects of supply and demand, but does not
y them. A great many monopolies exist, some by law, others
o, and the different merchandise has none the less a value
ıined without any intervention of authority. * * * * *
'hese considerations are applicable, even in case of com-
n, to every industry capable of receiving a considerable
pment. * * * During the first years after their charters,
ompanies were almost free to regulate their tariffs with-
ain limits. Spontaneously they made reductions for freight,
ffered to passengers various advantageous arrangements.
ven possible that in certain cases they knowingly reduced
es below the figures which would have procured them the
st immediate net profits, in order to develop the industry
country which they served; this was sowing in order that
ight reap.
lt this epoch we had not yet invented any of the restrictive
es by which we injure the interest which we wish to protect.
ompanies were able to make experiments, to take ac-
of the growth which the different branches of commerce
apable of making, and to appreciate with sufficient certainty
ects of supply and demand.
'he value of any transportation depends essentially upon
erating expenses. * * * The gross receipts are very
vhen the rates are either extremely low or excessive."

summarizing this cogent review, he concludes:

have sought to combat this widely spread opinion, that in
mmercial operations of railroads everything is artificial;

that instead of observing, we must invent ; that instead of hab
ally leaving the different interests to react upon each ot
through supply and demand, it is necessary to be regulating c
tinually. If we were certain that the men who manage railr
business would always have a perfect understanding of th
questions, my conclusion would be to leave the matter to th
entirely ; but the companies enjoy too great power for us to res
ourselves to endure tranquilly the consequences of their err
I think, then, that the State should preserve its powers ; *we*
attentively, but prescribe little."

The best thought of England and France thus seem
entire accord in this conclusion upon an intricate subj
contrary to the American anti-corporate idea which seem
be : *Prescribe much, even if we know little ; and try it, for*
have not the time to watch.

Passing now to Germany, the constitution of the Emp
expresses the idea that all its railways are to be operated
unit, and declares its railway policy to be the greatest practica
reduction of tariffs ; but its railway law of November 3d, 18
still in active force, fixes the tariffs at ten per cent. profit u
the stock, the same as in England and New York, and orde
reduction of rates as soon as those previously charged prod
more than that return. In building the roads, their manag
could dispossess by force, and the builders accepted char
which provided that the tariffs are subject to State cont

The mercantile carrying problem cannot, however,
solved more easily by emperors than by citizens, and
variation of local interest and rivalry, the competition v
adjacent nations, long and short hauls, the proximity of stre
and seas, complicate this question more in united Germ
than in England, and more also than in France, because
latter districts its territory and assigns its traffic.

The just solution of these difficulties has frequently elu
the sagacity of the State, and it has at last become the po
of the great chancellor to purchase the main lines by
negotiations with their owners, and thereafter manage
control them. Prior to this conclusion, a commission repo
upon the whole subject, and the conclusion as to
railway policy of the Empire—within all of which its wi
and law are more potential than those of Parliament

d, because backed by more unrestricted power—was as :

the course of forty years of development, the enormous ance of the railroads, for traffic, and the entire modern tion, has been shown, so that the legal regulation of the supervision over the railroad system is acknowledged to be the most difficult problems to solve.

is not yet everywhere understood that an efficient regu- and organization of the State's supervision over the railroad is *impossible* for any length of time; that the indirect on of the State for the public interests concerned is not to rded as sufficient means to solve the task of their protection omotion. The existing order of the railroad system in the nt States still presents a queer picture of the most differing s. A closer study of the important public interests con- in the railroad system, and of the task the State has to in their protection and promotion, will prove that of all systems, the direct and unlimited attention of the State, *ting of the property*, of the traffic, and of the management inland main lines under the strong arm of the State, are y efficient *and proper* means to solve that task."

discussing the system of freight tariffs, the report observes:

is difficult to arrive at an understanding, either by circum- l, verbal or written proceedings between the managements, rd to the principle of tariff formation." * * * *

lsewhere:

he principle of equality does not absolutely exclude that freight reductions or other favors should be made dependent certain suppositions, such as the amount of freight, or istance freight is sent. * * * On the German railroads, s 63 skilfully arranged local tariffs, with their different cations, and numerous exemption tariffs, there are no less 84 general tariffs for a connected intercourse of German with each other, with 351 special tariffs for certain articles, 9 general tariffs for intercourse with foreign countries, and ecial tariffs."

is is a total of 1111 tariffs on about 13,500 miles of rail- ver an area of but 210,000 square miles, or a separate for every 12 miles of line; and yet it is concluded that oblem could only be solved by government purchase.

e following cumulative proof is commended to the who say that the cost of transportation can and should dily determined:

he regulation of tariffs moves in a broad margin between

the expenses of running the road, which it is very *difficult a uncertain to determine*, and the value of the transportation to t stockholders."

The following imperial consideration for private rights also commended to those republican agitators who disrega them:

"A forcible reduction of freight offers, for legitimate reg lation, difficulties almost impossible to overcome, without of cour referring to reductions conditioned by competition or pressi liabilities. A *legitimate* regulation contains not only a weigh and direct encroachment on the management, but also on t financial affairs of the enterprises concerned."

These, then, are the essential conclusions of the thr most intelligent foreign governments upon this great proble after years of legislation, supervision, and participation.

It is now pertinent to inquire how they compare with tho expressed in acts introduced by the last two transportati committees of Congress, and urged upon the railway inves gating committee of the New York Assembly.

The former exempted canals, rivers, steamboats, coasti vessels, and barges on all waters, and tied the hands of paral railways, as England does not; it made absolutely unifo rates, regardless of quantity, whereas the English acts rec nize quantity as a factor; it prevented draw-backs, even if ma for purely commercial considerations, and alike to all, like a m chant's "ten per cent. off," as England does not; it prevent the tonnage divisions, which, more than any other devices, ha stopped the transportation wrongs of the past in Ameri which England sustains by law and enforces in a clearin house, which France adjusts by an actual tonnage distributi by the Government, and which Germany is organizing a purchase that surely stops former competition. It stipula that no charge for short should exceed that for longer distanc and enacted the pro rata principle which England and Fra have discarded; it required all rates to be printed and post while England permits special contracts registered at statio it disregarded and made us subject to foreign competition Canadian railways and water outlets; and if enacted, it co not touch the New York Central between Buffalo and N

or the Pennsylvania between Erie or Pittsburg and
elphia, because those lines are all in single States,
the legislation would control their rivals, the Erie, and
ore and Ohio. This striking fact is a sufficient commen-
on the dissimilar conditions of England, France and
ny, under whose absolute and uniform national juris-
no such anomalous wrongs could occur.

e urgent appeals of our railway interests for a national
sion to examine this question before enacting such
and unparalleled legislation have not to this moment
mplied with, and our legislators do thus exactly reverse
ter English rule, to learn first and enact afterwards.

e investigating committee in New York was appointed
because of the gravity of charges preferred against
lways by the Chamber of Commerce and Board of
and Transportation, the latter without a transportation
it, and both being trade organizations local to New
City.

ere were and are other and controlling factors in the
g problem in New York which singularly escaped the
on of these complainants and the committee, to wit: the
s of the Erie Canal with the New York trunk lines,
different carriers upon the canal itself. It was not
nnot be denied, that Erie Canal carriers are free to
their friends or punish their enemies by varying and
inating rates; by different rates on the same days,
some instances in the same boats between the same
by the lower charges for the longer distances; by draw-
nd by discriminations in favor of the through trade;
ese important questions which often control the rates
s of the adjacent rail carriers, have been and are left
continue unrestricted on the canals confessedly under
control, while parallel railways are restricted upon like

re than this, the Erie Canal tariff prescribed and enacted
w by the State, discriminates widely. Twenty-one
are carried free, twenty-three other articles are charged
ble the rates toward New York City which are charged

from it, and salt is charged at over eight and a half cents one hundred pounds from Troy to Buffalo, although cheapest article carried, while manufactured tobaccos, cott and woollens are carried free, and against which free tolls railways must compete.

Can legalized discrimination go farther? And can it doubted that if the parallel trunk-line railways established l preferences, and similarly made the producers of one class goods pay enough to carry free those of others, it would heralded as railway abuse, preference and injustice,—and t legislative methods would be sought to remedy them? In t respect, note again the fairer policy and action of Engl in making its laws "Railway *and Canal* Traffic" acts.

The first body above named, disregarding entirely th palpable canal wrongs—charged upon the railways in se counts, that freight was carried for citizens of foreign countr and other States, for less rates than those charged New York State; that individuals and localities were und preferred; that railway officers charged high rates to maint personal gains; a lack of publicity; abuses of proxies, unjust differential rates between competing seaboard cities.

The second organization endorsed the first in a so-cal indictment, covering twenty-eight specifications, but omitted to recommend the State to first cast out the beam its canal eye.

The first of these charges as to foreign freights was pro to have been true for less than one year in a temporary test with the Grand Trunk Railway, and as it had b stopped for two years when charged, it was therefore untru

It was not denied that the railways carried west products for shares of through rates which were less than t local charges, but it was shown that by the coöperative tonn apportionments the former too excessive discrimination discontinued; and it is now believed and hoped to be per nently so.

That localities were intentionally preferred, was attempted to be shown, but in exceptional cases undue pre ences were doubtless given to individuals—a wrong which

lly righted before the committee closed its sessions or ed its reports and bills, although they gave the railways ntion or credit for that act and fact.

endeavor was made to sustain the slanderous charges t the railway officers, never before paralleled by deliber- ommercial bodies, and the lack of certain publicity, uses of proxies, and watering of stock, were matters not ful; but the railways concurred mainly in the modifi- s proposed in those connections.

ith this condensation of the general allegations against tate railway system, the review of Mr. Sterne is ap- ed with amazement at its errors of fact.

begin their enumeration, it is stated that at first the shment of through lines produced such low rates that oximity of the New York producer to New York City lands in the west worth three dollars per acre upon a with those in this State costing one hundred dollars re. The error of this statement may be shown from roof that through lines existed to Chicago by rail and and by all rail, from 1852 to 1856, while the rates re- to are not complained of until after 1873, from twenty- sixteen years later; and also from the undeniable proof ted, but not admitted in the article under consideration, om July 1st, 1879, to the date of the committee's report ly had the railroad companies succeeded in overcoming through discrimination against the local traffic of citizens w York, but had so thoroughly reversed it that counter ts were offered in congressional committees by citizens stern States.

state in a review of April, 1880, as a fact of present evils which ceased nine months before, is to wrongfully d the public mind. It is a present fact, shown before mmittee, that every farmer, stock raiser, and dairyman w York, resident upon its trunk lines, has an advantage nsportation eastward only—and more when his westward ases are added—as compared with the average farmers ing through Chicago by rail to New York, equivalent to ss than $80 per car, and which from October 1st, 1879,

to March 1st, 1880, equalled about $100 per car of
hundred and fifty bushels of grain.

In this connection it was proven by the official ce
reports before the railway committee in refutation of the g
agricultural misstatements of the above named trade bodies
their counsel, that from 1865, the year of greatest inflatio
1875 the year of deepest depression, the value of farm
New York had increased 32.72 per cent., the value of f
tools and implements 108.81 per cent., the bushels of sp
wheat 46.26 per cent., winter wheat 66 per cent., oats 9
per cent., with many other large increases; and Secre
of State Bigelow, in discussing a comparison of the fed
census of 1870 with the State census of 1875, wrote
follows:

"There has been a very substantial increase in
number of farms in the State since 1870, and this increa
most conspicuous in the class of farms from 100 to 500 a
The net increase in the number of farms of all siz
25.586, while farms from 100 to 500 acres have incre
34.548, and farms of 500 acres and upwards have incre
1.037." This was not agricultural ruin.

The milling interests of Rochester and the pork-pac
and millers of Buffalo were also voluntarily placed u
a basis equal to or better than that of their western c
petitors, before the committee reported.

That the Erie Railway from 1865 to 1874 had substanti
no local tariff, arose, as clearly shown before the commi
not from the inequality of its freight charges, but from
fact that its repeated changes of management preserve
former tariff as a general guide, although its rates
enormously reduced and were almost uniform to all its patr
its auditors certifying that less than five per cent. of its e
tonnage was carried at preferential rates, and it is for
five per cent. this legislation is proposed on that line.

The citation from the testimony of "a leading grain-shi
of this country" misrepresents the expressions and inte
that witness, who merely said he had no time to find
what railway tariffs were, and so made a contract at fixed pr

l and large transactions, which he distinctly stated upon
nd might be the tariff rates or otherwise. To so com-
misrepresent the statements of this gentlemen is to
most questionable methods in a discussion which should
th only the fairest.

state that the chaotic condition, so deftly and originally
cted, was complicated by fast freight lines is to con-
the uniform and entire testimony before the committee.
oof was submitted to support the libellous statement
rmer railway managers "exploited" their trusts by
for themselves percentages of the cut rates for through
and that the saving of time and avoiding the breaks of
organizing through fast freight lines at first inured, as
ly implied, wholly to the benefit of private personal
s; and even had they done so in bygone years, the
nd radical reforms, clearly proven to have been in-
d by the New York railways criticised, should com-
ordial mention rather than insinuated reproach.

statement that the local traffic of the New York lines
a rule, and "is still," carried at rates "far above the
traffic," not only relatively, but absolutely, is untrue,
it may be in some instances so isolated as to resemble
litional needle in the hoary hay-stack.

nerally as to local rates, it was proven before the recent
gating committee, that of one hundred and twenty tariff
rom Philadelphia and Baltimore to stations on the
lvania and Baltimore and Ohio lines, as compared with
e number, for like distances, on the New York Central
ie lines from New York, the latter were under the
on one hundred and two rates, and the two former
nies exceeded them on one hundred and one rates. It
o proven that in comparison with the Baltimore and
reights rates, the tariff rates for like distances on the
verage over fifty per cent. less; the local rates of the
for three hundred miles being ninety per cent. in
of the Erie, and for three hundred and seventy-five
hey were seventy-six per cent. greater than the Erie
r four hundred and sixty miles.

The local passenger rates of the New York lines
shown at the same time to be greatly below the others.

Nothing can be more fallacious than the statements
reasoning regarding bankrupt railways.

The fact that once a railway always a railway, and that
is contrary to the rule of merchandising, is too appare
require contradiction; but the unsupported assertion t
bankrupt railway, or one which is temporarily unable to
interest and dividends, becomes a more formidable rival
before, and then threatens bankruptcy to solvent road
irrational to the verge of lunacy and with its easy dissip
falls the fabric of false logic built upon it.

The Erie Railway was recently insolvent, but it asked
charged no less rates, and could get no higher ones, for
reason, and was not even as formidable a rival to the New
Central and the Pennsylvania Railroad as before, for it
thereby embarrassed by litigation and delayed in its other
more prompt business conclusions. It never undertoo
bankrupt any solvent competitor; it could not "afford t
run for mere operating expenses" as well as a dividend-pa
line; it constantly endeavored to get out of bankruptc
better management, rates and results; and every bus
reader will appreciate that none but a doctrinaire would ass
such false premises, and then reason from them the rev
i. e., that it caused "a pressure to combine rather than
pete." Let us analyse this falsity.

Every bankrupt line in the States usually goes into
hands of the courts.

Does he mean that our courts use or permit their rece
not only to sink their trusts into deeper insolvency, bu
deliberately bankrupt others, or that the boards of directo
continuing in office for the sole purpose of lifting their pr
ties out of insolvency, and making their lapsed bonds
shares of restored or greater value—deliberately betray
deprave their duties, not only to ruin their own property
use their power to destroy that of others, unless forsooth
can get agreeable traffic contracts? The unqualified asse
is ventured that no such case can be quoted in the e

and the Grand Trunk illustration proves precisely
rse, because, insolvent as it has been, its officers have
ily become parties to the present plans for maintaining
her than to efforts to destroy those of solvent compa-
heir own.

controlling competition of water is referred to briefly
e; but that rivalry of railways with each other, which
l millions of dollars to which they were justly entitled
minimum value for services rendered, and without
ating advantages to the public, is met by Mr. Sterne
gical looseness.

statement that rates were "substantially under the
of fast freight line agents" at any period of railway
s contradicted by all the testimony invoked throughout
nination, and the review which follows this farther
on is incorrect to an amusing degree, in all the follow-
iculars:

The Southern Railway and Steamship Association was
first pool in this country based on the division of
ecause it did not divide its traffic.

At no time even near the date named were a large
of "underlings personally interested" in the "way of
ions in breaches of railway agreement."

The trunk line presidents in all late years gave honor-
ices of their withdrawals from compacts, and carried
t as between themselves until then, even when broken
companies.

Mr. Fink did not conceive the idea of having a "trunk
eau to divide traffic;" nor did he know of its conception
had been agreed to and he was asked to act for it.

Shippers deliver goods at any depot they choose, and
shes have been and are regarded as to the final
ng lines, except when the latter cut rates in violation
ges.

When Mr. Fink was appointed, it was solely for
nd tonnage from New York City. He was not
l to take charge of east-bound matters," and then had
to do with them.

g.—The "pooling contract" of April 5th, 1877, did not pool or contain the slightest allusion to a pool.

h.—No "like" (*i. e.* trunk line) pool was "carried out as to east-bound traffic" "in the Spring of 1879" or at any other time, and the trunk lines are not yet pooled eastward.

i.—Not one of the east-bound so-called "pools" of western railways deals with, or touches even remotely, the question of differences in rates between the seaboard cities.

k.—The Grand Trunk company had never made a "successful war of rates against the powerful New York corporations between Chicago and Boston." It neither owned nor controlled either end of that route, but was compelled by its longer mileage, slower time, physical conditions, single track, higher grades, slow payments for losses and overcharges, blockading storms in winter, delays caused by bonded transit, etc., to offer and accept less rates than its American rivals, as every business man will understand, to secure a share of the carrying trade, and never carried even twenty per cent. of the whole tonnage between those points even at those reductions. Its condition is now greatly improved, and its own lines extended.

Like the crab of Cuvier, with these trifling exceptions the statement is approximately correct.

In dealing with the intricate and difficult adjustments of these long-contested questions, local discriminations were at last largely avoided, tonnages divided, rates equally maintained, merchants put more nearly on an equality, petty abuses corrected, time quickened, misrepresenting merchants thwarted for the benefit of the honest, false overweights detected and accidents thus avoided, equipments more equitably assigned, mercantile as well railway confidence largely restored, values made more settled, and the elements of commercial calculation rendered more stable; and all this was accomplished without State or national legislation, or contribution by them to the great losses incurred in their determination.

With these lesser adjustments came that of the great and national question of the relative advantages of the various

ports in through rates, which had mainly induced the past contests with all their evils, but which Mr. Sterne treats with customary local narrowness, even in a *National Review*.

The New York lines believed it their duty to look at the question from a broad point of view, while contesting for the metropolis all they could possibly obtain; and it ill becomes those whom these great contests cost never a thought or a penny to criticise railway share-holders who poured out their monies for its sake.

In prior years the Baltimore rates had been twenty-five, twenty, fifteen, and ten cents per one hundred pounds, on the four classes in both directions, less than to and from New York; and Philadelphia rates twenty, fifteen, ten, and five cents less.

By this struggle the New York roads lessened these differences to from eight to three cents at Baltimore westwardly and three cents eastwardly, and similarly from six to two cents at Philadelphia; based upon the fact that it mattered little to the public resident locally at each city if a difference of five cents per barrel in transportation rates for flour existed, particularly as rents, for example, at New York, are double those of Baltimore; but the controlling factor was the equalization of combined rail and ocean rates, between western points of production and European ports of consumption. In proximity to the average west, New York was at a disadvantage; in nearness to Europe at an advantage. Each city has harbor facilities on a practical parity, as they all have sufficient water for all vessels, and ice interruptions were for the ships, not railways, to adjust—and if New York harbor was more free from ice, it was an advantage that would secure business for it—and in bulk of traffic each trunk line carried nearly the same quantity. But New York City is upon an island, which is a disadvantage on western traffic, as it requires a river transfer *via* every trunk rail line but one, and this, added to its higher port charges and dock and other rents and expenses, creates an unavoidable terminal handling expense more than offsetting its advantages. This burden of transfer cost the railways pay alone, and the writer's proof before the investigating committee was

not even questioned, that the difference of this cost at New York over terminal railway cost at competing cities was more per 100 pounds than the differences in rates on grain and flour between the same cities, and more than equivalent to an average of one hundred miles of additional transportation by the New York roads; *e. g.*, the carrying rate to Jersey City was less than the gross rate to Philadelphia, and the same as to Baltimore; thus proving beyond intelligent doubt that the New York roads carry western products from 90 to 272 miles further for the same rates as those charged to and from Baltimore, and therefore receive less rates per ton per mile than similar western business to or from Philadelphia or Baltimore paid the trunk lines at those cities.

The other adopted differences in rates were also based on thorough prior reports obtained from all ports for that question, showing that the annual average ocean rates to and from those cities were as much higher as the inland rail rates were lower, making the sum of the rates through the different ports practically equal. This settlement was made in April, 1877, and to prove the error of Mr. Sterne's statement in this connection, the statistician of the New York Produce Exchange, summoned by the committee, showed that the increase in grain receipts at New York from 1876, the year of contest, to 1878, the year of peace, was 56,912,818 bushels, or about 60 per cent., while the increase at Baltimore was but 12,764,964 bushels, or about 40 per cent., and at Philadelphia was but 9,927,815 bushels, or about 27 per cent. Can disproof of the erroneous statements of wrongs produced by these rates be more complete?

In view of these and other indisputable facts, the bare and unsupported assertion that "New York City was arbitrarily placed upon a level with its less favored sister cities, so that the Erie might emerge from bankruptcy, and the New York Central be prevented from going into it," is wilfully or ignorantly incorrect, and has not now, nor did it ever have, any support but carping surmise.

And here it is well to note the covert communism, that the Erie Railway should have continued in bankruptcy and the

New York Central should have plunged into it, unless the wide questions at issue were adjusted to suit local standards, clamor and interested commercial pressures—or legislative thumb-screws—else why the suggestion? From our standpoint it was an imperative duty of the managers of the Erie and Central companies to extricate the one and prevent the other catastrophe by every honorable effort—a duty not only to their proprietors but to the public; and it is only necessary to ask what possible benefit could accrue to New York City today by the ruin and bankruptcy of the New York Central company—to have the enquiry answer itself. Those companies had clear legal and stronger equitable rights to save themselves even by absolute surrender; but the facts given above show how very much they accomplished to the contrary, and with what good results to New York.

Assuming, however, that the equality of ocean rates justified no differences in rates inland by rail between Baltimore and New York, no obligation has been shown to rest upon the New York railways that they shall alone lose all the reduction of revenue needful to carry for longer distances for the same money—a requirement without parallel in like traffics—as neutral western railways will not share the deficiency; and the most advanced advocates of the public highway and participation theories have never proposed that the same public shall share the positive losses incurred in greatly reduced rates made for its defence.

Having thus but briefly reviewed the general conditions involved, as well as a few local only to New York, it may be well to inquire what the course of the opponents of railway corporations apparently proceeds from:

First.—An assumed hostility between the public and their carriers.

Nothing can be more erroneous, for they are mutually dependent on each other. Rates made too high stop industrial development and railway earnings, and if fixed too low, they stimulate unnatural growth and over-production at the loss only of the carrier, whose bonds and shares lapse into default or bankruptcy until their rates are advanced to just standards,

when the trades founded on the lower rates first current are again restricted and injured, ill-feeling engendered, and a reflex railway and public injury done to both.

"It seems clearly to the interest of railway companies above and more than all other considerations that can influence them, to increase their resources by the largest possible amount of traffic, satisfying all, rather than by small tonnages moved at higher rates, dissatisfying all."

Second.—The actual wrongs heretofore done the public by transporters, growing out of their various contests and causes, and the mistaken policies and anomalous conditions that preceded and followed them.

Happily, these are generally corrected on through traffic by the coöperative tonnage divisions, and the railways have voluntarily adopted and put in practice the principle of arbitration, which is the foundation of the English act of 1873, and intrusted its decisions to a board, consisting of Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Hon. David A. Wells, and John A. Wright; and with these great and accomplished benefits the former local discriminations compared with through rates have almost entirely ceased. Much remains to be done, but the proximities of rival States, the unrestricted carriers on the canals, rivers, lakes, and seas, and the difficulties of controlling them, conditions of local intricacy, and the far greater number of carriers to agree, render the local question the more difficult one to solve equitably.

It should not be denied by candid railway officers that—in opening eighty-five thousand miles of railway within fifty-five years, in three millions of square miles of territory, divided into forty-seven States and territories, having dissimilar legislation depending largely upon municipal, county, State and national causes, and controlled as to their rates by parallel, natural, or artificial waters—many abuses have crept into the schemes for their original construction and subsequent operation, for which the legislative bodies are in many instances equally responsible with railway constructors and managers.

The railways should therefore approach the question with the dignity befitting the subject, and the liberality of view which a

national question requires, rather than by the methods of the monopolist or the evasions of the pettifogger; and if the public meet them in like spirit, many solutions would be simplified.

Third.—The paternal theory of government—which is the modern but perverted conception of a republic—a theory which its believers invoke, whenever their individual enterprises miscarry, to adjust nearly all human questions, instead of depending upon conference, argument, justice, mutuality, and manhood.

Fourth.—The specious analogy of the "King's highway."

The highway view was first suggested by the Duke of Wellington in an early railway debate in Parliament, and in commenting upon it Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., then the efficient chairman of the Massachusetts Railway Commission, said:

"The analogy was essentially a false one. In no respect did the railroad in reality resemble the highway any more than the corporation which owned it resembled the common carrier.

"Since 1872, even more than before that time, American legislation has been inspired by the theory that the railroad corporation is nothing but an overgrown common carrier, who has in some way got the monopoly of a highway, and being crazed by hidden and ill-gotten gains, has forgotten his proper place in life, of which he must forthwith be reminded through an exercise of political power. The old analogy suggested by the Duke of Wellington, as mischievous as it is false, still maintains a strong hold on the legislative mind and belittles a great question."

Fifth.—The constant iteration of the error, that the subscription of public monies and the power of eminent domain, once given to railway builders, perpetuates legislative power to discriminate against railways as compared with its control over all other corporations, and to fix the charges of the railway, while it has no right or makes no attempt to touch those of the corporation manufacturing gas, although both may be similarly chartered or organized by the authority of the same power.

For monies contributed, the State received stock, and so put itself on a par and level with all other share-holders in that respect. The theory that the State can prefer itself by legislation,

dividends or otherwise, and that all share-holders must thereafter become subject to the small share-holding minority because the State is that share-holder and minority, is too radical for even sand-lot discussion. Fortunately the Supreme Court of the United States has, in the Bank of the United States *vs.* the Planters' Bank (9 Wheat., 904), decided the question as follows:

"When a government becomes a partner in any trading company, it divests itself, so far as concerns the transactions of that company, of its sovereign character and takes that of a private citizen. * * * As a member of a corporation, a government never exercises its sovereignty."

This fallacy being disproved, what is the power of eminent domain, the mere conferring of which is wise public policy and costs nothing, yet clothes the grantor with perpetual and arbitrary power over the persons chartered in such justice and right?

Eminent domain is but a power delegated by a State to responsibly organized and chartered citizens to purchase from hostile or disagreeing persons needful rights of way for full compensations fixed by commissioners chosen from their fellow men. Otherwise, one man owning essential outlets could blackmail a national thoroughfare and destroy or prevent the completion of continental lines of railway. It gives the railroad nothing but a just right. The road has to pay for all the domain it so gets and usually at high prices, and the claim that simply because the State conferred upon it this essential authority to compel and do justice, the State itself may thereafter inflict and perpetuate injustice, is irrational and repugnant to all sense of right. As to the fact that such powers are given to corporations that are common carriers, little need be added.

Judge Shipman has truly and tersely said:

"*Corporations are practically nothing, except in the property they hold in trust.*"

To claim that because railway companies are corporations the State can interfere with them, would be more just were the same ground assumed with all corporations organized under its laws; but it does not so interfere with the charges or

discriminations of bank, insurance, canal, bridge, turnpike or manufacturing companies chartered by it, some of whom also exercise eminent domain. Why, therefore, as corporations, single out only the charges of railways for legislative regulation?

The Supreme Court has further said:

"This (railroad) company *in the transaction of its business* has the same rights, and is subject to the same control, as private individuals under the same circumstances."

The right is therefore derived mainly from their semi-public status as common carriers for hire under the terms of their charter powers, concerning which Judge Shipman says: "In the exercise of which they are no more and no less amenable to State supervision than private persons exercising the same functions are or may be, except when their charters otherwise provide."

What are those charter and general rights?

The New York and Erie Railroad Company was chartered April 24th, 1832, its original and present powers as to rates being as follows:

Section 14th.—"It shall be lawful for the company hereby incorporated from time to time to fix, regulate and receive the tolls and charges by them to be received for the transportation of property or persons."

The general railroad act of New York of 1850, founded upon the English and German precedents already cited, says:

"The same shall not *without the consent of the corporation* be so reduced as to produce with said profits less than ten per cent. per annum on the capital actually expended,"

which by the same law was to be determined by an investigation by the State comptroller, engineer and surveyor.

No such examination has been made or proposed in New York, yet the agitators who urge, and the State committee which has just reported, propose enactments which may violate this contracted faith of a State, written over its great seal and the signatures of its officers, although the provocation is found only in exception to well-established rules of action and equity. But the review under consideration says in effect:

"The State blundered in its early legislation, and we, its abler men, must correct those blunders."

It is impossible to suppose, in a country which possesses such vast geographical area, and more complications produced by lakes, rivers, canals and territorial divisions than all England, France and Germany combined, that all these questions can even now be intelligently and immediately determined, by the State, and that, too, in the absence of the impartial national investigation which the railways ask.

It is no less unjust to assume, throughout this great domain, which has developed in every industry with a rapidity unknown in the previous trade annals of the world, and where railroads have preceded as often as followed civilization, that the railway problem could have been any more intelligently forecast by its first legislators or railway solicitors, than that all its past irregularities can now be harmonized by speedy and universal legislation.

So far as the earlier legislators were influenced by improper motives or inadequate knowledge, their action constituted, in every high sense of public faith, agreements with the railroad companies, which the public, having agreed to by their duly elected and authorized representatives, should manfully bear, rather than seek to restrict or annul their obligations by crippling the resources of those who acted upon that faith; but unfortunately the universality of the punishments or rewards of our ballot weakens the sense and lowers the standard of such public obligations.

In the higher view of the case adopted by England, and referred to by its Lord Chief-Justice as already cited, it matters little what earlier railway conditions our different States conceded or withheld, so long as our railroad pioneers, having the signatures of their governors and comptrollers sealed by their States, placed their fortunes and labors at the disposal of the communities in which they invested their capital, in results then problematical.

It matters equally little what conditions of purchase of railway lines by the States were originally provided or subsequently repealed, and the entire retrospect as to their policies

in these respects has small value, except from its proof that in New York railways were subordinated to the public enterprise in the Erie Canal, and that for a long time, instead of aiding railway companies in the transportation of freight and thus encouraging the now much-lauded and surely legitimate competition with the canal, the State stifled and prevented that competition by requiring parallel railway carriers to pay to it the tolls charged upon the Erie Canal, thus clearly advancing the railway rates, although that canal never carried one ton of the freight unjustly so taxed to sustain the State monopoly. To a fair mind this seems a policy more like that of the highway barons of the feudal ages, than one to be now applauded as that of intelligent citizens of a State which has the magnitude of an empire; and it is perhaps from this precedent that the highway theory of the reviewer had its origin.

That the early officials of the State of New York misconceived the scope and functions of a railway is not a fact which should require the railways to now correct all the evils incorporated in the legislation of the State as well as their own; but, upon every conceded and established principle of fair dealing between men, the parties to a contract are severally responsible for their judgments and agreements as expressed therein, even though they may have neglected or misstated their several interests and safeguards.

These ordinarily binding obligations, the modern transportation reformer nevertheless regards as valueless, if the shifting conditions of the public pulse indicate diseases requiring the remedies of nullification or abridgment; and it is this mixed theory of public power, and not the nobler one of public fulfilment, which is appealed to by every transportation juggler who assumes a knowledge of the great problem.

To aid the accouchement of this new-born idea of roving public rights on a free highway, comes a critic who says: "The sea is the highway of nations, and all people of the earth are free to put their ships thereon, and this highway is policed for the benefit of them all by the powerful navies of the earth." He omits, however, to complete the

parallel, which is, that upon this free highway all carriers sailing under the flags of all nations and protected by their legislation, treaties and power, are not only free to make the varying rates and discriminations, however frequent or variable or preferential, which are so much deprecated upon railways, but there is absolutely upon no sea or ocean of the globe, the slightest wish or power to prevent changes of rates as frequent as the caprices or interests of the carriers or the sailings of ships dictate; and interference with such caprice, preference or interest would be promptly followed by the national arm to protect, if need be, variations identical with those which, in the railway case, a State and a nation are invoked to prevent.

Otherwise, why did not England require in the charters or articles of the Inman and Cunard steamship companies, that they charge the same rates to all on the same dates and ships, and if the ocean highway simile is worth anything and ships are left free, why should not the railways be alike free? The steamship lines are also in an agreement as to rates westward, called the "North Atlantic Steam Conference," similar in many particulars to the Executive Committee of American Railways; yet our pseudo-transportation luminaries do not insist that England or the United States should for that or any other reason of equity or parity, singly or by treaty, regulate their rates.

If it was a public misconception that the various railways traversing a country would produce a competition as varied as that of vessels navigating an ocean, and corporate powers were given to them based upon that public error, it is a fact which, in all phases of human justice, it should require the assent of both original parties to change, the original conditions being alike voluntary or agreed with both.

While yet quoting dissimilar English railway precedents to enforce the necessity for American railway commissions, it also seems to have singularly escaped Mr. Sterne that the "Railway Clauses Consolidation Act" of 1845, and the "Railway and Canal Traffic Act" of 1854, both authorized and empowered actual or constructive consolidations and pools; and that the evils so luridly painted for our shippers as arising

from similar traffic adjustments are more than twenty-five years old in England, where they have produced only the best railway and commercial results, and have not created but abridged those apocryphal powers behind and superior to thrones and governments which here disturb his dreams.

No less a publicist and statesman than William Ewart Gladstone made an award on the 22d of April, 1857, under the authority of parliamentary acts, by which traffic disputes, then pending between the Great Northern, the London and North-Western, the Midland, and the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire railway companies were determined for a period of fourteen years from March 1st, 1858; in which award, covering both passenger and goods traffics, he made positive and unconditional apportionments of traffic revenues to each of those companies between London and fifteen of the most important cities upon and reached by their systems; and which, by a coincidence, is about the same number of railway tonnage apportionments now existing in the United States to and from New York, under the authority of the trunk lines and their connections.

It is also a fact to justify comment that the reviewer commends to American legislatures only the restrictive measures of the English Government without conceding to our railways like and acknowledged parliamentary latitude in management and rates; and that, while luridly picturing the terrible American railway devil-fish of combination, with tentacles clasping and exhausting the commercial strength of the country —which its present prosperity however flatly contradicts— he omits to show that the basis and strength of English railway legislation is a consolidated railway monopoly power authorized by Parliament in the Clearing-House, whose mere shadow here frightens these railway publicists.

Mr. Pease, then a member of Parliament, said before Mr. Fortescue's committee in 1872: "I do not think that at this moment there is a competitive rate existing in the kingdom." Yet neither the report of 1872 nor the act of July, 1873, so much lauded by the reviewer, sought to change the monopoly condition which had certainly existed since previous to 1850;

for the parliamentary act of June 25th, 1850, confirming prior clearing-house or pool powers, recited as follows:

"*Whereas*, For *sometime past* arrangements have subsisted between several railway companies for the transmission, without interruption of the through traffic * * * with *the same or like facilities as if such lines had belonged to one company*, which arrangements are commonly known as * * * 'The Clearing System,' * * * *and whereas the clearing system has been productive of great convenience to the public*," etc.

Even had American railways the natural power or this legislative sanction to combine "as if such lines belonged to one company," they could not sustain the rates authorized and charged in England, France or Germany; and the incantations invoked to frighten us with added visions of exorbitant rates enforced by imperial power are like all ghosts, mere reflected disorders.

Upon this subject, Commissioner Fink has cogently written:

"The competitive railroad tariffs for interstate commerce are not, as is so generally supposed, under the absolute control of railroad managers; but the carriers by the water routes really establish these tariffs, and the railroad managers have nothing to do but to conform to them."

"The water routes not only control the tariffs of their immediate rail competitors, at points where they can render like service to the same people, but their influence reaches, directly and indirectly, to the remotest parts of the country. Compared with this natural powerful regulator of railroad transportation tariffs, the efforts of State or congressional legislation to prevent extortionate charges appear to those who are fully conversant with the subject as perfectly useless; and the declamations against the baneful effect of the so-called railroad combinations appear simply as idle talk."

This is legitimate, controlling and perpetual competition, which the reviewer does not, however, distinguish from that wasteful, injurious and most foolish strife, which demoralizes and injures proper mercantile as well as railway methods and returns. Within the limits enforced by nature in this unalterable competition, the tonnage divisions of the railways cannot operate to do more than maintain just through rates, high enough to be only fair rewards for important and

essential services rendered, while avoiding local discriminations by comparison, and at standards for the former which can be as well and perhaps better maintained upon good faith when that is once firmly established, than by English, French or German law, or by tonnage pools, and at much lower charges to our people than in those countries.

Those therefore who don black and breathe woe because senseless and ruinous traffic contests are no more, should take heart again when told that the tides of the seas, the currents of rivers, the swells of lakes, the waters of canals and the rivalry of adjacent nations, still enforce transportation conditions upon American railways which nature never will suspend, all of which restrict in this country, more than in any and all others, the powers and charges of its artificial corporate carriers; and that those causes alone will vanquish the transportation ogres whom we are told in this fairy tale are, or are to be, greater than the Government.

The Prussian gentleman quoted to sustain the caveated idea of *imperium in imperio*, in the statement that the great (parallel) lines of the country will, in the "opinion of those most familiar with the subject," probably consolidate, and that "a railroad director may make himself the absolute ruler of a republic," is, in view of these facts, of a nature with other attempts to influence the voter; but it proves the sources of Dr. Von Der Leyen's information to be identical with the critic's, and his ignorance as to our form of government, the temper of our people, the rival interests of States, and various and irrevocable transportation conditions classes such predictions with the foretellings of cheap clairvoyants.

To endorse such vagaries as a clear statement of probable conditions, and proceed to argue upon them an imperial future in which class rights may rise in a republic under a railway mantle, is to dwarf a subject for giants. It is high time for the general public of the country to realize that their fears are being purposely and needlessly stimulated by the personal ambitions, misleading logic, the misconceived similes, and the false statements of those to whom a railway problem is as hasheesh.

G. R. BLANCHARD.

Art. IX.—The Republic and the Presidency.

To the student of political ethics, numerous and what would appear radical defects will be found to exist in the Constitution of the American Union—defects which, failing of remedy through amendment, as provided by the instrument itself, can scarcely fail in time to beget revolution. In the original cast of the instrument, no feature stands out more prominently than the one of manifest jealousy among the States associated in the original compact.

At the time of its formation much disparity existed in the status of the several States. Virginia and Massachusetts led the van in the struggle for independence. Both were powerful and populous, yet yielded to a remarkable degree their preponderance in the councils of the Union in deference to the demands of States like South Carolina, thus early nurturing the seeds of nullification. The only genuine democrat representing the section dominated over by the "cavaliers," and having an active voice in the formation of the Constitution, was Thomas Jefferson, always considered the father of American democracy. As regards territory embraced within the limits of the original thirteen States lying south of what has since been known as Mason and Dixon's line, the shadow of feudal despotism was early seen and increasingly developed, growing with the growth and strengthening with the strength of its slave basis, till the "Mother of Presidents" had become the nursery of feudalism and the hot-bed of despotism. It was left to the tory State of South Carolina to become the parent of disunion, and to the grand old commonwealth of Virginia so far to degenerate, as to develop at the outbreak of the rebellion a single case only of adhesion to Jeffersonian democracy, namely, that of John M. Botts, living a whig, and dying a true democrat.

It was in rock-bound and rugged New England, that the spirit of commonalty, unfettered by feudal influences, took deep and firm rooting; and we owe it to New England today that an enlightened federalism has developed into an intelligent democracy.

To govern States as individuals are governed was the early ambition of the statesmen of the South. To combine statesmen and States in the government of the Union, came to be the perfection of southern state-craft. That statesmanship such as this should have culminated in nullification, need not be wondered at. The local despot or petty tyrant in American democracy, or so-called republicanism, the mere schemer, not to say conspirator, seeking personal advantage at any sacrifice of political integrity, is, so far from being worthy of popular support, the man most to be shunned as an enemy to the republic. The republic, indeed, has existed hitherto only in name. That it survived sedition and civil war is a marvel, but not so much a marvel as would be its triumph over the influences now seeking to control it.

The result of feudalism within the Constitution, as well as of its development in political methods, produced a very great strain upon our political structure in 1876, when a disputed title to the presidency turned on a single electoral vote, and upon an adjudication outside of, and unknown to, the Constitution. It is a question by no means easy to answer, if the republic could endure another such experience. Feudalism, so far from disappearing, was never more powerful than it is today in the south. Even in New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois it has strong hold, and seems preparing for a death grapple with forces resolved on realizing a true republic. Everywhere the people are demanding free, honest and peaceful elections, an honest count, and an honest declaration of results.

So powerful are the influences at work in this direction, that the politicians are yielding to the inevitable, and generally agree that such realizations are as desirable as necessary. But the feudal chiefs of States and territories are giving evidence of having fallen back into their intrenchments, where they

grapple with the source of political power. Caucus and convention methods, the machinery of conclave and committee, not to say the machinations of conspirators, are the most powerful agencies of both the democratic and republican parties. So reckless of consequences have some of these chiefs and their clansmen become, that they seem to care little for the repute of their parties, and still less for the interest and good name of their country.

It is no part of the purpose of this article to point out or call by name the men determined to maintain personal domination, or take their chances in the ruins of the republic. That some of these believe they are not made of common clay or cast in the common mould, but were born to rule, and that the ordinary citizen should leave to them and their political subjects and dependents the nomination of all candidates for office, it is charitable at least to presume. That they are, however, sowing the wind only to reap the whirlwind is certainly true. Included within their folds of political brigandage are hundreds and thousands, bound to them by ties of interest, who are loyal to their masters and chiefs so long as the commissary is well supplied. To feed an hundred thousand retainers in a country as great as this is comparatively an easy matter. Should the commissary become exhausted, however, or the consumers multiply, they might become troublesome to those to whom they look for sustenance.

In the midst of all, the American people are rapidly finding out that the game as played by parties and politicians is one of method and madness combined, as devoid of patriotism and conscience as was ever one of cards or faro; and that when it comes to individuals aspiring in certain instances to the most eminent positions in the so-called republic, the one who can command the largest resources of men and money is the one most likely, as a rule, to succeed in his designs.

This unprecedented condition of things, applicable to both the republican and democratic parties, makes it difficult to calculate, with any degree of assurance, what is likely to be the result at Chicago and Cincinnati. The National Convention of the republicans will be held in the former city on

the 2d of June next. Seventeen days later, on the 19th of the same month, the democratic convention will assemble at Cincinnati. That either the one or the other of these conventions will be able to meet, deliberate and make nominations without sessions of unprecedented length, would scarcely seem possible.

Much is heard about instructions by State conventions and the enforcement of unit rules. It is fundamental that, in all delegated conventions, each delegate shall have the right to cast his vote on all questions which may be considered, untrammelled by any instructions outside of the convention. He will, of course, be held morally accountable to his constituency, should he misrepresent them on the main question which he was chosen to represent. He has the right to have his name called in open convention, and his vote recorded. In this way only can he be held accountable, and the record be made.

In the approaching National Republican Convention, the question whether the vote shall be cast by States or by individuals will probably be decided at the outset, as also whether delegates chosen by district conventions shall be admitted, instead of delegates chosen by State conventions. The true position should, therefore, be understood in advance. A congressional district is the unit of representation for so much of the convention as corresponds with the organization of the House of Representatives, and the State as compared with the United States Senate. Even these delegates, when more than one represents a State or district, are not bound to act together. Where two or four are chosen, one cannot act without the authority of the convention nor cast the votes of absentees.

The calling of two separate conventions by the democracy in New York, and the probable choice of two complete sets of delegates to Cincinnati, will only be supplemental to republican proceedings already under way in Pennsylvania, where, repudiating the action of the Cameron convention of February, the ides of March are barely passed before the incensed masses of the party proceed by districts to make choice of new sets of delegates, doing so on what is termed the Crawford county

plan. It is, therefore, more than probable that two full sets of delegates from Pennsylvania will present themselves for admission to seats in the Chicago convention. Nor is contest probably to end here. New York is also likely, as regards several, if not all, of her districts, to make choice of new sets of delegates.

By the admission of the Smyth delegation from Albany, the rejection of the Reeve delegation from Brooklyn, and the admission of persons having no claim at all to seats at Utica—to say nothing of the thousand and one other reasons for complaint touching the conduct of committees, caucuses, local and general conventions, causing the selection of a delegation, not as representatives of the party, but of individual leaders—the Utica delegation is left without support, other than the empty one of regularity. Should a contesting delegation, representing the majority of the party, and chosen by districts, present itself claiming seats at Chicago, the chances of each for admission would seem to be equal. What is true of Pennsylvania and New York may, and not unlikely will, occur in other States; and thus, at both Chicago and Cincinnati, contests without number, giving rise to delay and bad feeling, would seem to be inevitable.

This condition of things cannot fail to place each of the candidates most prominently mentioned in such a position as to make the nomination of either on first ballot altogether improbable.

Of ex-President Grant—up to the present, as regards the press, invariably first mentioned—this must prove impressively true. America's most widely famed hero has, despite all predictions to the contrary, allowed his friends to go forward and make him a candidate for a third term of the presidency. There are, probably, a full million of republicans, who, when he landed at San Francisco on return from his journey around the world, would have denied him no honor short of a crown, that sit soberly today questioning whether he is worthy of any honor at all. These are the men who disbelieved, at the outset, the statement that Gen. Grant was to come again before the people as a presidential candidate. They believed that his

fame as a soldier would make him unwilling to take the risk of entering the field as a candidate for a third term. From the distant Orient came the intelligence that Gen. Grant had said in substance that under no circumstances would he again accept the presidency. Landing at San Francisco, and continuing his triumphal journey across his native land, amid salvos of artillery and the shouts of the multitude, his lips remained sealed, nor did he say a word or give a sign indicating aught than a fixed determination to adhere to this wise and patriotic resolution. Up to the time he reached Philadelphia everybody seemed his friend, nobody his enemy. Here it was, however, that he manifestly encouraged his favorites and friends to proceed with their work of once more making him President. Then it was, also, that the masses of honest, thoughtful and far-seeing republicans felt compelled to unite in an unyielding opposition to the establishment of a precedent so dangerous.

Meantime, the wise, peaceful, and successful administration of President Hayes, coupled with numberless acts of folly on the part of a democratic Congress, had not merely encouraged republicans to believe that they would easily succeed in the coming presidential contest, but had caused the friends of various prominent Americans to array themselves on the side of this or that aspirant for presidential honors.

John Sherman of Ohio, has, in the brief period of three years, as Secretary of the Treasury, done for American finances what has never before been accomplished in the history of his country. He has not only brought about resumption, but succeeded in funding a large proportion of a vast national debt, saving millions annually in interest, and greatly lightening the burdens of taxation. He has caused the revenues of the Government to be honestly and economically collected; nor has a defaulter been found or a scandal prevailed anywhere in his administration of the finances. It is said of him that he is cold, calculating, methodical, measured in all things and lacking in personal magnetism; and that, while nearly everybody wants him for Secretary of the Treasury, next to nobody desires to see him made President.

This, however, is a great mistake. While the masses of men are aroused by magnetism, there are large numbers of others, kings among men, born with the instincts and elements of success, who feel that the man who makes the most money, or, above all, enables themselves to make it, is the greatest of heroes. From the beginning of the world to the present, among princes and people alike, the measure of success has been counted in the accumulation of dollars and cents. It will not be so when the time comes that the republic is other than a myth,—developing itself as a fact, rather than a mere theory. Royalty in all ages has, as a rule, brought riches also. Empires, kingdoms, and republics as well, have had golden foundations.

So far from having reached the point where money-making has begun to surfeit, there has never been a period in the world's history when the love of gain more widely prevailed than at the present. It infects all classes, and the richest men of the world are the ones most eager and anxious to accumulate wealth. More riches have been added to the coffers of the people in America, since John Sherman became head of the Treasury, than in the same period of time, since the republic had a beginning. As regards his candidacy, his recent declaration to his neighbors in Ohio, that, unless the republicans of his own State prefer him, and make that preference manifest by standing by him in substantial unanimity, he will not suffer his name to be used, is evidence of the temper of the man. Conscious of his own merits, and enabled, as he is, to point back to a period of nearly thirty years of public life without spot or blemish, coupled with recent achievements wherein no man living or dead has been enabled to more completely demonstrate that the victories of peace are greater than those of war, he does only justice to himself, and honors manhood, by this last declaration.

Next in order is James G. Blaine, in whose very *personality* is a something akin to magic. That he is loved by tens of thousands and admired by millions of his countrymen, cannot be denied. It is impossible for political opponents to dislike, while it is equally impossible for his party friends to do other-

wise than cleave to him. No man probably lives, who knows so many men personally. His face is one of ever-beaming sunshine, and the grasp of his hand, when extended to a friend or an acquaintance, can never be forgotten. The writer's personal acquaintance with Mr. Blaine has fully convinced him that the senator has not only as great a mind, but as large a heart, as any man in America,—and teaches him to unite heartily with his countrymen in an effort to see the gallant senator from the Pine Tree State made chief magistrate of the nation. Whether it be during the year 1880, or four, or even eight years hence, it surely ought to be done as a something due to the instincts of the people, decreeing it as an event in the fitness of things.

It has been urged that Mr. Blaine, as a politician, has remarkable powers; and yet some assert that he does not possess statesmanship of the highest order. In reviewing Mr. Blaine's history, one point at least stands out in bold relief, evidencing his great power in controlling men, and managing delicate and complicated questions of State. The peaceful and just issue of the recent contest in Maine against one of the most audacious attempts ever made upon constitutional liberty, is certainly due largely to the wise, firm and skilful manner in which Mr. Blaine conducted the affair on behalf of the people.

As member of the popular branch of Congress, having devolved upon him committee responsibilities of the weightiest character, as a leader in parliamentary law, as Speaker of the House of Representatives,—the most prominent of his predecessors failed to exhibit more varied and successful qualities. Since taking seat in the Senate, all agree that the leadership lies between him and Senator Conkling; nor is the question yet determined to which of them that honor belongs.

In conclusion, if Mr. Blaine has not developed the highest order of statesmanship in every field of politics in which he has been called to act, it would be difficult to say who has done so. The aggregate conscience and intelligence of the American people can safely be trusted to determine the fitness of a man for the presidency. Taking this as a test, Mr.

Blaine's popularity would seem to give him an equal chance, in the present campaign, with Secretary Sherman.

There, too, are Messrs. Washburne, Edmunds, Evarts, Garfield, and Hayes, who would be candidates of eminent fitness, especially the latter. In a recent conversation with a newspaper reporter, President Hayes is represented as pointing to a dark horse somewhere, not unlikely to carry off the prize at Chicago; at the same time counting himself out as among possible candidates, and declaring his determination to adhere to the decision in his letter of acceptance, under no circumstances to be a candidate for reëlection. In view of one of those manifest defects in the Constitution, hinted at in the opening of this article—the absence of an express provision, providing for one term only, and making the incumbent ineligible to reëlection—the position taken by President Hayes will, we are quite sure, do much to give him a name and fame in the future of our country. Barely one thing, in the estimation of the writer of this article, in event of a dark horse being necessary, would be found in the way of Mr. Hayes' renomination at Chicago. His declination of a second term would go for nothing. He has not been too conciliatory or generous toward the south. His southern policy, so called, has proved a success. The calling of General Key to his cabinet, more bitterly complained of by the class of republicans denominated "Stalwarts" than any other act of his administration, has come to be regarded on all hands as one of eminent wisdom and foresight. The postmaster-general has developed into one of the most honored members of as able a cabinet as any since the foundation of the government. Not toward the south, then, or any portion of her people, has the president been too generous. It is toward the rancorous, bitter and malignant enemies of his administration in his own party at the north, notably in New York, that he has carried conciliation to a point where his real friends, who are, in fact, a majority in the State, have become disheartened, feeling that battling against machine methods is hopeless, and only to be paid for by political penalties too grievous to be borne. With all this, the possibilities sur-

rounding the necessities of a dark horse may even yet force President Hayes into the list of candidates to be voted for at Chicago.

Washburne and Edmunds are, equally with Conkling, Cameron and Logan, reckoned as friends of Gen. Grant; but whether this calculation is true as regards Senator Edmunds, would seem doubtful in view of the fact that he is strongly pressed by reform elements in the party. In any event, no recognized partisan or friend of the ex-president is nearly as strong as Gen. Grant himself; and if he cannot himself be nominated, surely none of his friends will be suffered by the anti-Grant element in the party to receive the nomination. No mention has been made of Hamilton Fish, whose name has perhaps more generally been mentioned than that of any other, in event of the nomination falling by accident to New York, for the reason that, to do so, would be to obscure mention of the names of others, quite as eminent and equally as liable to be nominated. William M. Evarts, Edwin D. Morgan, Reuben E. Fenton and William A. Wheeler have, equally with Governor Fish, their friends and admirers. As friends of the dead Seward, and as representatives of the principles governing American politics during the decade antedating the slave-holder's rebellion, Messrs. Morgan, Evarts and Wheeler hold rank quite as eminent as does Governor Fish; while Governor Fenton in turn represents the dead Greeley, and—though hesitating somewhat to speak and act out boldly his convictions, more eminently than any one else represents the advance guard of republicanism in its war upon feudal authority; in other words, the republicanism of the present, and the republic of the future. Governor Morgan could and would have been nominated at Cincinnati in 1876, had not the present executive of New York State, as the representative of Mr. Conkling, held out to the last against it, and, through influence with a majority of his associate delegates, prevented Mr. Morgan's nomination. Historical truth requires the statement that several of the delegates from New England, largely representing that section, outside of Maine, are understood to have waited on Mr. Cornell and persistently urged the

dropping of Mr. Conkling's name on the part of the New York delegation, and the agreement upon that of Gov. Morgan, coupled with the strongest assurance that, if this were done, nearly or quite all of the Bristow element, alike from Kentucky and Massachusetts—and the sections of the Union represented by the radicalism of the one, and the conservatism of the other, forming the golden mean of republicanism—would unite and make Gov. Morgan's nomination inevitable.

At the time of this dictation on the part of a self-constituted political satrap, holding seat in the National Convention not from authority on the part of the people, but through frauds as monstrous as those which gave the Smyth delegation from Albany seats in the recent convention at Utica—there is not a shadow of doubt that, could the question have been submitted to a vote of the republicans of the Empire State, whether the great war governor, Edwin D. Morgan, or the brilliant senator and feudal chief, Roscoe Conkling, should be made their standard-bearer, the verdict would have proven fully three for Morgan to one for Conkling. A net-work of correspondence, at that time existing, and more fully developed since in the organization of the "Republican Reform League," covering the entire State and reaching every school district, clearly demonstrates these assertions to be true. It is no disrespect to President Hayes to say, that had Gov. Morgan's name been thus agreed upon, in the election which followed he would doubtless have carried New York, and probably Indiana and New Jersey, and thus the question of the presidency would have been settled without the necessity of the Electoral Commission.

As regards Secretary Evarts,—such is the profundity of his legal abilities, the enlightenment of his views, his radicalism in all that pertains to the rights of man, his conservatism in all things political, that it is too much to hope or expect that he would be made the presidential choice of the elements mainly to appear at Chicago. As the American people have but the crudest conceptions of what is required to make a republic, so it is impressively true that delegations chosen as have been not only those of New York

and Pennsylvania, but of most of the other States thus far, are not the ones to bring forward such a man as Mr. Evarts for the presidency. The American premier, in short, represents rather the republic which is to be, than the one that is presumed to exist. With all this, the ways of Providence are past finding out, and nobody at this distance can foresee what may occur at Chicago. The American people, at least the reading and thinking portion of them, are just discovering that they are really represented nowhere,—the place-seekers, place-holders and schemers, everywhere.

The revolution manifestly begun and well under way in Pennsylvania, is liable to continue to spread, until the people, through their demands for a real republic, become the conquerors, and the politicians the vanquished. A call has been put in circulation, inviting anti-third-term republicans to a conference at Albany, on April 21st, at which time such action will be taken as may very probably beget a new republican State committee, provide for the holding of a new State convention, and the issuance of a call for congressional district conventions, to choose new delegates representing the masses rather than the "machine." The pressure of such a delegation at Chicago, finding itself perchance unable to agree on any of the candidates outside the State, and urging the nomination of Secretary Evarts, Governor Morgan, Governor Fenton, Governor Fish, Vice-President Wheeler, or some other eminent New Yorker, could scarcely fail of producing a sensation hitherto unknown in American politics—convincing the feudal chiefs, at least, that the day of their political dictation has passed away forever.

This brings us to the list of prominent candidates in the ranks of the democracy. First on such list stands the name of Samuel J. Tilden, one of the most remarkable men ever known to American history,—a man possessing the arts and devices of an Aaron Burr, the legal ability of an Evarts, the fertility in resource of Jay Gould, and, above all, those qualities so admired by Talleyrand, whose hero was the man who could make the best use of language to conceal his ideas. Perhaps no man ever lived who knew better how to make

the greed and ambitions of his fellow men to serve his purposes.

The writer of this article has been studying Mr. Tilden's character since the memorable epoch of 1848, nor has yet been able to make up judgment touching the impulses which have actuated, and the motives which have controlled his career. That Mr. Tilden not merely believes in democracy, but fancies himself its most eminent representative, charity, at least, would lead us to conclude. In fact, men have lived in all ages, not depraved or bad at heart, whose philosophy has nevertheless been that of the end justifying the means. There have been times when it would seem that Mr. Tilden, more eminently than any other American, represents this phase of political philosophy. That his ends have been laudable is not improbable; but that the means to which he has, as a rule, been in the habit of resorting, could scarcely have been worse, a large portion of the American people have come to believe. With all his great powers—those indeed of the magician in politics—his nomination at Cincinnati will be found barely among the possibilities. Upon this theory of possibilities, largely if not equally applying to Gen. Grant, should the result at Chicago and Cincinnati be such as to find the one pitted against the other, human discernment is incapable of an intelligent judgment as regards the result in November. Already, in nearly every State, the elements of both of the hitherto existing parties are combining—crystallizing rather—into forms likely to result in new conventions of the people, the outgrowth of which can hardly fail of complete revolution. Democracy and republicanism, indeed, would be most likely to disappear as hitherto existing, and the *vox populi, vox Dei*, heretofore so frequently quoted, would find realization in the inauguration—possibly before its day—of that republic which time is destined to bring to the American people.

Of other candidates spoken of by the democrats, Messrs. Seymour, Thurman, Bayard, Hancock, Hendricks, David Davis and others, so remote is the possibility of either being nominated, that nothing more than the mere mention of their names need be made.

Two names, and only two, have been mentioned, possessing in our judgment much weight as regards probabilities of nomination. Mr. Groesbeck of Ohio is perhaps the best specimen of Jeffersonian democracy among democrats of the present generation. In a recent interview, reported in the newspapers, it is stated that Mr. Groesbeck, when asked whether he would consent to accept the nomination, if tendered to him at Cincinnati, replied by saying that, while he was not a candidate for any office, if the representatives of the democratic party were to make him their choice, he certainly should not incline to that sort of disagreement which would forbid their doing so. And yet he would say or do nothing to seek the nomination. Mr. Groesbeck is confessedly a man of great abilities, eminently patriotic and conservative, and perhaps no man in the country would hold a more even hand than he as chief magistrate of the nation.

The other name is that of a gentleman possessing all the excellent qualities of Mr. Groesbeck, coupled with others giving him rank among the first men in the business and politics of the country. This is Hugh J. Jewett, President of the New York, Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, in no sense a dark horse—as has sometimes been suggested—but one whose name, growing steadily, extends today into all parts of the civilized world. His achievements in taking hold of the affairs of what seemed the most rotten and hopeless railroad corporation on this continent, and bringing it into complete solvency, have fixed upon him the eyes of the money-kings of the old and the new worlds. Nor is John Sherman, chief of financial successes, as Secretary of the Treasury, better known to the world's financiers than is Hugh J. Jewett. A solitary objection has been urged against Mr. Jewett as a presidential candidate, viz.: that of his identification with one of the greatest railways of the world, and his consequent supposed removal from sympathy with the laboring classes. It only needs, however, a look beneath the surface, to discover that to Hugh J. Jewett are the employes and operatives connected with our vast system of railways more indebted than to any other, for those

enlightened and progressive methods of management which are lifting them to the highest plane, as regards the dignities and profits of labor so ennobling every class of workingmen.

Let no one presume that Mr. Jewett's name is other than that of the most formidable candidate yet mentioned in connection with the democratic nomination for the presidency. This it is, and thus is it regarded by the closest observers and most impartial judges of political probabilities, irrespective of party, throughout the country. Should he be nominated, which seems more than probable, and be found pitted against the ex-president, the friends of the latter, within a few weeks, at farthest, after the opening of the campaign, will be very likely to find themselves buried with their candidate beneath a political avalanche not yet so much as dreamed of by one in a thousand of even the more intelligent of American politicians. As opposed to John Sherman or James G. Blaine, who are now universally recognized as dividing between them the chances of receiving the nomination of the republican party, Mr. Jewett would alone, apparently, fail of success through want of confidence in the party behind him, rather than through distrust of its nominee. Under any and all circumstances, the States of New York, New Jersey, Indiana, and perhaps one or two others of the north, may be set down as in doubt, should Mr. Jewett be made the democratic candidate. His record is such, as regards loyalty to the Union, the Constitution as it was, and the Constitution as it is, coupled with his acknowledged abilities as one of the very ablest men of the country, and possessing statesmanship of the highest order, as to render him in every respect unassailable.

What manner of man, in fact, is the Hon. Hugh J. Jewett, may be learned from the following statements of Judge George F. Comstock of Syracuse:

"I know Hugh J. Jewett well, and the movement to nominate him for President at Cincinnati seems to be gaining considerable prominence and it is not unlikely that it may succeed. The delegates from Ohio will, of course, give Mr. Thurman a complimentary vote, and if it can be shown that Mr. Jewett can carry Ohio, they will then go for him and that will nominate him.

"Mr. Jewett is as honest a man as there is in the United States. He is a strong business man, and understands the wants and needs of the business men of the country thoroughly. He is safe on all subjects of finance and currency, and should he be nominated, I think no living man would get a stronger vote in the city of New York. Mr. Jewett has wonderful executive ability, and would call around him a cabinet composed of the very best men of the country. The resuscitation of the Erie Railway under the management of Mr. Jewett, was the greatest financial achievement this country has ever known. The business men of the country would have the utmost confidence in Mr. Jewett's administration, and the country would be perfectly safe under it. The character of the man is shown from the following anecdote: In 1861 he was nominated by the democrats for Governor of Ohio. He was a war democrat and would not accept the nomination on the platform laid down by the State convention, for the reason that it did not support the war. He wrote two letters to the State committee, one declining the nomination for Governor on the platform of the convention, and the other accepting it on a platform of his own, which he enclosed, and which gave a vigorous support to the war. He informed the State committee that it might do as it pleased with the letters. The committee accepted Mr. Jewett's and he ran largely ahead of his ticket. The democrats in my opinion could not nominate for President a better or a safer candidate or a more available one."

In conclusion, the presidential campaign of 1880 is destined, in any event, to prove a memorable one in the annals of American history. It will doubtless be the last involving the question whether the politicians or the people shall rule. The new census will bring not only a new south, but equally a new north, east and west, not to say a new Union, and, in due time, unless broken in the struggles and strifes of the present year, a new and permanent republic; which shall witness honest primaries, peaceful and honest elections, and at length, such amendments to the Constitution as the advancement and necessities of the nation require.

A. N. Cole.

X.—Reviews and Criticisms.

Belles-Lettres.

Poems. By Matthew Arnold. New and complete Edition. 12° pp. 369. New York : Macmillan & Co. 1878.

These poems of Mr. Arnold are full of rich and exquisite fancy—replete with a tender melancholy, not untinged with hope ; delicate lines weaving the weird tracery of thought into the warp and woof of poetry. It is with a certain reverence that we turn the leaves of this volume, for behind the scholarly versification, the sincere and stately earnestness, there is betrayed a depth of feeling which steals its way into the unguarded heart.

The volume is handsomely presented, and comprises the complete poems of Mr. Arnold, beginning with his earlier songs, entitled, *Quiet Work*, *In Harmony with Nature*, *Youth and Calm*, and *A Memory Picture*. Many of these are breathed in a spirit of unrest, and are an exemplification of the poet's own words :

> "——— that one thing only has been lent,
> To youth and age in common—discontent."

Yet are they welcome, for they are familiar. The ebb and flow of joy and sadness, now veiled and quiet, then stately and majestic, form a poetical background to our more real experience—to the ever varying shadow in our more practical life ; and therefore are these lines poetic translations of kindred feeling, touched by the warmth and passion of the poet's generous discontent. To quote from his earlier efforts—

> "Like bright waves that fall,
> With lifelike motion,
> On the lifeless margin of the sparkling ocean ;"

it is thus that these vigorous, voiceful songs come to us as the eventide with rest and reflection, tingeing with subdued glory the departing day, and unobtrusively inviting the attention by their presence in our own mind.

There is a weird and sombre beauty in the undulatory flow of the lines of *Stagirius*, like the musical moaning of the "Bells, bells, bells," and the *Church of Brou*—a vivid picture of a Savoy castle, before which moat and drawbridge, leafy forest roads, hounds and horsemen, appear in artistic confusion, and from whose mullioned casements the Duchess Marguerite waves her

lord, the duke, adieu as he departs for the hunt, but from which he is brought back dead. The sight of her youthful husband beneath the flaming torches, freezes her young soul; but with sweet determination she turns her sorrow toward the unfinished *Church of Brou*, that she may devote her life to its completion, and erect therein a tomb to her departed love. One is reminded of Shah Jehan and his worshipful expenditure on the Taj. The gentle duchess watches daily from her white palfrey the Flemish carvers, Lombard gilders, German masons, smiths from Spain— until the work is crowned, and when

> "Round the tomb the carved stone fret-work,
> Was at Easter tide put on,
> Then the Duchess closed her labors,
> And she died at the St. John."

The simplicity of this poem is its charm. In the second part, when the picturesque church is seen standing mid green fields, when, above, "the hills are clothed with pines, sun-proof;" when the organ tones and the voice of the priest mingle with the songs of the wilderness and the prayers of the Alpine peasants, one can almost feel the warmth of the summer and touch the brightness of the flowers shadowed in the grass. A simple, rural calm is there; and when the church is silent and deserted, left alone in the afternoon shadows and sunshine, alone with the tomb of the princely pair, the mellowed play of light from the vast western window of the nave, glimmers upon the inner pavement.

> "A chequer work of glowing sapphire tints,
> And amethyst and ruby.
>
> "Hush, ye will say, it is eternity!
> This is the glimmering verge of Heaven, and these
> The columns of the heavenly palaces,—
>
> "And in the sweeping of the wind your ear
> The passage of the Angel's wings will hear,
> And in the lichen-crusted leads above,
> The rustle of the eternal rain of love,"—

which, if it does not accord with our modern idea of palatial Heaven, or feathered spirits, is yet a sweet remembrance, and appropriately completes the picture with a gentle mystery.

This simplicity of expression does not, however, pervade or characterize most of the poems, while yet they are strangely attractive. Whether this fact may be due to the assumed poetical intelligence of the reader, or to the rapid succession of thoughts closely and familiarly connected with inspiration, is not for us to determine; but there is a vagueness and obscurity, which like a cloud floats across the sky of our common apprehension, and which we are unable to dispel, even after the most conscientious perusal. While we are still fascinated with the beautiful and fanciful imagery, our impression at the conclusion is not a flattering one to ourself. Led beside the still water, when

> "Cool grass and fragrant glooms"

await, to the very fountain of repose, we are suddenly left to find our way through a labyrinth of spray, falling, it is true, in luminous showers, but which envelopes the understanding in a mazy mist of disappointment. The poet passes beyond, perhaps, and

"Breathes when he will, immortal air,"

while we are left behind to drench in a dew of doubt, which baffles our honest endeavors to penetrate, and to wonder that our vision is not also wide as earnest.

Resignation—to Fausta—is rich with musical grace, while a subtle philosophy is apparent throughout. The narrative poems—*Tristram and Iseult*, *Sohrab and Rustum*, with others require space for comment, which we more readily devote to the collection of lyrics. They, like pale water-lilies, spangle the margin of a sea of philosophic thought. They are memories, and turn the midnight into day—

"My Marguerite smiles upon the strand,
Unaltered with the year."

A sweet voice, an echo of the past, brings with it fairer recollections, recalling fragments hidden long ago, while a monotone of pleasurable sadness is blended harmoniously with fond regret.

"But, on the stairs what voice is this I hear,
Buoyant as morning, and as morning clear?
Say, has some wet, bird-haunted English lawn,
Lent it the music of its trees at dawn?
Or was it from some sun-flecked mountain brook,
That the sweet voice its upland clearness took?
Ah! it comes nearer—
Sweet notes this way!"

And, again, when through a half-opened door the shadow of a lost thought is cast—there seem to appear

"The sweet blue eyes—the soft, ash colour'd hair—
The cheeks that still their gentle paleness wear—
The lovely lips, with their arch smile that tells
The unconquered joy in which her spirit dwells—
Ah! they bend nearer,
Sweet lips this way!"

A group of short poems, *Farewell*, *Absence*, *The Terrace at Berne* and others are entitled *Switzerland*, and are among the best. They are radiant with glad summer sunshine, and float like driftwood upon the surface, beneath which may be discovered the solid rocks of conviction and principle. There is a pathos and dignity, as well as a sad surprise in the following lines selected from many:

"Could from earth's ways that figure slight
Be lost, and I not feel 't was so?
Of that fresh voice the gay delight
Fail from earth's air, and I not know?"

which with other verses, is like a strain from a nocturne, burdened with a nameless grief, but over which circumstance has placed

her cold fingers, "as a harper lays his hand across the harp, to deaden its vibration." The tones will linger still, like the refrain from some half-forgotten melody.

The healthful tone of such poems as *Self Dependence*, *Morality*, *Progress*, *Revolution*, and others equally liberal and expansive, both in rhyme and reason, commands our earnest admiration. From the first of these we quote in conclusion—

> "Weary of myself and sick of asking
> What I am and what I ought to be,
> At this vessel's prow I stand, which bears me,
> Fowards, forwards, o'er the starlit sea."

And across the water, upon the evening breezes, from the moon and stars and floating cloudlets comes the answer:

> "From the intense, clear, star sown vault of heaven.
> Over the lit sea's unquiet way,
> In the rustling night air came the answer,
> 'Would'st thou *be* as these are? *Live* as they.
>
> 'Unaffrighted by the silence round them,
> Undistracted by the sights they see,
> These demand not that the things without them,
> Yield them love, amusement, sympathy.
>
> 'And with joy the stars perform their shining,
> And the sea its long moon-silvered roll;
> For self-poised they live, nor pine with noting
> All the fever of some differing soul!
>
> 'Bounded by themselves and unregardful,
> In what state God's other works may be;
> In their own tasks all their powers pouring,
> These attain the mighty life you see.'
>
> "O air-born voice! long since severely clear,
> A cry like thine in mine own heart I hear:
> Resolve to be thyself; and know that he
> Who finds himself, loses his misery!"

Studies in German Literature. By BAYARD TAYLOR. With an Introduction by GEORGE H. BOKER. 12° pp. 418. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.

A NEW work from Bayard Taylor is like a revered voice from beyond the tomb. When he speaks of German literature, we listen with the perfect assurance that we shall receive both pleasure and edification. A perusal of this book fully sustains our expectations. Mr. Taylor's life-long and profound study of this noble subject made him a competent critic and a trustworthy guide.

The form of these *Studies* is somewhat incomplete, and the

style, at times, a little hasty; but we must remember that they were originally lectures, delivered before the students of Cornell University, and were intended simply as an introduction to the study of the subject. When we add that the editor has put forth the lectures precisely as they were written, adding nothing, subtracting nothing, but simply correcting "verbal errors and omissions," we give high praise both to the work itself and to the taste and judgment of Mr. Boker. It is Mr. Taylor's opinions that we want, subjected to no revision of any critic of meaner powers or lesser competency.

The theme is so great, the field so vast, that the author confines himself to those names and works which indisputably belong to the literary history of Germany—to the landmarks which indicate change and progress. That he adhered almost rigidly to this plan becomes especially evident in the chapter on "The Mediæval Epics," where he utterly ignores the crowd of lesser singers, and treats only of the three greatest epics of the twelfth century. In accordance with this wise scheme, the first work discussed, in the literary history of Germany, is the *Codex Argenteus* of Ulfilas, a work which, by the development and music of its language, amply refutes the surly judgment of Julian the Apostate on the German tongue. It is curious to note in passing, that Mr. Taylor perpetuates, and almost seems to approve, the now exploded theory that Ulfilas invented the Gothic alphabet. It is well known that the *Codex* is of incalculable value to us, as showing the Gothic source of many of the riches of the German and English tongues, and also as proving, by unavoidable implication, that the literature of the sixth and seventh centuries must have been rich in songs and war ballads. The remainder of the first lecture discusses the good influence of Charlemagne on German literature, so largely undone, however, by the bigotry of his son, Ludwig the Pious; the division of dialects; the *Hildebrandslied*, which bears a remarkable resemblance to the story of Sohrab and Rustum, and has something of Homer's noble simplicity and naturalness; the *Heliand*, a Christian poem which the priests substituted for the old Pagan ballads, and which Vilmar so extravagantly praises, saying, "It is by far the most excellent, complete, and lofty work which the Christian poetry of all races and times has produced"; and finally, the *Ludwigslied*, which, as compared with the *Hildebrandslied*, shows the contrast between the natural poetic speech and the poetry of culture. This first period of German literature, we may add, covers about eight hundred years, and ends, by the general agreement of modern scholars, with the accession of the Hohenstaufens in 1138, two and a half centuries after the production of the *Ludwigslied*, thus leaving, for that space of time, an almost barren literary desert.

The second lecture deals with "The Minnesingers," and is full of the author's peculiar charm. At the same time it furnishes, perhaps, the only instance in which he is led to do a manifest

injustice. After tracing rapidly, but clearly, the rise of the minnesingers, he devotes himself to a full discussion of their three chief representatives, Walther von der Vogelweide, Conrad von Würzburg, and Ulrich von Lichtenstein. To the first of these he rightly assigns the highest place both as man and poet; but his admiration has caused him to pass over too lightly the great singer's faults and follies, while he markedly slurs the performances of the other two, and lays too much stress on their artistic and moral derelictions,—thus offending our sense of proportion in judgments. Walther was, indeed, the poet of nature and rural life, of birds, flowers, and sunlight. He was the Chaucer of Germany.

"Happy May, thy spell divideth
All, but not in hate,
Every tree in leafage hideth,
Nor the moorlands wait.
Colors fall in showers;
'I am long and thou art short,'
Thus in fields they strive and sport,
Clover, grass, and flowers."

His love-songs also, the strictly *minne*-songs, are delightful, and usually very pure in feeling, full of grace and sweetness.

"Spirit and senses, and thought I have given,
Unto the best and the purest and dearest;
Now must the bliss be complete, as in heaven,
Since I have dared to desire to be nearest.
If the world's blisses were dear to my heart,
'Twas from her goodness, and grace, and thereafter
Her roseate mouth, with the charm of its laughter."

He is a great master of rhythmical effects, blending form and substance with a skill like that of the Greek lyrists, and his sentiments are manly, independent—the whole producing upon us the impression of a sweet, strong, noble nature. Yet he also wrote some poems as coarse as the *Frauendienst* of Ulric von Lichtenstein, and is not to be wholly freed from blame at the expense of his successors. Ulrich, moreover, left some little songs which are musical, and pleasant in feeling. With Tannhäuser, whose poetry is strangely unlike the romantic feeling which has gathered about his name, ends the epoch of the minnesingers,—"a bright, animated, eventful age,"—light-hearted but not trivial, taking, for the first time in the history of literature, the direct impress of nature.

The succeeding lectures on "The Mediæval Epics," "The Nibelungenlied," "The Literature of the Reformation," "The Literature of the Seventeenth Century," "Lessing," "Klopstock, Wieland and Herder," "Schiller," and "Goethe" (how appetizing are these titles!) we must pass unnoticed, freighted though they are with the treasures of a ripe scholarship and a profound criticism—merely venturing the assertion that one of the most interesting passages in the volume, for all students of poetry, is that

which traces the evolution of the Arthurian legends and the Eddas down to Bulwer, Longfellow, Tennyson, Swinburne, Morris, and Matthew Arnold (pp. 64-99).

But we must linger a moment on the eleventh lecture, which presents the author's views on Goethe's *Faust*. The legend of Faustus had already been treated by many hands and in many styles. During the sixty-one years in which Goethe was occupied with the subject, more than thirty dramas and poems on Faust, by other authors, were issued in Germany. The intellectual and moral atmosphere seemed to be in a condition which craved and required the teachings and stimulus of the legend. Even Lessing and Müller, each wrote a tragedy on the subject. But Goethe alone saw the typical, universal element hidden in it; "he, alone, was able to engraft his own life and the governing forces of all human life" upon it. The conception inspired him at the age of twenty-one, and filled his soul constantly till he wrote the last verse on his eighty-second birthday. Mr. Taylor's essay on the *Faust* is of exceptional value, because, being thoroughly competent to treat the subject, he insists upon the necessity of the second part—so misconceived and underrated by critics, and so little read by students—and explains its connection with and fulfilment of the grand scheme as it existed in Goethe's mind. In the entire work are found three predominant elements: a broad, comprehensive presentation of the life of man, including the problem of good and evil; a reflection of Goethe's own life, his phases of thought and passion, faith and doubt; and lastly, the introduction of much matter which has really nothing to do with the evolution of the work. But at the end of the first part, the evolution of the plot has scarcely more than commenced. After the compact, Mephistopheles had said to Faust: "We will first see the little and then the great world." In the first part, then, Faust sees only the little world, "the individual experience of the emotions and passion of human nature." In the second part, he enters the great world, and meets "the experience of a life moving on a broad field of activity, among men, and in stations where its influence will be felt by thousands, or millions, of the race." Thus this part is wholly distinctive in its character. Faust comes under the dominion of ideas instead of passions; the poem becomes, therefore, less "popular," and requires, for its just appreciation, a somewhat ripe and philosophical mind. In the very opening scene, Faust, under the influence of an Alpine sunrise, feels his nature refreshed and bids adieu to the past,—a scene which embodies one of Goethe's most profound beliefs, that "the true atonement for a wrong committed does not lie in nursing the pain it leaves, but in restoration to cheerfulness and courage and hope, for the sake of others." The famous scene in which Faust seeks Helen of Troy expresses the longing of man for "Primitive Beauty,"—Helen typifying the ideal of the beautiful, and also the classical element in literature and art. Faust finally rises

above this service, noble though it be, and devotes himself to the redemption of his fellows from want and necessity. Thus his soul is at length developed, through sin and suffering, to perfect unselfishness. In the last scene, angels bear his spirit aloft, chanting words which embody the teaching of the entire poem:

"The noble Spirit now is free,
And saved from evil scheming:
Whoe'er aspires unweariedly,
Is not beyond redeeming.
And if he feels the grace of Love,
That from On High is given,
The Blessed Hosts, that wait above,
Shall welcome him to Heaven."

So admirably does Mr. Taylor set forth the scheme of this great poem, so intelligible does he make it, despite its intricacies, that we cannot forbear quoting his concluding words:

"In the characters of Faust and Mephistopheles are represented the continual strife between good and evil in man. The first lesson is that man becomes morbid and miserable in seclusion, even though he devotes himself to the acquisition of knowledge. He must also know the life of the body in the open air, and the society of his fellow men. He must feel in himself the passions and the impulses of the race; in other words, he must first become a man among men. He must fight, through his life, with the powers of selfishness, doubt, denial of all good, truth and beauty. Then, the error and the wrong which he may have committed must not clog his future development. He must recover health from moral as from physical disease. The passion for the beautiful must elevate and purify him, saving him from all the uneasiness and the littleness which we find in society and in all forms of public life. The restless impulse, which drives him forward, will save him—that is, lead him constantly from one sphere of being to another that is higher and clearer—in spite of error, in spite of temptation, in spite even of vice. Only in constant activity and struggle can he redeem himself—only in working for the benefit of his fellow-beings can he taste perfect happiness. This is the golden current of wisdom which flows through *Faust* from beginning to end."

Uarda. A Romance of Ancient Egypt. By GEORG EBERS. From the German by CLARA BELL. 16° 2 vols. pp. 332–320. New York: William S. Gottsberger. 1880.

As a contribution to Egyptology, *Uarda* is of great value; although its *value* very much depends upon the revivification of Egyptian life and customs of three thousand years ago. Its interest as a work of art is due solely to the artistic development of its characters. Prof. Ebers shows in this Egyptian romance that human nature is the same throughout the revolving ages; that it is the environments alone which change. We see the light-hearted thoughtlessness of youth, the low sordid cunning of unbridled passion, the credulity of the unthinking multitude, the selfishness that animates certain of the priesthood, both old and new, in that which encourages the people to believe what they

themselves have discarded. He shows, also, how in every age man has groped, is and ever will be groping, after that mysterious something which we call Truth, and is derided by the "initiated" and condemned by the people.

The author embodies this last in two characters—Pentaur the poet, and Nebsecht the physician, both priests of the House of Seti, of which, and of the Necropolis, he gives so graphic a description. These two men, imbued with an earnest desire to know truth as it is and not as others think it to be, seek it in opposite directions. The one seeks nature's God through nature, and in the heart, which is a part of the divine essence, manifesting itself in the unity and harmony of the visible and invisible world. The other ignores the supersensuous, and labors for the advancement of truth in the study of mankind, and thus to alleviate human suffering. Nebsecht regards God as a monster, a "giant who ever regenerates himself that he may devour himself again;"—who is ruled by no design, no reason, but is a slave himself to a tyrannical necessity; who gives not so much as a ray of light, or grain of sand, without reclaiming it, and hides himself behind a cloud of incomprehensibility. Pentaur, on the other hand, recognizes reason to be the penetrating and moving power of the universe, manifesting itself in the harmonlous workings of its parts. He believes that "what we call evil, darkness, wickedness, is in itself divine, good, reasonable and clear; but it appears in another light to our clouded minds, because we perceive the way only and not the goal, the details only and not the whole. * * * Apparent evil is but an ante-chamber to higher bliss, as every sunset is but veiled by night, and will soon show itself again as the red dawn of a new day." (Vol. I, p. 242.) The words of Nebsecht describe the two faithfully: "You are an Æolian harp—the sound is delightful, whatever breath of fate may touch it; I am a weather-cock—I turn whichever way the wind blows, and try to point right, but at the same time I creak, so that it hurts my own ears and those of other people. I am content if now and then a steersman may set his sails rightly by my indication." (Vol. II, p. 189.)

In the consistent development of these characters Prof. Ebers is masterly, combining the artistic sensibility of a poet with the subtle analysis of a philosopher. His powers of description are magnificent, whether they be used in describing priestly pageants, religious ceremonies and customs, battle scenes, or the gentle passions of love and friendship.

Uarda comes to us with a twofold claim on our admiration as a work of art in the artistic treatment of a historical subject; and by the author's fertile imagination and masterly ability to depict human nature, he makes the romance one of absorbing interest, irrespective of the minute description of Egyptian life and poetry, religion and customs, the accuracy of which is sufficiently vouched for by Prof. Ebers' reputation as an Egyptologist.

In Berkshire with the Wild Flowers. By ELAINE and DORA GOODALE. sq. 8° pp. 100. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.

THE poems of the Goodale sisters, which appeared under the prettily suggestive title of "Apple-Blossoms" a year ago, and which were duly noticed at the time in these pages, are now followed by another book by the same authors. Almost the first consideration which suggests itself, in respect to it, is, of course, the question of growth. It seems natural to ask if these young girls have profited by their experience. And still the question, under all the circumstances, appears a little premature. Probably the two periods of authorship do not furnish a sufficient separation, or parallax, so to speak—on which to found an important opinion. Coming so closely after the first book, these poems are really to be considered for all critical purposes as a part of it. If we notice much change in the style and force of the thought, it is mainly to be found in a tendency on the part of the young authors to be, at times, a little more subjective than before. The world is not now all outward, and, instead of the child's effusive joy with it, we discern in some of the verses a somewhat deeper undertone of reflection. This sense of the spiritual meaning of things would be more to be suspected of the eldest—Elaine—whose poem of the *Indian Pipe* furnishes, perhaps, the best illustration of it.

It was a pretty conceit to string all the flowers of the year—the typical ones at least—from the trailing arbutus to the fringed gentian, on so bright a carcanet of song as appears between these holiday-bedecked covers. This whole tableau of purpose, topic and authorship, brought out with so many fresh thoughts and fancies, secures for the reader a genuine delight and lends to the volume a charming significance. The illustrations by Gibson have that delicate aerial quality which fits the various themes, and add greatly to the attractions of the book.

An Earnest Trifler. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co.

THE success of this little book has been the literary surprise of the season. The author herself, no doubt, has shared to a pardonable extent in the pleasant shock of unexpectedness. The story is shaped upon the most approved modern manner as to plot and treatment—if its plot is palpable enough to deserve the courtesy of that name—and depends essentially on its psychological analysis of character, and its brisk and witty conversations for its chief appeal to the reader. It is almost needless to add, as

a pendant to this statement, that the style brings up frequent reminders of Howells, and James, and Bishop—though this is true rather of generic than of individualized traits. Not one of these bright writers, however, has given us a better series of colloquy and dialogue, or more attractive situations of a tenderly social sort. Indeed, so far as the conversations go, we have heard complaints that they are almost too bright and witty, showing a pungent incisiveness that human nature in real life could hardly hope to equal. For a new writer—a young lady who has never before essayed anything that has been embalmed in type—these qualities to the degree in which they exist in the volume, seem almost phenomenal.

Miss Sprague—for we all know now who the author is—has shown also for a first venture, a rare absence of superfluous enthusiasm, and has preserved well that difficult position of armed neutrality between the different characters, which marks the healthy, well-poised artist. At the same time she leaves, in places, a little too vague a haze on her pictures, so that too much remains for the reader's imagination to supply. The most serious blemish of all, however, is the disposal of the fair heroine to the prosy wooden character, who was set up to be the instrument of punishment to the Earnest Trifler. There was absolutely nothing in Dayton that deserved such bliss—nothing at all, indeed, that put him in any justifiable relation to it. What little he was, was purely derivative — the remote mirage of a light borrowed directly from the hero and heroine ; and his pasteboard existence fitly foreshadowed a fading out which—if it had come—would have been universally accepted and relished.

The story has a pleasant New England flavor ; and, if any belated reader who sees this paragraph is still delaying its perusal, we beg him to delay no longer the pleasure which awaits him. Meantime, the Scylla and Charybdis which confront Miss Sprague lie directly in the path to her second book. We wish to assure her that a hundred critical tomahawks are even now sharpened for, and awaiting, its arrival, and will not let her so easily climb into the fold of fame again. She can only get there at all now, by coming armed *cap-à-pié* with all the virtues, and knocking with long toil and calm patience at the regular and accepted door.

Dramatic Persons and Moods, with Other New Poems. By Mrs. S. M. B. Piatt. 12° pp. 96. Boston : Houghton, Osgood and Co. 1880.

The principal characteristic of these poems is a certain vagueness of expression that is evidently expected to pass current for subtlety of thought. There is, however, a thread of delicate thought

mixed up with this tangle of parenthetical ejaculations, that would not be without a certain beauty, were it disentangled. The following *Word of Reproach* is one of the cleverest and least involved poems in the volume :

"We must not quarrel, whatever we do ;
For if I was (but I was not) wrong,
Here are the tears for it, here are the tears :—
What else has a woman to offer you ?
Love might not last for a thousand years,
You know, though stars should rise so long.

"Oh you, you talk in a man's great way !
So, love would last though the stars should fall ?
Why, yes. If it last to the grave indeed,
After the grave last on it may.
But—in the grave ? Will its dust take heed
Of anything sweet—or the sweetest of all ?

"Ah, death is nothing ! It may be so,
Yet granting at least that death is death
(Pray look at the rose and hear the bird),
Whatever it is we must die to know !
Sometime we may long to say one word
Together—and find we have no breath.

"Ah me, how divine you are growing again,
How coldly sure that the Heavens are sure,
Whither too lightly you always fly
To hide from the passion of human pain.
Come, grieve that the earth is not secure,
For this one night—and forget the sky !"

One does not expect to take up a volume of poems, however, in the same spirit that one would sit down to wrestle with a problem in metaphysics, nor yet to kill time in running over a jingle of senseless rhymes, both of which one is compelled to do, unfortunately, who reads all the pieces in Mrs. Piatt's little volume. It is a fact to the discredit of versification that when one has a crowd of vague and indefinable ideas to express, one usually falls to rhyming. Many of Mrs. Piatt's sentiments would have been more *apropos* expressed in prose. So at least is the opinion of her prosaic critic.

BIOGRAPHY.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY.

1. *Bunyan.* By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. 12° pp. 173.
2. *Chaucer.* By ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD. 12° pp. 193.
3. *Hawthorne.* By HENRY JAMES, Jr. 12° pp. 177.
4. *Milton.* By MARK PATTISON, B. D. 12° pp. 215.
5. *Southey.* By EDWARD DOWDEN. 12° pp. 197. New York: Messrs. Harper & Brothers. 1880.

THIS attractive series of biographies of *English Men of Letters*, which has thus far been chiefly devoted to characters of the classical period of English literature, has now reached its sixteenth volume, with more to follow. The series has been followed in these pages with exceeding interest, despite an occasional *défaut*, of which we have had reason to complain, such as when subject and author have been displaced, or brought into wrong relations, which unhappy accident, however, has not often happened. Nor has public interest flagged in the biographies, so happily condensed. So far from this being the case, the favor with which the public received them at the outset has, we are informed, steadily increased, for which fact the publishers are to be congratulated.

Let us take such of the series as have not been noticed by the REVIEW, in alphabetical order, rather than that in which they appeared. Beginning with *Bunyan* we observe that, those who remember the distress experienced in their childhood when reading the affecting accounts of Bunyan's condition during his long confinement, hours which he so profitably employed in writing that world-renowned allegory, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, will feel grateful to Mr. Froude for the commonsense view he takes of his imprisonment. Instead of the "den" "where there was not a yard or court to walk in for daily exercises;" in place of "a damp and dreary cell," with "a narrow chink which admits a few scanty rays of light to render visible the abode of woe," Froude shows that Bunyan was permitted the indulgence the law allowed, and did not allow sometimes, provided his friends would pay for it. His long years of imprisonment the author considers to have been merely nominal at times. He could have been released at any time, by giving his promise to abstain from his peculiar style of preaching.

Mr. Froude gives a more intelligent history of Bunyan than it has ever been our good fortune to read. He is not content to take his information at second-hand, but goes direct to its source —the testimony of his contemporaries, and Bunyan's own account of his life. He gives a most excellent sketch of his life and charac-

ter, and shows that it is needless to deplore the lowliness of his birth, or the disadvantages of his education; that the peculiar circumstances surrounding Bunyan best qualified him for his work.

Mr. Froude's analysis and criticism of Bunyan's works are admirable, displaying deep insight into his strange nature. He is not, unhappily, always accurate. The summary way, for example, in which Mr. Froude disposes of the fundamental doctrines of the "Quakers," or the "Children of Light," as they first termed themselves, is, we venture to say, misleading. On page 65, he says that at the outset they disbelieved in the divinity of Christ, and in the inspiration of the Scriptures. Take away these, and whence comes that "light" which George Fox so untiringly enjoined upon the "Friends?" That the primitive Friends denied divinity to the carnal part of Jesus, and denied the resurrection of his body, is beyond dispute; but that they placed implicit faith in the divinity of Christ, is equally beyond dispute. "He that hath the Son of God hath life, and the Father and Son are one, and there is no salvation in any other," says George Fox (*The Great Mystery*, p. 37. London: 1659). "None knows the person of Christ but with the light that comes from him: None knows the mediator, none knows the Author of their faith, but with the light that comes from Christ: And none knows the Scriptures of truth but with the light: And Christ is the rule of faith, and author of it, and giver" (*Ib.* p. 56). Also, on page 19 of the appendix of *The Battle Door* (London: 1660) he calls Christ the "first and the last, which was before tongues were, and stands where they are ended, and he is the Light, Life, Power, Wisdom and Teacher."

As regards the inspiration of the Scriptures, we also find Mr. Froude's assertions at variance with the facts. The occasion of the first incarceration of George Fox was at his interruption of the "priest" in the "steeple-house," who said that by the Scriptures were to be tried all religions, doctrines, and opinions. George Fox denied this saying: "O no, it is not the Scriptures, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried. That was it which led into all truth, and gave the knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the Scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning star, and persecuted him and his apostles, though they took upon them to try their doctrine by the Scriptures, but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they did it without the Holy Ghost" (Sewel's *History of the People called Quakers*, p. 37. New York: 1844). This is even more unmistakable in his *Great Mystery*, p. 62: "The Scriptures were given forth from the spirit of God, and they are the things of God, and the words of God, and they are not known nor understood, but by the spirit of God again, for there is a spiritual understanding." As the above quotations are taken from the first two volumes published by George Fox, they

conclusively prove that "Quakers at their outset" did not "disbelieve in his [Christ's] divinity or in the inspiration of the Scriptures. William Penn refers to Christ as "the flowing of God's life." (*Works*, Vol. II, p. 417.)

But despite Mr. Froude's frequent recklessness of facts, his *Bunyan* is a story which fascinates and enchains the reader from the beginning to the end.

2. *Chaucer* affords evidence of Mr. Morley's usually excellent discrimination in selecting writers for his subjects. Mr. Ward treats his subject exhaustively or nearly so, beginning with the supposed period of Chaucer's birth, and giving a slight sketch of the political condition of England at that time, and of the literature, both French and English. He analyzes Chaucer's genius as represented in his works, and collects the few known isolated facts of his personal history,—which gives one a tolerably distinct idea of the man and his writings.

Mr. Ward's critique of Chaucer's poems seems to us preëminently fair. At first, one might question the author's judgment in allowing Chaucer's poetry to lose so little when judged by the modern standard; but the energy and enthusiasm which Mr. Ward has shown in his subject have brought out so many beauties which were obscured in the obsolete language of Chaucer's time, as fully to justify his conclusions.

Altogether it is a timely volume, and will do much toward satisfying the increasing desire of the public to know more of the chief characters of English literature.

3. A good deal is expected now-a-days when Henry James, the younger, puts forth a new book; and the anticipation is not a little heightened when so important a name as Hawthorne's constitutes its subject and title. It seems, indeed, to look at the matter *d priori*, as if it were something more than a common felicity which brought the subject and author, in this case, together; for, if Hawthorne was a genius almost solitary in his subtle and exquisite proportions—the master of a pure and excellent style—Mr. James stands foremost among our modern writers not only for brightness, but for inimitable graces of speech. He relishes a perfect sentence as an epicure an incomparable flavor; and with a quickwittedness which has had the benefit of travel and special training to make it serviceable, he knows how to measure the purport, estimate the nice shading, and the exact meaning of words.

But with all this equipment and in spite of the many excellencies with which his book admittedly abounds, his effort is a little depressing, and—we say it candidly—has disappointed us. Not that it lacks care and precision of statement; not that it lacks a profuse number of his best and happiest sayings; or that it does not give us, in many places, a charming psychological

analysis of his subject. These are all to be found. They are rarely ever wanting, to tell the truth, when Mr. James essays an opinion. But he seems after giving us so much, and even more if you please, to have missed the main thing. We lay the book down, and find our eyes full of the flicker of side lights and pyrotechnic illuminations; but there is no concrete image, no commanding figure—such as it is universally conceded Hawthorne's is—set up before us to overpower, or, at least, to command our imagination.

Our disappointment is the more severe, because Mr. James' long and now almost habitual residence abroad might have been to him an added resource—and given some hope that he would be able to forestall the full verdict of the future. But, curiously, this privilege has produced in his mind an almost acetous fermentation in respect of America and American topics, which—occasionally shown in mild passages in some of his former books—has here developed into cockneyism, and a sort of cosmopolitan snobbery that leans so far, and with such horror, from supposed littleness aud provinciality, as really to come back to it. Mr. James should be acute enough to know that the eagle is not constantly telling us he is not a wren; he trusts his size and demeanor and attitude to observing eyes. If any bird were really to assume such lofty airs, and were to scream insistently and with painful iteration that his view point was not the earth, but the sky, we should look up to see something anserine or web-footed, which had somehow managed to reach the serene height of some Serbonian bog. That catholic cultus, of which Mr. James is so enamored, and which marks the true cosmopolitan, is not mastered by "cathedrals" or "sovereigns," or "courts," or "universities," or "museums," good as they may be to live among and to possess; it is even superior to them. It does not suffer irreparably, we suspect, from all the other negatives, which Mr. James so solemnly catalogues—a list nearly as bereaving as that famous medley in Hood's "November";—nor will it shrivel up and die, if—horror of horrors—it knows "no Epsom nor Ascot!"

All that fine condescension, therefore, with which Mr. James pats America and Hawthorne on the back, and pities too, while he pats, is not criticism of any thing else so much as it is criticism of Henry James. It prompts and compels us to ask,—who is this bumptious youth who has so far outgrown his American old clothes? The pity of it all is, that Mr. James is a young writer who has unquestionably high gifts, and might well afford to be quite above his juvenile—not to say comical and amusing—solicitudes.

It is also singular that he should have so misread Thoreau as to say of him, as he does on page 94: "He was imperfect, unfinished, inartistic; he was worse than provincial—he was parochial. It is only at his best that he is readable." The author who could write this must either have forgotten Thoreau's work, or else must

have read it through the wrong end of some strange mental telescope. Thoreau was certainly not a cosmopolite after the James ideal—some would say, instead, "academian"—but he saw more in Concord than some writers would extract from the whole Cosmos; and it would be hard to discover the wonder, beauty and pith of poetry, if they are not to be found in his literary excursusses.

But we are glad to have Mr. James deliver himself on this theme, even in the way he has chosen to posture. We would not have missed the multitude of pleasant flavors that are to be found in what he has, at least, daintily served. For all these we heartily thank him. But he has failed completely in the task which so many looked to him to execute, and has left the perfect critic, and the synthetic conspectus of Hawthorne—the one to be discovered, and the other to be written.

4. MR. PATTISON'S *Milton* has something of the effect of a photograph, as compared with other biographies of the poet that mainly present him as a high British classic—which he undoubtedly is—and exhibit him, as Mr. Masson does in his six large volumes, as part of a large and liberal painting, or historic picture. In this little book the reader sees Milton, and little else, to draw off his attention from the principal figure. Milton is represented especially as a poet, and one having also many of the faults and vanities of other men; and we are thankful for such a plain and simple style of narrative and criticism, in which nothing is extenuated and nothing set down for mere biographical effect. The great Puritan was naturally a very meditative bookworm, always nourishing himself on grand visions, and always hoping to find an opportunity of performing something in the highest style of the poetical art. He was, in fact, as great a visionary as Bunyan or Coleridge, and, like most poets, was in a great degree unfitted for the circumspect rough work of the world about him. He was always dreaming—especially when at the age of twenty-five, he went in a secretive sort of way and married Mary Powell, a country girl of seventeen, who could never bear his quiet ways, his roomful of books, and no company, and who went away from him at the end of the honeymoon, meaning never to return.

Mr. Pattison gives a just estimate of Milton's mind and learning; and we can easily see that the poet had the pedantry of his age, with a lofty Puritan contempt for those who did not love learning and poetry, and with another sort of contempt which provoked him to "throw dirt" at his learned adversaries. People have affected to praise his prose, which was really an ill-regulated and disorderly prose—very far inferior to that of his contemporary, John Dryden—and, for a quiet bookworm of poetical feelings, his language could be of a very termagant sort. But he was out of his element in prose, and the duty of doing something in the debates of the time and the work of his Latin Secretaryship of the Council of State distracted and drew away his mind from the

dreamy and sequestered course of life for which nature intended him. His poetry is very noble, as regards artistic effect and melody, and his heroic hexameter is superior to that of any other English poet. In some places it stirs one like the sound of a trumpet; in others—as in *Lycidas*—it has the exquisite effect of the piano. His great poem will always be read—just as people still read the poetry of Homer and Virgil—as a matter of literary duty; but the poetic feeling of this age has gone away into other channels. Goethe, Lamartine and others have been rather unjust to Milton for his choice of a theme from the first chapter of Genesis and one of the last chapters of the Apocalypse. But he chose in the spirit of his age—as the Homeric and Roman writers did in the spirit of theirs. And, for that matter, the Englishman's fable is just as good as that of Troy or Latium.

Milton's poetry is full of classic affectations and pedantries; but it is a monumental poetry, and must always be admired as men admire Westminster Abbey, the Coliseum and the Pyramids. On the other hand, the biography of the man will always have its attraction for the light it throws on the social and intellectual history of his time.

5. There are greater and brighter men than Southey in Mr. Morley's list of *English Men of Letters;* and yet Mr. Dowden has made the biography of the sedate "laureate" as interesting as any other belonging to the same series. In this little book—and its size is not the least of its merits—we have presented all the main points of Southey's life, with accessory contrasts or colorings, which give to the work the character of a well-arranged and well-executed picture. Mr. Dowden's manner is lively and idiomatic, and as clear as Southey's own, but more in the modern style of expression, which unites a certain conversational ease with the simplicity of good writing. Under such treatment, Southey's portrait is very notably refreshed, and we see him pretty much as he lived—a most amiable and kindly man, in the midst of his family and friends, a hard worker and a happy-minded worker with the pen; a bookworm with the most recluse and orderly habits, but not the least brilliancy as a poet—being, in fact, like Dryden's Buckhurst—

"The best good man with the worst-natured muse."

The poetry of the laureate was never a thing to warm the fancy of a modern critic; and Mr. Dowden does not say much about it. But he does justice to Southey's idiomatic and manly simplicity in prose; and, for the rest, leaves the reader to find his greatest enjoyment in the home-life and habits of his subject, associated as they were with the names and thoughts of such men as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley, Landor, Scott, Jeffrey and others of his contemporaries. This biographical essay will do much to rectify the opinions of a great many who have got their

ideas of Robert Southey from some of the writers of his time who disparaged him,—especially "the wicked Lord Byron," who, in so many places, and in such a truculent way, laughs at the prosaic poetry of the king's laureate.

Southey "could toil terribly," like Sir Walter Raleigh; his wish and motto being, *in labore quies*. In his seventieth year (1843) the penalty of his brain-work reached him, and his mind was lost before he died, like that of Swift and Scott, and so many other busy intellects, roving at high rate of speed along the high-ways and by-ways of literature.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. *The Gamekeeper at Home.* Third Edition. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1879.
2. *Wild Life in a Southern Country.* Boston; Roberts Brothers. 1879.
3. *The Amateur Poacher.* Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1879.

THESE small volumes, which we name in the order of their publication, form a unique contribution to our widely-growing out-door or sporting literature. It has a fresh and significant importance, too, by the newness of its field, and from the fact that it furnishes so complete and unreserved an introduction to all the small secrets and flavors of English landscape, life and scenery. What Thoreau, Burroughs and a few others have done for the New England and Middle States, these pages do for the natural history and rural life of England, on the more unkempt downs and forests, and ruder farms. We might say even more than this; for, in the first of the series, the sketch of the typical game-keeper is every way as good as a prime character copied out of a prime novel. The skilful touches which picture him are exceedingly well done; and in the survey we get of his human enemies, of the home in which he lives, of his family and his training and traditions—to say nothing of the glimpse we have through these books of the great house and family whose doors are sometimes thrown open to our view, there is also given a picturesque vista of a social order and life to which no part of our own country supplies an analogue, or parallel.

The author, who is said to be Richard Jeffries, but whose initials "R. J." have constituted all the knowledge we have had of him, hitherto, is an evident born lover of out-door life and adventure, and there seems to be no trick of gunnery and the rod with which he is not thoroughly familiar. He knows every small

quadruped,—their haunts and habits, the time and place to find them; the birds, the fishes, the shrubbery, and even the snakes and the lizards. We are convinced that he would wade through a marsh, unprotected, in a pelting storm, or sit in a tree half a day to solve some secret, or capture the game which might stimulate his vigilant quest. In a very genuine way—though he carries the gun and rod oftener for their own sake than did Thoreau—he fulfils Emerson's felicitous picture of the Walden "Seer:"

"A lover true who knew by heart
Each joy the mountain dales impart;
It seemed that nature could not raise
A plant in any secret place,
In quaking bog, on snowy hill,
Beneath the grass that shades the rill,
Under the snow, between the rocks,
In damp fields known to bird and fox,
But he would come in the very hour
It opened in its virgin bower,
As if a sunbeam showed the place,
And tell its long-descended race.
* * * * * * * * *
He saw the partridge drum in the woods;
He heard the woodcock's evening hymn;
He found the tawny thrush's broods;
And the shy hawk did wait for him;
What others did at distance hear,
And guessed within the thicket's gloom,
Was showed to this philosopher,
And at his bidding seemed to come."

An instance of his constant fidelity and thoroughness is illustrated by a few apologetic words which occur in the preface to *Wild Life in a Southern Country*. "A difficulty" he says, "confronts the explorer who would carry away a note of what he has seen, because nature is not cut and dried to hand, nor easily classified, each subject shading gradually into another. In studying the ways, for instance, of so common a bird as the starling, it cannot be separated from the farm-house in the thatch of which it often breeds, the rooks with whom it associates, or the friendly sheep upon whose backs it sometimes rides." And so the farm-house and the ricks, and the ha-ha fences and the farm-yard precisely as it looks at certain characteristic periods, go into the picture and complete the *milieu*.

Let us say in conclusion that, while "R. J." is not the master of as crisp and pregnant a style as illustrates the pages of our best American authors on out-door themes, or that he only approaches it on occasions, he still puts a very fascinating power under his paragraphs, by the warm enthusiasm with which the least thing sets him aglow, and which becomes contagious with the reader. We are glad to know that a new volume is announced soon to come from his pen, in which, while the same material is to be used once more, the thread of a romance will be interwoven.

Stock-Breeding: A Practical Treatise on the Application of the Laws of Development and Heredity to the Improvement and Breeding of Domestic Animals. By MANLY MILES, M. D., late Professor of Agriculture in the Michigan State Agricultural College. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

IF this is not the first English book in which the facts and principles of stock-breeding are brought into a portable form so as to be available to the farmer or stock-breeder, it is certainly the best one within his reach. It is a work of remarkable industry and research—and not only that, but it combines with these qualities the results of wide experience and observation. We make no hesitation in saying that we have gone over every sentence of it with a degree of pleasure that is usually supposed to come only from novels and books written especially to please the reader.

Dr. Miles' style is forcible and direct, and his earnestness and breadth of information make it vital and expressive. We have no space in which to discuss the various topics he raises—though each chapter bristles with suggestions that might be set forth in a critical essay—and can only say, in a general summing up, that the questions of heredity, atavism, laws of correlation and variation, in-and-in breeding and cross-breeding, the relative influence of parents, and many other cognate themes are here presented in a manner that, for fulness and attractiveness, leave nothing further to be desired. The author's authorities and references are traced and retraced with singular fidelity to their first origin, in copious foot-notes, and show how wide is the field with which he has made himself familiar. To those who make stock-breeding a business we should suppose Dr. Miles' work would be a necessity, and to all others who may be interested in the various principles and facts set forth, it cannot fail to be fruitful.

The publishers have put it in good type and form, and the reader will find it supplemented by a carefully prepared and valuable index.

Some Practical Hints on Wood-Engraving for the Instruction of Reviewers and the Public. By W. J. LINTON. sq. 12° pp. 91. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1879.

THE "Linton-affair" is a pretty hornet's nest, into which we have no disposition to thrust our hand. Mr. Linton's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1879, was widely read, but still more widely criticised. That the strictures of the critics were all wise, or courteous, or even based on sufficient acquaintance with wood-engraving, we do not affirm. Two things, however, are

certain : a man's advances are usually met in the same spirit in which they are made ; and there must be *some one* who knows something about wood-engraving besides Mr. Linton. We felt at the time that the *Atlantic* article displayed a vehemence which was uncalled for. It certainly required no prophetic eye to foresee the inevitable result. The little volume before us contains the author's reply to his critics, with an amplification of his ideas and opinions of the subject under discussion. Of course, it is more violent in tone than the *Atlantic's* essay. Mr. Linton is undoubtedly able to enlighten a much-suffering public on the principles and technicalities of wood-engraving if he would only take a different way of doing so. As it is, his teaching is so inextricably mingled with his animadversions on the critics—the light is so hidden with smoke —that it is hardly worth one's while to seek it out. We must say, in justice to the publishers as well as the author, that the book gives us, in its illustrations, some really good displays of the engraver's skill, though they cannot be said to be well printed.

The Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution, 1761–1783. By JUSTIN WINSOR. 16° pp. 328. Boston : Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

WE cannot give a better idea of the design of this little book than by citing from the author's *Preface:* "It is like a continuous foot-note to all histories of the American Revolution. It points out sources, but it includes also the second-hand authorities, though not all of them. Its references are made because the books referred to are the best ; or because for some reason they are significant above others, though perhaps in minor details ; and sometimes simply because of their greater accessibility. Any one disposed to follow its guidance will find that with the more common books at his command, the course of events can be understood, while with the larger resources of our greater public libraries within reach, he can compass the subject much more thoroughly."

The author's experience as librarian of the Boston Public Library and of the Library of Harvard University, has eminently fitted him for this style of work. The *Handbook* will be of great service to the student of American history, and prove a valuable acquisition as aids to books of reference. We hope its success will be such as to justify the author's intention to compile others on history, biography, travel, etc.

Alcohol and the State. A Discussion of the Problem of Law as applied to the Liquor Traffic. By ROBERT C. PITMAN, LL. D. 12° pp. 411. New York. 1880.

DR. PITMAN discusses the liquor question calmly and dispassionately, or as much so as it is possible for one who has so thoroughly mastered its horrible details. He adduces such evidence in regard to the evils arising from free liquor traffic, and the benefits that have accrued from a partial suppression of that traffic, as to render the other side of the question untenable.

PART I is devoted to "Alcohol *vs.* The State," in which the author endeavors to arrive at some approximate estimate of the waste due to the use of alcohol, directly and indirectly, and which embraces some interesting statistics. He proceeds to show how it forms a most important part of political economy, in the destruction of homes, in the engendering of disease, in the vitiating of the human stock, in the inducing of pauperism, and in the fostering of crime.

PART I treats of "The State *vs.* Alcohol," in which Dr. Pitman sets forth the province of law, and the extent of its legislation. He brings the most convincing testimony to his support to show that legislation on the liquor question is an absolute necessity, not in the way of license laws which have proved a failure, but in prohibition. The author enters deeply into the history of prohibition, and cites Maine as an example of its success. The most distinguishing feature of this volume is the vast amount of research and patient gleaning that is displayed, and the great number of prominent witnesses, whose testimony indisputably shows the necessity of the State's intervention.

Notes on Railroad Accidents. By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR. 12° pp. 280. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1879.

MR. ADAMS, publishing his own experience as a Railroad Commissioner of Massachusetts, makes furthermore a collection of the most notable accidents that have accompanied railway travel from the first; beginning, appropriately, with the death of the Englishman, Mr. Huskisson, which took place in 1830, on the day the Liverpool and Manchester line was inaugurated. The narratives of this book carry with them, naturally, a ghastly sort of interest; but they are chiefly valuable for instruction and improvement, as indicating those dangers to which railroad speed is liable. They may be properly called a series of "Inquests" on those terrible catastrophes which have startled the community within the last forty years; and the

lessons and warnings they convey are calculated to arrest the attention of all railway managers and engineers. The author has treated of almost all causes of railway disaster—collisions, telescoping, derailment, bridge-breakings of various kinds, oil-tank and stove burnings, etc.; and his comparison of the English and American modes of travel is full of profitable suggestion. He finds that we far exceed the islanders in the number of our accidents of all sorts; while the English themselves are less careful in their speed and more disastrous, than the people of France and Germany. The French, who can act so terribly on matters of State policy, are remarkably cautious in their manner of travelling by rail. In America "derailments" are double the number of collisions; in England the collisions are double the number of derailments. The most disastrous of American catastrophes occur at bridges. The English collisions are, for the most part, due to overcrowding; the American to derailments and bridge-accidents arising from bad construction of roads. The cost of these accidents makes them disasters for the railway companies, as well as for the travellers. During the five years ending in 1871, the English companies paid over eleven millions of dollars' damages for accidents. American companies have been warned in the same way; and this liability will, more than any other consideration, lead to a greater degree of safety in our mode of travel by railway.

The Divine Law as to Wines. By G. W. SAMSON, D. D. 12° pp. 326. New York: National Temperance and Publication House. 1880.

THIS exhaustive and scholarly work of Dr. Samson is a protest against the use of fermented and intoxicating wines. "In all ages of thought and culture," he writes, "physicians, statesmen and moralist have recognized the 'poison' lurking in fermented wines; and from sanitary, social and religious convictions they have sought to counteract and eradicate it. The Egyptians and Hebrews had an 'unfermented wine'; as a chain of authorities from Moses, the historian and law-giver, to Fuerst, the latest Hebrew lexicographer, attests. The *laxative*, as opposed to the intoxicating effect of such wine, is stated by a succession of Hebrew, Grecian and Roman writers. The mode of preparing and preserving such wine is minutely described by Roman writers from Cato, B. C. 200, to Pliny, A. D. 100. The fact that such wine is referred to in the Gospel histories as that used by Christ at both the Passover and Lord's Supper, is confirmed by the words of the inspired writers, by the comments and translations of the early and of the Reformed

Christian scholars, and by the prevailing, though ofttimes perverted, practice of the Jewish and Christian churches" (p. 6).

Dr. Samson speaks "as one having authority." He writes after years of patient study and research, having availed himself of the opportunities offered by eastern travel, of inquiring into and examining the subject in all its bearings. He cites from authorities both ancient and modern; he explores history and philology; in short, his is no feverish declamation against intemperance, but a cool, critical analysis of the effects of alcoholic stimulants upon the human system and upon society in general.

The author gives a very interesting account of the eastern method of making unfermented wines, which, he says, has been the same in all ages; also, of the nature of alcohol, of the grape and grape-juice, and of the source of ferment. Altogether, the book is of much interest, containing many curious and isolated items, and deserves to be widely read and heeded.

RECEIVED.

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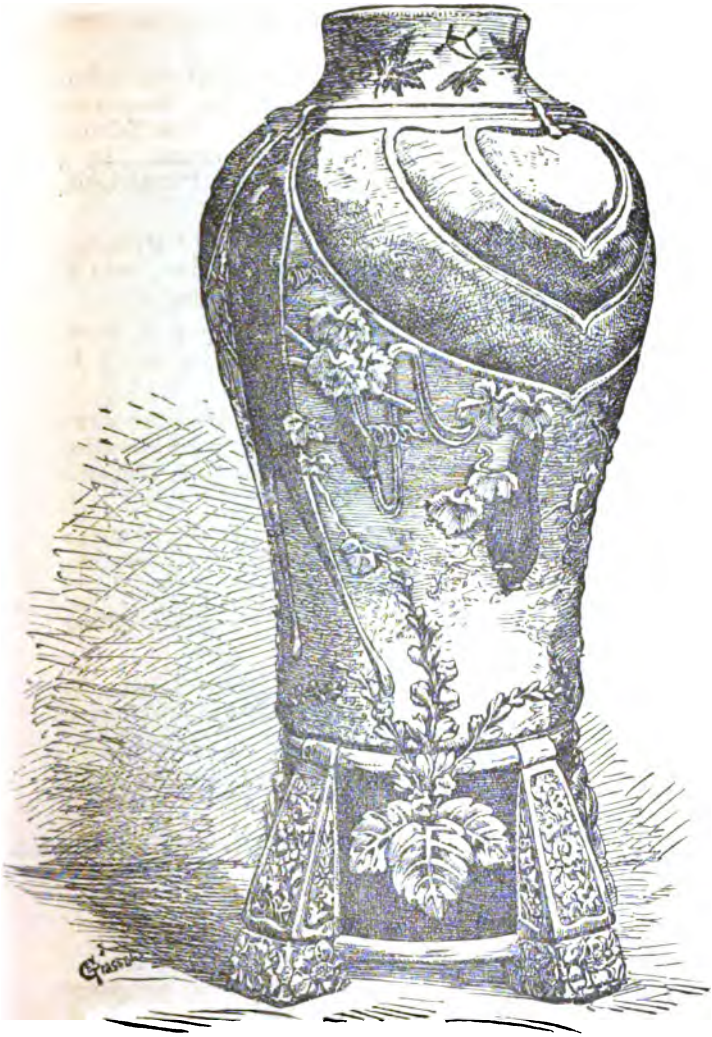

COMPOSITE VASE.

AMERICAN RENAISSANCE, 1878.

This vase was made by MESSRS. TIFFANY & CO., for the Exposition Universelle of 1878, where it was purchased by an American gentleman. It is intended to illustrate in one object the recent novel developments in decorative metal work, and is composed of silver gold, steel and alloys of copper that produce varied and beautiful colors. The main body is formed of silver showing the hammer marks upon the surface. Around the neck is an inlaid border of maple leaves of niello and copper—black and red—the edges of bright color like the tints of Autumn foliage.

Immediately below the neck, at the widest part of the body, are three rich masses of color nearly in the form of semi-circles and separated by narrow lines of silver. Each of these masses shows a different combination of color, two being laminations of gold with the fine red produced by the alloy of copper, and the centre a similar combination of the alloy with laminated silver.

At the right of this and extending from the neck, nearly to the foot, is another mass of brilliant red mottled with gold.

A vine with leaves and twining tendrils is formed of silver by the *appliqué* process, and pendant from this vine are two gourds of the red metal. The foot is square with richly carved foliated corners of massive silver, with panels between of steel, enriched with leaves of the Paulownia from which blossoms of solid gold extend up the sides.

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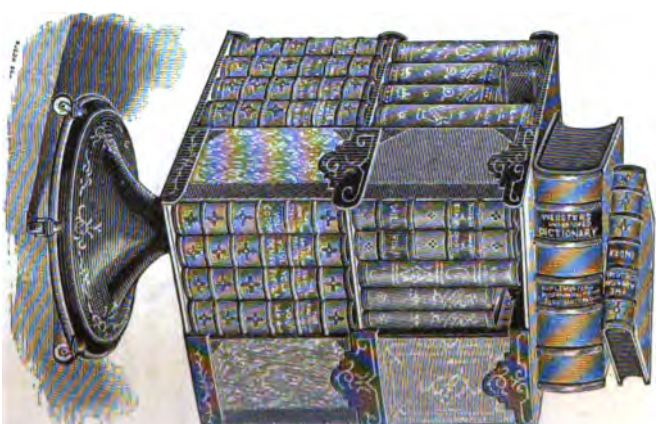

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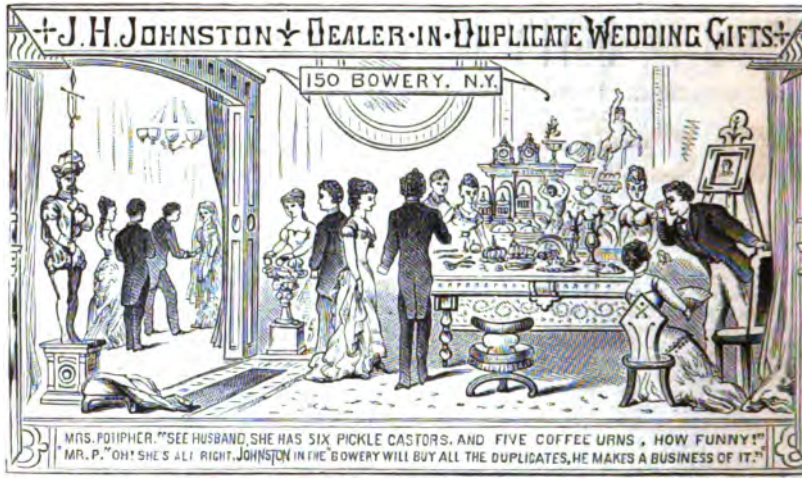
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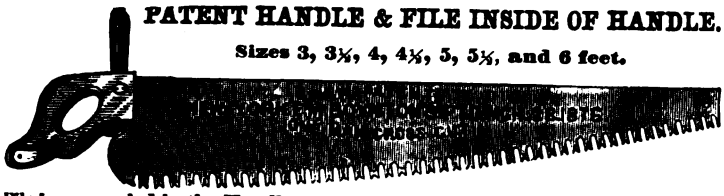

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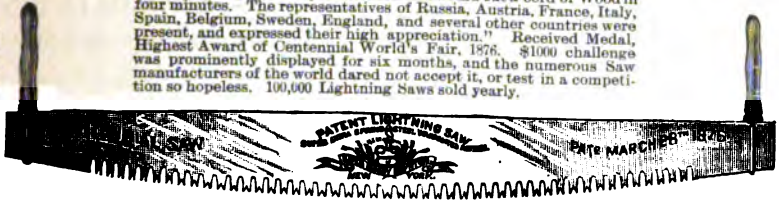

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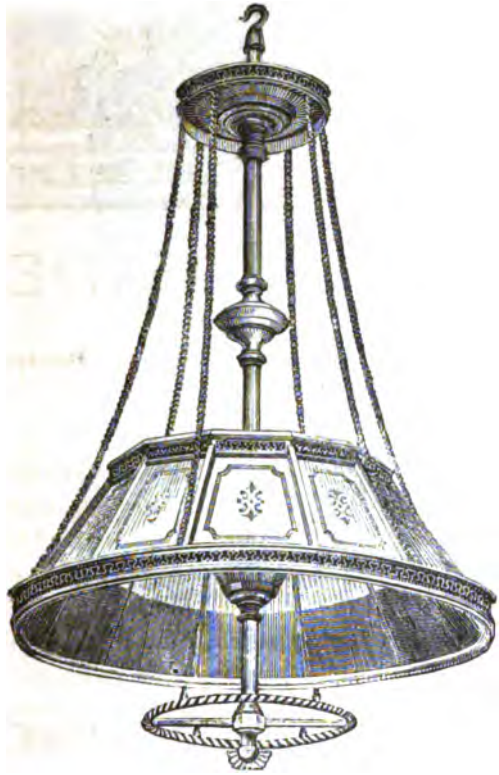

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TWENTY-FIRST YEAR

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Dr. Clark Johnson :—From my experience I would say that for Dyspepsia and Indigestion and all other Diseases, so far as I have tried it, your Indian Blood Syrup [illegible] without it.

B. E. Br[illegible]

THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW,

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

CHARLES H. WOODMAN,

EDITOR.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

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THE

National Quarterly Review.

JULY, 1880.

Art. I.—Zemlja i Volja.

Ὦ πόποι ὦ δειλὸν θνητῶ γένος, ὦ δυσάνολβον,
Οἷον ἐξ ἐριδων ἔχ τε στοναχῶν ἐγένεσθε !

Empedocles.

"Industry has such an absolute necessity for liberty in order to prosper and extend, that we do not hesitate to say that its progress is more general and rapid in a disturbed state, if endued with solid liberty, than in a tranquil one if under a system of compression."—Cavour in *Risorgimento.*

"When, in these times a man is yielded up to the executioner, if you demand 'wherefore?' The answer is—'because this man has committed a crime.' If you enquire *why* this man committed a crime, the answer is—silence!... O how wisely did Lord Chesterfield say to his son, when sending him to visit the principal courts of Europe: 'Go, my son, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed.'"—Louis Blanc.

On the 14th of April, 1879, St. Petersburg was startled by the report of an attempt on the life of the Czar. An order for the extermination of the Nihilists was immediately issued. The imperial ukase, published in the chief Russian official organ, the *Agence Russe*, is dated April 17th, 1879, and in its important points, translates as follows:

"These crimes, and the absence of repentance in the discovered perpetrators, have directed our attention to the necessity of resorting to extraordinary measures for the summary punishment of the guilty; and of entrusting the Government's faithful servants with the requisite authority for the maintenance of public order. To this end we have seen fit:

1st. To nominate provisional governor-generals at St. Petersburg, Charcow and Odessa, with special extraordinary powers as follows; and to provisionally grant the same rights to the governor-generals at Moscow, Kiew and Warsaw.

2d. Certain hereinafter-mentioned places in neighboring governments have been added to the several commands of the governor-generals of St. Petersburg, Charcow, Odessa, Moscow and Kiew.

3d. In all the places mentioned, the collective local civil

administration as well as educational institutions of all kinds, shall be subordinated to the governor-generals to the same extent that—according to article 46 in the statutes concerning military administration during war,—the governments declared to be under a state of siege, are subordinated to military commanders.

4th. Governor-generals are authorized to put under court-martial any civilian within their jurisdiction, and to apply the criminal code of war time,—and this authority is valid independently of the cases mentioned in the ukase of August 9, last year—to any other kinds of political crimes against administrative order, as well as to those ordinarily provided for in the criminal code.

5th. This rule shall be applied in all cases where, up to date, the accused have not been tried.

6th. Governor-generals are authorized to:

A.—Officially banish from a place anybody considered mischievous;

B.—Arrest at their own option anybody, without exception, if they deem it necessary;

C.—Temporarily or altogether suppress newspapers and journals;

D.—And in general to take such measures as are considered necessary for the maintenance of peace."

In this astounding ukase the Czar does not seem to have been inspired by the epigram of Metternich,—"You can do anything with bayonets except—sit on them!"

Results were soon apparent. The governor-generals, all of them military men, ambitious of the Czar's approval, vied with each other in repressive measures, and made the name of czarism odious not only to the hitherto loyal but to the much less easily roused, indifferent lookers-on. For example, General Gourko, Governor-General of St. Petersburg, expelled 20,000 persons without passports, doubled the number of porters before each residence, whom he made guardians not only of public security and order, but of the loyalty of their employers, thus establishing the most complete and intolerable espionage. General Gourko also made every person in St. Petersburg surrender arms, under heavy penalties; forbade the sale of arms, ammunition, and poisons without a government permit, and commanded that all persons should be within doors by nine o'clock at night;—which must have been a wellnigh unbearable deprivation, for in May and June occur the beautiful long twilights of the year.

The other governor-generals and governors instituted a similar spy-and-terror system in which everybody was at the mercy of any one's suspicion. "The Governor of Voronez," says the *Golos*, "stationed police sentries throughout the town within sight of each other, and placed a book on a stand in front of his house in which any one could register complaints against the police." The prisons were overflowing with persons who knew nothing of Nihilism, but who were alleged by somebody or other to have said, or evidently been about to say, something uncomplimentary to the Governor-General's good sense! It was inevitable that all the meaner qualities of human nature, private grudge, avarice, groundless malice and gross ambition, should come into tremendous play under such a *régime*. Nothing that any party or combination of parties could do against czarism, can be compared to the blow it has given itself through this ukase. Instead of one czar with a camarilla * ruling with some sense of obligation and risk, there were in effect six czars with their camarillas ruling irresponsibly, with no motive for action except the stamping out of the last vestige of free aspirations.

When, three days before this ukase was issued, Solowieff made his attempt on the Czar's life, the people of St. Petersburg streamed to the palace with thundering acclamation over the Czar's escape, and singing the national hymn *Bosche Zara Chrani*. And later, when the Czar rode out alone, the people threw themselves down along the route. But, *six months afterward*, the news of the ingenious and skilful attempt to blow up the train of the Czar *en route* to Moscow was received by the same people with comparative indifference; and the plot discovered in February for blowing up Kremlin and Czar together on his next visit to Moscow produced hardly more than a ripple of interest. Such was the effect of a multiplicity of czars, which seemed to prepare the people for a change, and to make them willing to receive it through any source or agency.

Now what is Nihilism? † Who are the Nihilists? Whence

* The Czar's private council or cabinet.

† Lucretian *Apathy?* Buddhist *Nirvana?* or Pascal's *Pessimism?*

their name? What are their character, object, organization, history? Many explanations have been given of the origin of the name *Nihilism*. It seems to have been first applied by the police to the Russian revolutionists, to stigmatize their movement as an utterly mad and destructive one, aiming at and resulting in—*nothing*. The Nihilists themselves appear to have accepted the term as being significant of their complete sacrifice of personal will, life and property to their political purpose and hope, asking for themselves, *nihil*, or nothing in return.

The *Krymski-Listok*, a South-Russian semi-weekly, small and insignificant in itself, gained a temporary importance through the publication in its columns (April, 1879) of a long article under the caption, *The Tendencies and Doctrines of Nihilism*. This article was copied by the *Novoe Vremja*, the *Moscow Gazette*, the *National Zeitung*, and other leading Russian and German journals, and pretended to be a fair digest made from the statements of nihilistic publications.

These statements, as represented in the *Krymski-Listok* article, are as follows:

"1. The ideal entertained by the former liberals, and even by republicans, is an antiquated myth.

"2. Garibaldi and Pyat, yes, even the desperate and godless Félix Pyat, are men behind the times.

"3. The Paris Commune of 1871, deserves, according to the views of Nihilists, more approbation than they (Garibaldi and Pyat), because their incendiarisms are a 'ray of light' for the future, though insufficient, because it has not taken one decisive step, and though making social revolution its aim, lacked courage in its execution. *Vepred*, ('*Onward*,' a socialist organ in Switzerland), says: 'Men must work to an end,' they must especially be dissatisfied with half-measures like the Commune's, which shot down its hostages '*only*' by dozens. They must not hesitate to employ any severity, realizing the necessity of a pitiless war carried on by theft, arson, robbery and murder, through which all can be reached and struck down, and the entire existing social status be pulled to pieces.

"4. The Nihilists aim at the destruction of the bourgeoisie, and the burial of the old world in its ruins.

"5. The Nihilists desire the confiscation of all property through the abolishment of private property.

"6. The Nihilists desire the abolishment of the family, abro-

gation of religion, and the extinction of liberty itself as a conception without content.

"7. The Nihilists desire to realize this programme, first, in 'union with the Polish party of revolution'; thereafter, with arms in hand, to 'pronounce sentence over our executioners, merchants and landlords.' They must intimidate and frighten all who do not approve their views."*

"8. The Nihilists will 'destroy everything' opposing or impeding the execution of their programme; persons, things and conditions. 'Whosoever is not with the Nihilists is against them and shall fall by their revolver balls.'"

In Russia there are at present four known nihilist organs: the *Zemlja i Volja* (Land and Liberty); the *Narodnia Volja* (The Will of the People); the *Narodnia Rasprawda* (The Action of the People); the *Tschorny Poredel* (The Blackland Distribution). To give the reader opportunity for fair comparison between the presentation of the "tendencies and doctrines of Nihilism" in the above-quoted *Krymski-Listok's* statement, and the direct utterances of the Nihilists themselves, we give, translating literally, several citations from the most significant nihilistic papers and proclamations, beginning with the announcement of the death-sentence passed upon Prince Krapotkin, which was published in the *Zemlja i Volja*, the principal and oldest organ of the Nihilists†:—

"*To the Russian People:*

"Dimitri Nikolajewitsch Krapotkin, Governor at Charcow, who during twenty years' service has continually exercised a bloody oppression over the Russian people, and who has also carried on a cruel and bloody rule beyond the limits of Russia, in Poland and Bulgaria, has by us been sentenced to death. We here give our reasons for this judgment. Aside from previous crimes, Prince Krapotkin has ruled in Charcow during the last two years

* It would almost seem as if the author of the *Krymski-Listok* article, in his researches among nihilistic literature, had chanced upon—without recognizing its source—the incendiary revolutionary document of the late notorious Polish Red Party leader, Louis Mieroslawski, which, beginning by exhorting the party to spread false reports on the land question so as to excite the proprietors against the peasants and against the Czar, continues: "Information must be sent to all the German, French, English, and Italian journals, *invented, if necessary*, of the civil commotions in Russia, which shake the power of the czars,—insisting particularly on the distress in Russia, financial and administrative. . . . . The governments of France and England *must be wearied* with complaints emanating from Warsaw, *fabricated* for the purpose and professedly remaining unnoticed at St. Petersburg."

† It first appeared after the Crimean war.

as a real satrap ; he has punished every expression for freedom with deportation for life to Siberia, with life-long labor in the mines and inhuman corporal punishments. Fomin, a political offender, received during the investigation one hundred and fifty blows by Prince Krapotkin's orders, and was at last sentenced by him to life-long penal labor, although wholly innocent of the alleged offences. Thirty-six Charcow students were deported by the Government to Siberia, agreeably to the faithful servant Krapotkin's wishes. The widow Aksenia Nikoforovna was tortured to death only on suspicion of having concealed a Nihilist in her house for three months. She was fifty years old, was arrested and imprisoned for eight months, during which period she was whipped sixteen times, which brought on a fatal illness, and she expired in prison on the eleventh of December, last year. The whole population was greatly excited over this barbarity. Two days later we sent the Governor our first warning. His reply was to order the arrest of all suspected persons in the department. This resulted in crowding the prisons and the incarceration of one hundred and eighty-seven innocent people, among them two little girls but fourteen years old. Then followed our second letter of warning ; the reply, only another hunt after Nihilists, and forty more people were cast in prison. His measure of crime was full. We, the avengers of the cruelly tortured people, sentenced the Czar's executioner to death. Our motto is—'Death to the murderers of the Russian people!' Mentzenzoff is followed by Krapotkin, and after Krapotkin comes every one who pitilessly oppresses us, robs us of our liberty and tortures us because we love liberty. No matter how high our tyrants and executioners may stand, our invisible hand can reach them day and night, at home or abroad, in the office or carriage ; everywhere shall they render us account, these blood-hounds of despotism.

(Signed) "THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE."

Prince Krapotkin was found dead at his palace, murdered, February 22, 1879. Fifty thousand roubles were offered for the discovery of the assassin ; but the mystery remains unsolved. A week later, there appeared posted at the corners of the streets in St. Petersburg, for three successive nights, the following warning to the Czar, bearing the ominous heading *Zemlja i Volja :—*

"*To Mr. Alexander Nikolajewitsch :*

"The letters of warning and threat, as well as the sentences which we, the invisible delegates of the murderously oppressed Russian people, have addressed to the various dignitaries of the present despotic government in Russia, belong as a rule to our preparative work. Neither yourself nor any member

of your family are in the least menaced, *as yet**, by our executive organization. First we must cleanse the lowest and filthiest corners in the Augean stables of despotism, to free the people from those administrative blood-hounds who without cause cast them in prison, for the purpose of ruthlessly abusing their victims there, subjecting them to cruel hunger and thirst, and, finally, because of 'rebellious intrigues,' hanging them or transporting them to the mines of the polar regions.

"We sit in judgment, and shall, without faltering, exercise our office and not shrink from any measures which may lead up to our *august* object. We shall with fire and sword exterminate the fiendish brood of bloody despotism. Its victims cry to their executioners '*Morituri te salutant!*' . . . and if you, Alexander Nikolajewitsch, will not heed our warning voice and bid halt to tyranny, then we declare to you that you shall at last be *unable to find* tyrants willing to be the directing instruments of your *régime*. And if you will not hearken to us, we entreat you to listen to the people's 'legitimate' representatives, the provincial representatives (Zemstvo), who only ask for a 'liberal legislation' (*swobodniej scheje ustrojstvo*).† Whither shall at last the existing system lead Russia? The civilized world mocks and despises us and denies us human rights; materially the entire Russia is ruined. Our immense resources are wellnigh drained. The system of education in Russia is literally brutalizing. The army of your Tchinovicks (officials) is nothing else than a cruel and insatiable band of thieves. The courts of justice dishonor equity. Your governors, chiefs of police and generals are veritable satraps, worthy imitators of Xerxes and Darius. Everywhere, at every turn, stupidity and barbarity are met hand in hand; voluptuous wastefulness united with insatiable greed and extortion. . . . Only militarism rejoices in your paternal care and favor. . . . Consider, Alexander Nikolajewitsch, whither all this leads. You are steering direct to perdition, and it is for this that we may conclude to spare your life.

(Signed) "THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE."

The greater part of the English press translations of this proclamation give so little of it, and so garble what they do give, as to make the Nihilists seem treacherously to disclaim

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* It is estimated that over 1200 officials had been objects of nihilistic attempts—a large majority of which had succeeded—before the Czar's life began to be endangered.

† Last Spring the Province of Charcow was invited by the Government to assist in the suppression of Nihilism. The Zemstvo assented, only suggesting that their absolute subservience to the Governor-General made their powers to aid extremely limited. As a result, the Zemstvo were ignored and an embargo was laid on all the other provinces!

purposes which in reality they boldly and clearly intimate; nor is the earnest dignity of their plea faithfully rendered.

As examples of the absolutely arbitrary character of the Russian Government, we cite the following from different correspondents of English journals:

"The Russian Government habitually incarcerates political prisoners a long time before trying them and even before making charges against them. When the great trial of one hundred and ninety-three persons ended early last year, many of the accused had already been in prison four or five years. Not long ago a respectable professional man was arrested in St. Petersburg, confined in jail for six months, and sent to Siberia for two years, without knowing what crime he was charged with."

"At the theatre of Rovno, near Poltava, an attempt was made to perform a piece in the South-Russian dialect, an idiom spoken by 20,000,000 of people, but, in the interest of national uniformity and centralization, strictly excluded from the press, church, school and theatre by Government. The policemen, prohibiting the performance, were set upon by the audience. A fight ensued, which, the military being reënforced, resulted in the defeat of the rioters. A Moscow student deputation, asking the local governor to treat their arrested brethren with leniency, has been incarcerated. A stupendous number of arrests has been the consequence of these deplorable incidents."

"According to an English resident in St. Petersburg, writing to the London *Globe*, the operatives of a cotton-mill in the Russian capital lately struck for a reduction of the hours of labor, which were 13½ a day, and, assembling for the purpose of making an appeal to the Czarowitch, were attacked by the police and military and severely used. Afterward they were locked up and tried by a commission, which condemned all the men above the age of nineteen (seventy in number) to be exiled to the Province of Archangel, after receiving sixty lashes apiece; all under that age to be sent back to the village whence they came, and to be kept there the remainder of their lives; all the women employed in the mill and men who did not actively join in the demonstration to be discharged and fined three roubles a head all round."

"The *Golos* publishes intelligence from the Province of Wladimir that one archbishop and two bishops, Old Believers, have been incarcerated in the fortress of Suzdaltz, the archbishop during twenty-six years, the bishops twenty-two and seventeen years respectively. All said they were imprisoned for their religious convictions. The *Golos* inquires what clause of the code of punishments awards twenty-five years' imprisonment for the sole offence of holding harmless religious convictions. The article concludes that the prisoners have evidently been forgotten,

and that therefore it is the moral duty of every newspaper to give publicity to such cases. The Minister of the Interior has deprived the *Golos* of the right of inserting advertisements during a period of one month, for the publication of the article."

A year ago, the *Golos* also contained an account of the trial of Paul Popoff, a chief of police and councillor of State, who had been arrested for whipping sixty peasants of the Government of Rjazan, for non-payment of taxes. The details of his brutality as revealed before the court were terrible. Immediately before inflicting the punishment, Popoff ordered the rods to be first made soft by heating in the oven and then dipped in brine, and during the whipping he ordered the rods to be frequently wiped with linen cloths which had been dipped in brine and then sprinkled with powdered salt. As the whipping progressed, Popoff cried out to the sheriff: "Strike harder, more evenly, and lift the rods higher!" At the same time he trampled on the heads of the dying victims. To one peasant who complained of pains in his neck and breast, Popoff said: "Put down your head and you will soon be well." That peasant received one hundred and twenty blows by Popoff's own counting. When the peasant Alexander Dykin begged for water, Popoff forbade his having it and cried out: "Salt him a little instead!" One peasant, Konstantinoff, offered to pay the remaining taxes of one of the wretched victims. Popoff replied: "We shall first whip him; thereafter you may pay for him." For these unparalleled outrages, Popoff was sentenced *to three months' arrest.* General Trepoff, whose barbarities secured the acquittal of Vera Sassulitch, and his own dismissal from the office of Chief of Secret Police, has now, since the late Winter Palace explosion, been appointed military governor of the Winter Palace!

Yet, in view of such a condition of things as facts like these reveal, the London *Times* (February 20th, 1880) says:

"It is not by revolution that Russia can be regenerated. The central authority of the Czar must be upheld, if that order is to be maintained which is the indispensable condition of further progress. Conspiracies of this character," alluding to the Winter Palace plot, "must be punished with sufficient severity to crush them."

In April, 1879, the Minister of War, Milutine, issued some Draconic instructions regarding the courts-martial held over civilians accused of revolutionary designs. The Nihilists immediately responded by a posted proclamation to the army, which said:

"There is in Russia a power which could save the cause of liberty and hasten her victory. This power is the army. It has recently experienced the disastrous results of the present mode of government in Russia; can it already have forgotten the past or be ignorant of the root of the evil? The Russian army of today is more miserable than when, on its return from the Napoleonic war of 1813-15, it found Russia under a state of siege and its people poverty-stricken; for now it looks upon starving peasants, an immense State deficit, fraud in finance, Jesuits in the schools, and spies in power, with whom—as we find in the recent ukase concerning courts-martial for political offences,—even members of the imperial family are accomplices! The hero from Shipka and the martyr from the Balkans are employed as the degraded executioners of wretched peasants and suffering laborers. An officer who heroically defied death during those terrible attacks on Plevna, may now be under compulsion to shoot his own sister for participation in an indignation meeting; or to parade over a grave holding the earthly remains of a murdered brother, a victim of the infamous secret police. What a fearful position! Among the heroes from the war against Napoleon, were found men who could not endure such a position and who, therefore, formed secret societies aiming at a change in the Russian *régime*. If the Russian army has still the heart in the right spot, it will do likewise, so far as is possible to altered conditions. Now, there is better prospect of success than in 1815-25, because the officers and nobles no longer stand alone. The despotism *must* fall sooner or later, though the crisis may be prolonged for years and demand many more victims. It is, above all, the upright and honorable men within the army who can lessen the number of these victims and speed the downfall of despotism."

In another and recent address, the Executive Committee state that the object of the Nihilists is to effect a radical change in the social and political conditions of Russia, and to arouse in the nation a vivid consciousness of its rights. To this end the committee would have the Russians learn to understand the true nature and promoting causes of the people's forlorn position; then they will find ways to wrest their liberty from their oppressors, and will see that neither to exterminate the Turk nor support the Sclav, nor to give life and property to

the service of a clique which cares only for itself, is the first duty of the Russian patriot; but to labor for the freedom and true prosperity of the Russian upon Russian soil.

The appeal to the army was soon followed by another proclamation under the usual heading *Zemlja i Volja*, addressed "To the Russian People," which said among other things:

"Surely the liberty we crave and strive toward is not exorbitant; we only desire the right to free expression of our thoughts, the right to act independently and in accordance with our convictions; to have a voice in the State's affairs, and to know that our persons are protected against official whims. These surely are elementary rights of mankind, rights to which we are entitled because of our being human, and for whose vindication we call our brothers' aid."

And the *Zemlja i Volja* journal asks:

"What would we do with a constitution under present circumstances? So long as the country is denied all justice, a constitution would be of no use to it. Let us be given justice without distinction of persons, and we shall be satisfied. But if the State chariot goes on as before, an old programme must be maintained; it is—Death to the court camarilla and to all criminal officials."

In an article commenting on the attempted assassination of the Czar, the *Obstchina* (or "Commune") of Geneva, says:

"We execrate personal government especially, because it has outraged by all its acts every feeling of justice and honor; because it systematically opposes freedom of thought, speech and education; because it supports for egotistical reasons social corruption and political immorality, since it finds in these both support and accomplices; because it makes law and justice the instruments of its personal interests; because it exhausts the material forces of the land, and lives at the expense of the welfare of coming generations; because by its home and foreign policy it has brought about a breach between our land and the rest of Europe; and because after being weakened and martyred, we are exposed to the derision and contempt of our enemies."

The programme of the Executive Committee, given in the number of the *Narodnia Volja*, and issued at the date when its press was captured by the police, after condemning the Russian Government as a system of oppression of the people which must be overthrown by force, revolution or conspiracy

before reforms can be secured, states that this done, the power shall immediately be vested in an assembly of organization, which shall be elected by all Russians without distinction of class or property; that this assembly will act in consonance with the will of its constituencies; that socialistic revolutionists will present to the assembly of organization their own programme which demands:

"1. Permanent popular representation with full power over all general State questions; 2. Wide local self-government, with election assured for all duties, the independence of the rural commune and the economical independence of the people; 3. The independence of the rural commune as an economical administrative whole; 4. The principle that the land is the property of the people; 5. A system of measures having in view the transfer of all works and factories to workingmen; 6. Complete liberty of conscience, speech, the press, public meetings, associations and electoral agitation; 7. General electoral rights, without any conditional or property limits whatever; 8. Replacement of the standing army by a territorial army."

In another number of the *Narodnia Volja* we find this pregnant paragraph:

"The problem of the socialistic revolutionary party is the subversion of the present form of government, and the subjection of the authority of the State to the people. . . . The transfer of the State power to the hands of the people would give our history quite another direction. A representative assembly would create a complete change in all our economic and State relations. Once let the government be deposed, and the nation would arrange itself far better, maybe, than we could hope."

The recent manifesto of the Russian students is at once a succinct statement of their grievances and a strong protest.* It affirms that any effort at genuine education in Russia is surrounded by difficulties which can scarcely be surmounted, and which are expressly devised to that end. High prices,

* Taking up the official educational statistics, we find that in 1873, in 123 gymnasia and 44 progymnasia, out of 41,712 students, only 1,229 finished their course, while 10,792 were expelled. In 1874 only 1,090 finished the course, of which only 773 were passed in the final examinations. The general result obtained from these statistics is that a year ago less than 12 per cent. received any school education at all. What must then be the condition now! The universities are intended to be shops for manufacture of government automata, and those who lack some requisite are dismissed and are usually—especially if poor and of liberal proclivities—placed in the army as privates, or—if taken from the medical academies—as subsurgeons.

exclusion of practical subjects, compulsory attention to abstract studies of questions and notions having no bearing on real life or modern interests, absence of any system of bodily training,—these and a great number of other restrictions and hindrances are cited in proof of the Government's premeditated hostility to the real enlightenment of the masses.

"We have become convinced," says the manifesto, "by time and experience, that the Government is the enemy of the people and society, and from an enemy you can only take away by force and command, not by prayer and supplication; but we ask society to protest in every legal way for us; and we ask society to do this *in order that it may see the inutility of its petitions and protests!* ...Look at what is being done among you! Continual hunger among the people side by side with senseless luxury in high places; insufficiency of peasant land, while free land is given away right and left to different officials; interference with the self-government of the Zemstvo; complete arbitrary license in the administration, unprecedented development of espionage, persecution of the press, and an enormous increase of taxes....Let society do nothing, but go on as before, blindly and humbly, beneath the yoke; we young men *cannot* make peace with the existing order of things. We believe that a day of judgment will come, for all official criminals, before whom justice is now silent, and then the very stones will cry out, and the terrible tribunal of the people will unfold before the eyes of its oppressors the long list of their crimes!"

We have seen what the Nihilists profess, let us observe how their faith has been exemplified, in what manner they have died for it.

At Archangel, on the 26th of April, 1879, the young Nihilist Serge Bobokoff, accused of armed resistance to the police, was tried and condemned to death. "I belong," said he, when permitted to address the court, "to the social revolutionary party; I gave it all my powers; would never have left the peaceful propaganda, if the Government itself had not forced me to resort to arms. On October 30th, when I was officially informed of the new order, that every exile trying to escape from the place assigned him would be transported to Eastern Siberia, I was seized with the desire to try to escape, and, at the cost of my life, to protest against the despotic order. Now kill me if you choose, shoot or hang me; but be sure that neither my exile nor my execution can stop our great

movement." Bobokoff was but twenty years old, and, because of his youth, was commended to the clemency of the Grand-Duke Nicholas by the military court, which asked for the commutation of the death-sentence to that of imprisonment for life. The Grand-Duke replied to the judges: "I expect that you will not sentence him to an honorable death," and young Bobokoff was hanged in accordance with this imperial intimation, meeting his fate with unfaltering firmness. On the 2d of May, 1879, the first execution in St. Petersburg,—since the hanging of Karakosoff, who tried to kill the Czar thirteen years before—took place in the hanging of Doubrovin. This young officer, whose personal beauty and winning character had endeared him to both soldier and civilian, was condemned to death for nihilistic propagandism. The commotion over his fate in St. Petersburg was so great that the Government feared to give any information to the public, and the hour and place of his execution were concealed till the sad event had transpired.

The Vienna *Abendpost* and other journals gave graphic descriptions of the last scene:

"Dressed in a black death-mantle with the word archtraitor (*gossudarstvennyi prestupnik*) on his breast, the prisoner walked between the gendarmes singing a kind of Russian *Marseillaise*, in which he praised as martyrs to liberty, the archtraitors Ryleieff, Odojewski and others, who were hung in 1826. His song was drowned by the beating of drums. When an attempt was made to read his sentence to him, he exclaimed: 'Away with that nonsense!' and, on the priest approaching and holding out the cross, Doubrovin referred him to the devil, and claimed that he was dying for the people as Christ had died, and he would brook no mummery. As he ascended the scaffold with firm steps, he cried out in a strong voice—'Hail to thee, Liberty!' and died."

The Nihilists abducted Governor Wahl, Prince Krapotkin's successor at Charcow, and threatened to kill him if Doubrovin's life was not spared. They kept their word, and also waylaid and killed a young Count Koskool, a particular friend of the Czar, just then on his way to St. Petersburg. They left his body, with the money and jewelry upon it, untouched, in an open field.

The following is from the farewell letter of Valerien Osinsky,

written the night previous to his execution at Kiew, and published in the *Zemlja i Volja:*

"And now, my brethren, may all your noble endeavors be crowned with success! That is our last and only wish before stepping on the scaffold. That nearly all of you will have to sacrifice your lives to our cause, we know as well as you. But our cause, our idea cannot perish—and this faith gives us the courage and the strength to meet death without trembling. May you live happy and be victorious for the good of our noble, suffering people, or if death awaits you then may you die after having worked and accomplished more for our cause than we have been able to do! Farewell, farewell all, my dear friends; farewell our people! We gladly give you our lives; over our bodies lies your road to liberty and justice!

"And now one last word of advice before parting forever. The night is drawing to its close and at daybreak the hangman awaits us. This is our advice: Be prudent, my friends! do not lavish uselessly your precious blood and that of our best and noblest youth. Do not avoid danger; on the contrary, be ready at any moment to march proudly and fearlessly into the very jaws of death, and sell your lives dearly; be sure that by giving them away you render a real service to our cause or inflict a mortal wound on our foes. We do not doubt that one mode only of action lies open for you in future. That is terrorism. There is no other way for us to struggle. Against villains and thieves violence and revenge become a holy duty. But in order to put the system of terrorism efficiently into practice you must have means and men. I should like to say more, but time presses, I have but a few moments left. We die cheerfully and willingly, for our death will be a new source of shame for the decaying monarchy, a new triumph for our cause, an example and an appeal for revenge to all our comrades. Our only regret is not to have lived to see our hopes at least partially realized.

"Once more, farewell, friends and comrades! Live, live on happy if you can, die calmly if you must! For the last time I embrace you and bid you farewell—for the last time!

"Yours, "VALERIEN."

The New York *World*, commenting on this letter, says:

"In the light Osinsky's letter sheds on the character of the Nihilist actors, an otherwise nearly inexplicable occurrence which a few weeks ago produced a great sensation in the highest circles of St. Petersburg society becomes intelligible. General Gourko, the dictator of St. Petersburg, is said to have expressed the opinion at an evening party, that the only efficient way to quench the Nihilists was not only to hang their leaders but to knout every one of them publicly. He had barely pronounced these words when one of the ladies present, a Princess Gallitzin

(one of the noblest families of the Russian aristocracy), rose and facing the dictator said in a loud voice: 'Look, General, there sit my two daughters. If you really mean to bring more shame, disgrace and violence on our unhappy people, then I do hope and pray that each of these girls may become a Vera Sassulitch.'"

Of like courage and devotion is the letter of the condemned Nihilist, Wittenberg:

"Of course I do not wish to die, and to say that I die readily would be a lie. But let not this throw a shade upon my faith and the strength of my convictions. Remember that the highest exemplar of philanthropy and self-sacrifice was undoubtedly our Saviour, yet He prayed, 'Let this cup pass from me!' Why should I not offer the same prayer? Nevertheless, like Him, I say to myself, if it cannot be otherwise—if it is necessary for the triumph of liberty that my blood should be shed—if a better state of things can only be reached over our bodies—let our blood flow, let it be sacrificed for the benefit of mankind, that our blood shall fertilize the soil which shall receive the seed of liberty. That liberty will triumph soon, such is my faith. Here I again remember the words of our Saviour, 'I tell you some of you are standing here who shall not taste of death until the kingdom of heaven shall appear.' Of this I am convinced, as I am convinced that the earth moves, and when I mount the scaffold and the rope is around my neck, my last thought will be, 'And yet it moves!' and nothing on earth can arrest it."

Among the executions of this present year, that of Dobriaskin may be cited. On his way to the scaffold he persisted in addressing the people, and one of the gendarmes struck him so severe a blow on the head with the flat of his sword as to stun him. His fellow-prisoners expostulated, and were bidden with threats to "Be silent, hounds!"

Dobriaskin calmly repulsed the priest with,—"Let me alone, brother; I don't want any of that humbug," and, like his mates, met death with perfect courage.

When men die for ideas—however diverse the ideas may be, however far apart the times or widely different the people,—the manner of their dying is essentially alike in the august simplicity which is the characterizing feature of martyrdom; and it cannot be denied that the Nihilists meet death with the same personal indifference to their own fate, and the same unquenchable faith in the ultimate triumph of their cause, that sustained the early Christian martyrs, and that has inspired and upheld all human protest against religious, political

or social oppressions. It is from such protests, arbitrarily silenced, that secret societies have had birth, some of them bent on reducing the entire system of government to chaos, in the hope—old as the genesaic record of creation—that from such disintegration a cosmos may spontaneously spring.

Reactions move toward evil as toward good, and some secret societies, as the Thugs, Assassins, Chauffeurs, Garduna, Inquisition, K. G. C., etc., have been like cancers in the body of humanity, and their fiendish doctrines and deeds have made the coldest heart quail; but again we find that the noblest, finest and most illustrious minds of their age infused and guided the thought and action of such secret societies as the Illuminati, Die Tugenbund, Hetairia, Carbonari, Young Italy, the United Sclavonians, the Omladina, etc. It may indeed be questioned if, but for these societies, the German Empire could have been founded, Greece become independent, Italy united and Bulgaria free.

It is not very long since the American public were assured, by the American Minister, Mr. Stoughton, at that time just returned from Russia, and who had "taken particular pains to inquire into the subject," that the so-called Russian Nihilists are "only a few miscreants banded together for murder and plunder." What more terrible indictment could be brought against the Russian Government than this bland implication that it had put the whole "satisfied and loyal" Russian people, "devotedly attached to the Czar," under all the severities of martial law!—that it is a government so effete and emasculated, that a handful of adventurers and silly girls are able to upset the whole order of things, and to quell whom it is necessary to take such extraordinary measures as are resorted to in other countries only when a general rebellion is in full blaze!

Others, who admit that the movement is of formidable dimensions, justify the severity of the Government's measures against it, on the ground that the Nihilists are the worst robbers, assassins and courtesans in the world. If this view is the correct one, of a movement so large—holding so much of the popular sympathy as the continual publication of

revolutionary newspapers and proclamations in the heart of Russia seems to indicate—surely, as the Government is a despotic one, with power to make its people what it will, the occasion for there being any Nihilists, and for their unmistakably stringent pressure for reforms, is flagrantly apparent.

The few undisputed facts regarding the movement and the character of the trials and executions of Nihilists, militate against such charges. The ferocious prosecution of the movement since 1870 to the present date, without its being crushed or even perceptibly checked, is proof that it is directed by undaunted intelligence, courage and perseverance. The cited quotations from nihilist organs prove equally that its leaders aim at a government and social fabric on the broadest basis,—that of reconstruction, not merely of destruction and annihilation.

That the sentences to death and exile for Nihilism, in the period of eight years, take the names of the known leaders of the movement, not from the category of rabble and adventurers, but from among the most brilliant and revered names in Russia, is indisputable guarantee that the movement is respected there; and yet, another disproof of the charge that Nihilism is only lawless murder and incendiarism, is, that although the military governors are, to all intents and purposes, vice-czars, who allow to their minions as unlimited power in their limited spheres as they themselves have from the Czar, yet they are obliged to arrest the inhabitants at random on the mere chance of discovering whether some of them may not turn out to be Nihilists!* An uncertainty which would hardly pertain to the arrest of incendiaries and assassins!—and which goes to prove quite another point also, that the sympathy of the masses is so far enlisted, that they are evidently not on the alert to assist in detection, as they would be, were the Nihilists

* "A condition of society in which an executive, charged with the duty of forcibly repressing seditious movements, can catch none of the prime movers in sedition, and can only proceed by wholesale arrests among all classes of society, at the rate of hundreds per week, has no element of stability. Apart from all the slowly-working forces of disintegration in the Russian Empire, we now see in operation a new destructive force of fearfully rapid effects, which has been generated out of the very endeavor to counteract the gradual influences at work before."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, April 18, 1879.

a pestilential terror to the peace-loving, loyal subjects of the Czar. A very able article in the New York *World* of July 18th, 1879, had the following paragraph:

"At Kherson, a great bank robbery was committed some time ago, under circumstances strongly recalling the famous Ocean Bank robbery in this city. The Russian police, being unable to discover the robbers, put about the report that they were Nihilists. Thereupon the Southern Executive Committee, in a letter addressed to the secret police, indignantly denied this allegation, and pledged itself to discover the true criminals. The Nihilists kept their word. In less than two weeks they had accomplished what the Russian police could not achieve—the robbers were discovered and given up to justice. As regards the fires, reported from time to time in the great cities of Russia, it is improbable that the revolutionists should have anything to do with them. Not only has the Executive Committee recently disavowed the incendiaries, but it is altogether incredible that an organization, hitherto so skilfully managed, should suddenly adopt a method of action which cannot fail to excite a just and universal indignation. The real incendiaries are doubtless criminals who assume a political mask to inspire greater awe."

Sometimes the common felon will, after death-sentence, maintain heroic silence towards his uncaught confederates, even under the temptation of promised clemency to himself, but this will not be claimed as characteristic of his class. But no important confessions have been wrung from a single condemned Nihilist, though some of them have been mere boys. If the Nihilists are outlaws and conspirators against the true weal of the nation, it is not impertinent to ask why they are not granted open trials, that the people may see for themselves that the Government is only just in its fearful decrees.

Like other movements of any considerable proportions, making resolute and persistent stand against the existing order of things, Nihilism cannot be the outcome of transient discontent and suffering, but rather the inevitable evolution of long fermenting and profound dissatisfactions; and therefore a brief review of the peculiar development of the Russian nation is necessary to any understanding of the present Russian tragedy.

The Russians lived, up to the thirteenth century, under republican institutions in settled communities presided over by

princes and grand-dukes. They had early accepted the faith of the Eastern Church, were occupied with agriculture, trade and gardening, and enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity. But early in the thirteenth century came the terrible invasion of the Mohammedan Tartars, to whom Russia, divided within herself and lacking a common leader, fell a prey. The Tartar khans did not impose Tartar rulers over the Russians or interfere with their forms of government; but they confirmed the grand-dukes and set them to collecting the tributes; and, that these might be the heavier, encouraged them in subjugating by fair means and foul all the petty principalities, so that towards the close of the fifteenth century—the Tartar system of exacting tribute having worked better than they knew—Ivan the Terrible held nearly the whole vast empire under his control, and could command forces enough to deliver the decisive battle of Kulikovo, where the Cross shattered the Crescent, and the Russian people, freed from the Tartar yoke of more than two centuries, accepted almost gratefully the iron rule of Ivan, who was the first to assume the title of Czar. His descendants continued to be the Czars of Russia, until a wholesale murder extinguished Ivan's family; usurpers with Poland's aid ascended the throne, and the czars who had been elected by the Russian people were taken in chains to Poland, where they perished in prison. Thus, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Russia was on the verge of becoming a province of Catholic Poland, when Prince Pojarski raised the cry of independence, and again was Russia freed through despotic power and religious zeal.

In their gratitude the people offered the crown to their deliverer, but he declined it in favor of the Romanoffs as being the nearest of kin to the murdered czars. Thus through successive liberations by the czars, czarism became in name, idea and fact, sacred to the Russian people, the embodiment of supreme political and religious powers, the humblest serf and the most arrogant noble devoutly believing it an institution inseparable from the maintenance of national independence. In all these crises Russia had to do battle alone, for her position was that of a despised step-sister in the European family.

Down to the time of Peter the Great, she was not a large nation—the vast mass of Sclavs being under foreign governments—and during the first half of his reign, the Russian population numbered but nine millions, while that of Poland was fourteen millions, and that of Turkey, twenty-seven millions.

Peter, a man of licentious instincts and ferocious impulses, was endowed with wellnigh superhuman energy and a proud hard patriotism, like that of the "dark Philomars" of *Zóphiël:*

> "———strong in his country's cause,
> But harder than his battle-helm, in heart;
> Born while his father fought, and nurst in wars,
> Pillage and fire his sports, to kill, his only art!"

Returning from an inspection of European civilization, Peter determined to civilize the Russians. Commerce being the chief civilizing medium, Peter forced his way to the Black and Baltic seas. He struck at the core of Russia's patriarchal traditions by removing the capital from Holy Moscow to the swamps of St. Petersburg.

The Church, especially the cloisters, had grown wealthy. Peter needed money, and, without compunction, broke up the cloisters and confiscated their property. He founded scientific schools saw the Church ritual revised, and made several innovations regarding the priesthood. He conferred large endowments of land upon the nobles, and compelled the free orthodox peasants—who, during his father's reign had rebelled under the leadership of Stenka-Razin and the inspiration of his celebrated watchword *Zemlja i Volja!*—to adopt European manners and costumes, making them serfs. He induced European artisans, officers and statesmen to enter his service by giving them preference to the Russians.

Peter accomplished an incredible amount; but what he did was not planted, it was mechanically and violently superinduced, little regard being paid to the question of Russia's readiness for, or even capability of adapting herself to, his reforms. His religious improvements caused a fatal schism in the Church itself. A scoffing, licentious materialism also began to displace the former superstitious devotion. The further extension of serfdom, and greater privileges granted

to the nobility embittered the peasant toward the noble and shook his faith in the Czar. Catharine increased this dangerous tension, by showering favors on the nobility and yet further subjecting the peasants, and provoked the rebellion led by the Cossack Pugatcheff under the old banner, *Zemlja i Volja.*

Hardly was the revolt suppressed when the rumblings of the French revolution made all Europe, and not least the proud Catharine, to tremble. Up to this moment she was not only favoring, but was a personal disciple of the French encyclopedists, and had encouraged the formation of social, literary, scientific and masonic clubs. The reports of the revolution in France changed Catharine as by magic. She ordered the closing of the clubs, the dispersion of their members and the arrest of their leaders, among whom was the great and learned Novicoff, whom she banished. Novicoff! the founder and first grand-master of Russian masons, and guardian and literary father of the famous Russian historian, Karamsin. In the midst of these oppressive measures, Catharine died and was succeeded by her son, Paul. During his brief and idiotic reign he reversed, as far as possible, all his mother's rigorous measures, reopened the lodges and supported the masons.

The reign of Alexander I began with several reforms. He abolished the secret inquisition created by his father, and made preparations for the abrogation of serfdom, but his purposes were swamped in the evil counsels of unscrupulous courtiers and agents.

The modern history of Russia opens with the year 1812. What Peter's superhuman efforts and Catharine's matchless intrigues and victorious wars had failed to secure for Russia, *i. e.*, her recognition by the western powers as an equal,—she now wrested from them in the downfall of Napoleon.

The flames which consumed Moscow were the fire of a sublime national devotion; by whose light the whole Russian nation, as if welded in a single thunderbolt, swept Napoleon and his armies from Russian soil, pressing him back through central Europe and crushing his power in Paris itself. The succeeding years of constant and untrammelled contact with the western nations could not fail to bring important results to

Russia, and the more because the Czar played but a secondary part in this momentous victory; for, when Napoleon invaded Russia, Alexander would have compromised, but was withheld by public opinion. Again, when the French retreated to Poland, Alexander desired peace, but Kutuzoff Wolkonsky and others pressed him onward. Alexander was modest enough to admit this, and in a conversation with Madame de Staël described himself as "only a lucky accident." To the Russian guards the campaign amounted to an entry upon a new civilization, and the flower of the corps of officers became enthusiasts for constitutional liberty and citizenship. The peasant soldiers who had fought victoriously through so many battles, had become conscious of their own strength and value, were loth to return to their former abject servitude, and discontent spread like an infection all over Russia. Meanwhile, the advance of liberal movement in Germany, and the insidious counsels of Prince Metternich decided Alexander against reform, and he became the very spirit of the secret Holy Alliance. In 1822, an imperial ukase was issued, directing the closing of all masonic lodges and requiring the written bond of all civil and military officials "never to enter a freemason lodge or society." Persecution fanned into fresh flames the smouldering fire of liberty which the campaign of 1812 had kindled in the society of the "United Slavonians." They demanded freedom of speech and a Slavic Union under constitutional government. The confused interregnum caused by the uncertainty as to whether Nicholas or Constantine should succeed Alexander, was seized upon by the constitutionalists as the occasion for obtaining their demands.

The leaders in this *coup d'état*, the time, the circumstances, all portended victory; but at the decisive moment the chosen leader, Prince Troubetskoi, was unavoidably detained, and the movement collapsed on the very verge of success. Nicholas dealt mercilessly with the Decabrists. He had promised the interceding European ambassadors that he should "astonish Europe with his clemency," and he did truly astonish Europe. Capital punishment had been abolished in Russia; therefore Nicholas imported a hangman from Sweden, and of the one

hundred and twenty-one prominent Decabrists, not one was pardoned! Some were hanged and under the most revolting circumstances. Others were deported to Siberia and Caucasus. Similar scenes on a smaller scale were enacted all over Russia wherever a liberal voice was raised. Nicholas restored the secret police with all its terrors, doubled the entire country police and made a redistribution of the mirs, a measure entailing much confusion and suffering,—so that in many districts, notably in Kazan, the peasants resisted. Again we find *Zemlja i Volja* inscribed on the banners of the people. Yet Nicholas had not always been so bent upon plucking out the last vestige and the very memory of independent thought. In the first years of his reign, after the restoration of peace, he made heroic efforts toward reforms. He sought to surround himself with honest advisers; allowed and even encouraged literary and dramatic criticism of abuses. Having received through his mother a strict regard for morality and religion, he was a good husband and father, sacredly kept his word, disdained diplomatic tricks and combated corruption and venality with all his might. Peter the Great would have flung Russia bodily into the lap of European civilization,* importing Europeans to her offices of internal administration, as to the supervision of her industries. Nicholas, while striving equally with his famous ancestor for Russia's greatness, believed it attainable only by exactly opposite methods; and as the founder of Panslavism (which, however ingeniously converted into a European scarecrow, has for its fundamental meaning, and meant to Nicholas, simply, Russia for the Russians and by the Russians), vigorously opposed the influx of foreign officials and sought to free Russia completely from her foreign incubus. But it did not take Nicholas long to discover that the camarilla and its minions allow the autocrat full powers in all directions save one—that of reform! He took one revenge on the bureaucracy. If they nullified his benevolent efforts, he could and did rule without them in general affairs; and the energy checked in the direction of reforms reacted in the bitter and

* "St. Petersburg," said the Russian poet Kukolnick, "is a window cut out into Europe by the axe of Peter the Great."

relentless severities which, during the last years of his reign, subjected the whole of Russia, as well as conquered Poland, literally to a permanent state of siege; blood, tears and brandy flowing in about equal proportions.

Only from such works as *Anton Goremyka* and Turgenieff's master-work, *Zapiski* (A Hunter's Memoirs), can an adequate idea of this tragic epoch in Russia's history be formed. That the period of Nicholas' rule was particularly fertile in that harvest of fine spirits sure to ripen under a system of persecution, is seen in only a glance at the list of those who died on the scaffold or went into forced or voluntary exile during his *régime*. Among them were Pestel, Rylief, Pushkine, Polevoï, Sencowski, Gogol, (Die Todten Seelen) Lermontoff, Griboiëdoff, Kolzoff, Belinski, Baratinski, Herzen, Gurowski, etc., etc. The lives, works and deaths of these great men are undeniably the inspiration of the Nihilism of today.

In the midst of the field operations in the Crimea, Nicholas died, defeated and heart-broken. His son and successor, Alexander II, had received a liberal education. He had a sympathetic heart which had led him on more than one occasion to intercede on his knees for some victim of his father's withering rule. He opened his own reign by revoking his father's cruel and arbitrary decrees against the press, the universities and foreign travel, which had transformed Russia into a huge inquisitorial prison; by such liberal and intelligent measures endeavoring to quiet the ominous murmurings that came from all parts of Russia on the news of the peace negotiations at Vienna and Paris. Such infamous minions as Bibikoff, Kleinmichel, Dubbelt and others were dismissed, the zeal of the secret police discouraged, and the surviving Decabrists pardoned. The Czar even read copies of Herzen's *Kolokol*, or "The Bell," and the *Veleki Russ* (the "Great Russian"), which he sometimes found among the periodicals on his table. Considering Alexander's genial temperament and his generous, humane proclivities, it is not wonderful that, on coming into power, these long repressed impulses should lift the very floodgates of civilization; but the wisdom of plunging Russia as by a single jump from his father's freezing despotism into

a warm and fragrant Summer of freedom is very questionable.

In 1861 the journal *Zemlja i Volja* had begun to have a very large circulation, and in March of the same year the emancipation act freeing twenty-two millions of serfs was announced.* This act seemed to fulfil two objects. It was a response to the universal and growing cry for freedom, so long promised and yet never bestowed; it was a gain to Russia's drained exchequer of the sums which could now be ground and knouted from this sudden accession of freemen to her tax-list; and it was also a new and large resource from which to replenish her military forces. This act, moreover, embodied certain noble and public-spirited aims of Alexander, but the fierce opposition of the Black Clergy and the high nobles, together with the modifications effected by the camarilla, rendered it, when, two years later, it was put in execution (the arrangements were declared completed July, 1865), a compromise which discouraged the Czar, angered the nobles, and disappointed the peasants.

It was expected that in Russia's millennial year (1862) the people would receive substantial constitutional liberties. The Grand-Duchy of Finland did receive back its old Swedish constitution, but, as no other important concession or reform was granted to any other parts of the empire, it was the signal for outbreaks in different quarters, and in May extensive conflagrations occurred in St. Petersburg. The peasants, who had grumbled over the exorbitant price they were compelled to pay for a merely nominal freedom, became rebellious when the taxes were doubled and military contingents increased.

When, on account of the Polish revolution, the National party came into power, the heart of all liberal Russia felt the chill foreboding of reaction,—a fear soon realized. The press was gagged, the secret police encouraged, the universities placed under espionage, and, in 1866, Europe was startled with the sound of Karakasoff's pistol. Count Shouvaloff

* Besides the 22,000,000 belonging to private owners, there were, according to a census taken at the time, 22,225,075 crown peasants, *i. e.* 10,583,38 men, and 11,641,437 women. The emancipation of this class began previous to that of the private serfs, and was all but accomplished on September 1st, 1863.—Vide *Statesman's Year-book* for 1879.

ame Chief of the Secret Police. Numerous arrests and ortations followed; public gatherings were forbidden. two years' lull ensued, and then the present formidable vement against the reactionary government began to make lf felt. In 1870, Count Shouvaloff opened a systematic secution of the Nihilists, and though this prosecution has reased in bitterness and severity ever since, and has been tained by the whole bureaucratic sentiment of Russia, yet ilism has steadily spread and is now the most difficult blem confronting czarism. In this same year somebody rated a little flea in Shouvaloff's ear concerning the necessity watching some young men at Moscow, with short hair and rt rough coats. A number of these were arrested, including ne of Moscow's most brilliant and educated young men. e investigation proved little, if anything, against them, tainly not treason, yet all of them were sent to Siberia; and eed it was not Count Shouvaloff's fault that the Petroffski iversity was not then summarily closed. Again a lull ued, until, in 1874, some nihilistic literature fell into the ds of the secret police.

Investigation soon proved that a wide-spread conspiracy sted. The Moscow chief of police received plenary powers investigation, and hundreds of persons were thrown into son. At first it was suspected that the labor-unions were at bottom of it, as so many artisans and laborers were im-cated; but it soon became clear that it comprised "many rsons of superior education, a large proportion of whom re officials of the judicial and police departments. Among accused were Professor Dakhoffsky of the Yaroslaw llege of Law, and M. Khovanko, President of the Session Magistrates at Chernigoff." In 1875, Count Tolstoy, the ed Minister of Public Instruction, issued a circular an-ncing that thirty-seven provinces were infested with hilism, and cautioning teachers and scholars against its versive doctrines. In 1877, the Russo-Turkish war naturally errupted the progress of the movement. The preparations this war had been wholly inadequate in provisions, arma-nt, numbers, surgeons, competent generals, etc.

The Grand-Dukes Nicholas and Michael, though entirely unfit, were placed at the head of the Russian army, while able generals were ignored to please the whims or personal feelings of some members of the Imperial House. Officers devoid of other distinction or merit than that of enjoying the imperial favor, were also forthwith placed in important commands. Such mismanagement led naturally to the disasters around Plevna and Kars; these, as naturally, disappointed and incensed the Russian people, whose pride and faith in the Czar were further humiliated and strained by the attitude of Alexander, who played the part of tame spectator instead of commander-in-chief, and who, in spite of his imperial word to the deputies at Moscow that "the holy work should be carried on to the end," was ready to conclude peace on the capture of Adrianople,—and, when pressed along by the popular enthusiasm, yet dallied with half measures, weakly allowed English arrogance to intimidate him, German intimations to confuse and dazzle him, and Austrian cupidity—grasping at Russia's inheritance of "fair Bosnia"—to take from his limp hands the fruits of Russia's enormous expenditure of blood and treasure; quashing the San Stefano treaty, concluded on the anniversary of the Czar's accession to the throne and the liberation of the serfs,—in that imposed on him by the powers at Berlin. The just resentment of the Russian people infused the nihilistic movement with a new curent of tremendous strength. Its demand for reforms, economy and representative institutions were silenced as usual by imprisonment and exile, and when the discontent and desperation increased, so did the executions, banishments, tortures, espionage, restrictions on press, speech and association,—the Czar, as usual, playing a secondary role;—and at last, after eight months' trial of the governor-generalships,—upon which Nihilism has made the significant comment of its Winter Palace dynamite plot *—even these severities

* Lord Beaconsfield sent his congratulations to the Czar on his escape from the explosion at the Winter Palace; yet the right and the glory of tyrannicide has been argued, philosophized upon, dramatized and sung in almost all times and by the most illustrious minds. Indeed, many years ago we find—picking out a slender volume from among musty tomes—that one Benjamin Disraeli, a young novelist and versifier, sang in honor of this theme:

"Blessed be the hand that dares to wield
The regicidal steel that shall redeem
A Nation's suffering with a tyrant's blood!"

e abandoned as inadequate, and on the 25th of February, eneral Loris Melikoff, Governor-General at Charcow, was pointed to the command of a military dictatorial commission, ving supreme powers over all Russia's internal affairs.

The able St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Kölnische eitung* made, in 1879, the following comments on the ussian Government:

"At the same time that the people are forbidden political ac- ity, the Government remains motionless. Nothing is heard of forms in taxation and finance, or of the development of new stitutions, or of the reorganization of the corrupt administration of any limit to the mismanagement. * * * It may be said at at present Russia's authority, the importance of her word in e councils of nations, yes, even her salvation, depends above upon her financial policy. Its direction has been confided to new minister, who is a general. Such an appointment is not rprising in a country where it is held as a dogma that special alifications have no importance, the ruler's choice being equiva- nt to an endowment with all the necessary natural and divine ts! Has it not for many years been a spectacle how the Holy nod, in all its deliberations, is conducted by a hussar-general in l uniform with clanging spurs and a heavy riding-whip! On urning from a regimental muster, Count Protosoff pointed out the metropolites and archbishops under his supervision, the way heaven! If the Holy Ghost communicates with hussars, why ould not the Spirit of affairs descend upon the reserve valry! * * * The new Minister of Finance devises a stem of taxation yielding no income but destroying entire anches of industry. * * * Milliards of depreciated paper, uinous exchange, small foreign credit, and none or a crushing e at home,—this is the dark situation."*

The *Ruski Mir*, of February, 1879, says:

"That we are badly off cannot be disputed. Debts, general verty, pest, universal peculation by high and low, and total bility to reach the evil."

Yet let not the Czar be hastily condemned. He cannot ape the force of his origin and environment. Descendant a long line of despots, he has inherited despotic predilections. e is surrounded by wily and determined counsellors, and ust possess gigantic will and great moral, intellectual and ysical superiority, to escape becoming in critical moments

* Last year Russia expended £36,000,000, England £32,000,000 and many and France £27,000,000 apiece, on their respective armaments.

their unconscious or their coerced instrument. He rules an empire of more than eighty million subjects; but they have no access to him except through the very officials who oppress them and who take good care that no complaint compromising to themselves shall reach the Czar, and who present to the Czar the incidentals in any disturbance, in such a light and supported by such evidence that the Czar leaves the oppressed at the mercy of the oppressor. It may be reasonably assumed that there is in Russia today no man so really ignorant of the actual condition of his subjects as the Czar,—the cat's-paw of the court camarilla. But granting that Alexander knows of the misery in his country, is he able to alleviate it? Any real reform, no matter how trivial, *granted on solicitation*, would at once be deemed a truckling to improper pressure, a sign of decadence in czarism. As long as the revolution holds up its head, the Czar cannot abate a jot of his autocratic power without imperiling his strongest intrenchment,—the popular belief in his omnipotence. Could he first crush the rebellion, then a way toward reform might be opened, but *even then*, only if the camarilla and the bureaucracy saw no other means of escape! As it is, the Czar can only cling in desperation to the straw of hope that the minions of despotism will, as in former times, be able to stamp out also this demand for liberty.

As long ago as last May (1879) we were informed, through the official as well as the semi-official mouth-pieces of the Russian Government, that,—

"The Third Section has already all the threads of the Nihilist conspiracy in its hands. The supreme direction of it is under a council settled abroad and acting in close connection with the International Association in London and with the German Socialists. The Nihilists include a large number of purely Russian agents; the most active members of the body are Poles, Germans and Jews, while nearly a third are females. The most dangerous Nihilists are already on the way to Siberia. Within three or four weeks all Russia will be clear of Nihilism, though by the sacrifice of many thousands of intelligent and educated people."

Thousands of intelligent and educated people have been sacrificed, but is all Russia cleared of Nihilism? The Czar is indeed in a pitiable plight. He is sure, in whatever direction he turns, to meet with powerful foes and obstacles. Should

pronounce in favor of a constitution, the revolutionists uld distrust it; and should the camarilla be unable alone to ke his effort ineffectual, they can count on the Nationals and nslavists for the defeat of any western innovation. Again, the Czar should enter upon the path of reform in a truly ssian spirit, he declares war *à outrance* against the always al but execrable foreign machinery of his despotism, rendering it and himself to the mercy of the revolutionists.

This brief *résumé* of Russia's national life shows that e Russians were from the first agriculturists and traders ing under republican institutions; that while feudalism veloped in Europe, Russia was under the heel of the Golden rde; that the extinction of independent republics and the nsolidation of absolute religious and political powers in the nds of one man were necessary for Russia's redemption; t fear of external enemies and gratitude to their liberators, de the Russians submit patiently to the ruthless rules of e first czars; that foreign attacks as late as the seventeenth ntury proved the necessity of despotic czarism for the pro- tion of national independence; that Peter the Great first used the nation from its inertia, by sowing it with the eat and the tares of strength, dissension, dissipation, am- ion, servility, independence, tyranny, patriotism, pessimism l hope; that subsequent monarchs have closely followed in steps, governing mainly through oppression, division, hy- crisy and war; that the campaign against Napoleon was ssia's first awakening to a realizing sense of her degraded sition in the European family; while at the same time she v that it was no longer czarism, but the momentum of the ople which led Russia on to glory.

The defeat in the Crimea strikingly emphasized this fact, l the recent Treaty of Berlin seems to have opened the eyes the Russian masses to the truth, that the terrible mission of rism is really fulfilled. As Prince Dolgoronki so aptly tes it in his *La Vérité sur la Russie*, page 378:

"Ten centuries ago, in 862, the Sclavs of the North sent am- ssadors to Rurik and his brothers to say 'our country is vast l fertile, but anarchy spoils it, come and deliver us from the

scourge!' After an existence of a thousand years, after having exhausted the modes of despotism, Russia is once more on the verge of a revolution, and we say to the Czar—'Sire, our country is vast and fertile, but absolutism and venality spoil it; deliver us from these scourges, grant us a government founded on law, and suitable to the needs of the time.'"

At the festival banquet in St. Petersburg in his honor, on the 25th of March, 1879, M. Turgenieff said:

"Whatever may be said of the schisms between the two generations—of which the younger does not understand or care for the older, while the older again does as little justice to the new; yes, no matter what may be said by judges—generally most unfit—there are still wishes and hopes common to these quarrelling generations, in one word, an ideal neither far away nor floating in the clouds, but perhaps lying very near us, and embracing both. * * * He who speaks to you today, wrote *Fathers and Sons* sixteen years ago. Then, he could only portray the battle between the two generations, for the field on which they could amicably meet did not then exist. But now this common ground lies, even though not in reality, yet as a conceivable possibility with the full clearness of assurance, distinctly before thoughtful eyes. * * * The Government which does and ought to lead the destinies of our country, will comprehend still better and perhaps earlier than we do, the whole consequence and importance of the present moment, *a historical moment*, I say it outright! Upon the Government does it depend. If all the children of our extensive fatherland rally around the same thought and unite heir efforts in truly serving Russia, this historical Russia offers corner-stones, on which we can orderly and peacefully rear the future.

"Allow me, therefore, allow an aged man, a member of the old generation, to propose the health of the new, and close by citing this verse from one of our great poets:

> "Strengthened through hope, and pressing forward to honor and glory,
> Our eyes are lifted and our breasts expand!"

At the banquet given him a little later at Moscow, Turgenieff—in this eloquent exclamation:—"The spark, the reforms, the legitimate change, the new order of things, all of these will say—'What we desire above all is a *constitution*, and the ultimate will be that we obtain one!'"—was the first and only prominent and conservative Russian, who has dared to publicly declare the nature of Russia's need and claim.

There can be no absolute credence given to the best data obtainable (except that which is purely historic, and even in

t, deductions are subject to the modifications resulting
m combination of totality of data), no certainty of approxi-
tely just interpretations, no full conviction of having
ched a central, well-balanced truth in comparing the causes
l the combatants in this appalling death-struggle of czarism
l Nihilism, at which the whole world is now gazing. For
a country where almost every district is under a petty czar,
ving absolute power over his small domain, and having that
position in using it which generally accompanies much
wer, little wisdom and less conscience; in a country where
ery editor issues his journal, if permitted to issue it at all,
tween the muzzle of the Czar's cannon, the gibbet or
ngeons of Siberia on one hand, and the secret mine or sure
isible dagger of the Nihilist on the other; where even the
y revolutionary documents ascribed to nihilistic origin
y be the garbled, distorted or entirely originated work of
Russian Government; in a country where every man,
man and child is shadowed by ceaseless, unintelligent and
esponsible suspicion, the truth cannot involve less than the
st complex, patient, and at best, much-baffled search. There-
e the writer of this paper does not wish to be understood as
ering any fixed or ripened opinion, but only as endeavoring
give as impartially and fully as he can—within the narrow
its of a review essay—the results of the most faithful study
has thus far been capable of giving to this subject, and
ich has led him to deem it probable that the benefit of the
ubt as to which cause has the greater weight of right and
tice on its side, must be given by the majority of impartial
tice-loving minds—with or in spite of their sympathies—to
Nihilists.

However this struggle may end, there are signs and causes
ich indicate to some of the most thoughtful of living
nds that the near future holds an hour in which the two
eat nations, Russia, and the United States of America, will
their mutual great occasion and take it at the flood, in an
iance which shall be a permanent basis for the whole future
ogress and enduring amity of nations,—the basis—than
ich there can scarcely be one more stable or better calculated

to withstand the tremendous shocks of national revolutionary struggles—of a ruling ideal in common. that of "*Land and Liberty!*"

Free America was settled on this basis, and her republic sprang from the flames and blood which conspire at every birth of liberty. Her prosperity, together with certain other causes less superficially apparent, has bred her present corruption, upon which the governments of Europe look attentively, with a mingled mind.

The effete system from which she originally rebelled, perceives her to be apparently returning into its embrace, as a ship which, having set forth with superb motion and splendid swell of sails, veers clumsily, and with collapsing canvas, back to its first port!

America needs a second inspiration! She that was cradled in the *Mayflower* should wed with the only *natural* republic on earth, for the very inception of Russia was in essence that of the republic. Republican institutions, which may be grafted on other national life, spring spontaneously in Russian soil, and the powerful enginery of centuries of the most despotic rule has not been able to root out the twin instincts of liberty and community there. If America needs a second inspiration, Russia needs her first,—that of recognition as a nation capable of self-government, and therefore of progress; a capacity proven, in that her desire for it has not only survived, but is now paralyzing an organized effort at obliteration, such as has never been tried upon any other people.

AXEL GUSTAFSON.

March 25, 1880.

POSTCRIPT.

THE Winter Palace explosion, occurring on the evening of February 5-17, excited the civilized world with an intense expectancy as to the Czar's next move. A St. Petersburg correspondent wrote to an English paper, some days after:

"Anarchy reigns supreme in every branch of the adminis-

on. On the day following the disaster, no less than 1,260 ected persons were arrested, including 60 officers and 115 officials; the arrests continued nevertheless and have attained st incredible proportions. There seems to be a general on abroad that something worse must follow ere long."

The *Moscow Gazette* cried out for an absolute dictatorship, ning even the arbitrary powers vested in the governor-rals to be utterly insufficient against the evil. Simul-ously the Nihilists issued a proclamation acknowledging Palace explosion as their work:

By order of the Executive Committee," this proclamation "a fresh attempt on the life of Alexander the Hangman made on the 5-17 of February, 1880, at 6:12 P. M. A mine up a portion of the Winter Palace. * * * The Government ents the intellectual development of the life of the people. It s which makes every honest man either give up serving the le, or carry on a sanguinary war against the present Govern-. * * * So long as Alexander does not take the first step rds liberty, we will triumph at all cost. We call on all Russian ens to help us in our war against the inhuman autocracy which stroying the best forces of the nation."

ust then it became known that the Czar had intrusted ret, irresponsible and absolute" powers to a military tor,—General Loris Melikoff.

General Melikoff is a middle-aged gentleman, short and ler in person, of Armenian birth, with strongly marked enian features. He graduated with distinction at the t school of the Guards, entered the army in Caucasus, was promoted to be military commander of the district of k. During the Russo-Turkish war, he was Commander-hief of the Russian armies in Armenia. On the night of ember 23d, 1877, he successfully stormed Kars, since h exploit he is generally known as the "hero of Kars." r the war, he earned well-merited honor for the energetic wise manner in which he isolated and almost stamped out errible plague about Vetlianka and all over Astrakhan. year, he was appointed Governor-General of Charcow, h vied with Odessa and Moscow in nihilistic propagandism; t is probable that the administrative skill, penetration and ative power he evinced in this position were leading

reasons for the Czar's choice of him as dictator over all Russia's internal affairs. It is asserted that General Melikoff is an illegitimate offspring of the Czar, by a noble Armenian lady. The name, Melikoff, signifies "descendant of the king."

The announcement that General Melikoff had been appointed dictator created a veritable panic in St. Petersburg, where he was then but little known. Had not General Gourko's spy-and-terror system been vigorous enough, that the Czar must needs appoint a semi-Turk who had no sympathies or natural relations with Russians! Even the London *Times* premised the sanguinary character of Melikoff's mission in these inciting words:

"By all means let this abominable conspiracy [of Nihilism] be rooted out, and let any measures be adopted which are really requisite for the purpose. There are times when the knife must be used in diseases of the body politic, no less than of the human frame."

General Melikoff commenced his administration by appointing members of a supreme commission to assist him; among whom we observe the able Reutern, lately Minister of Finance, and a member of the "Constantinowzin Triumvirate" (Gortschakoff, Golowin, and Reutern); General Ignatieff, the Panslavist, and Count Pahlen, lately Minister of Justice, whose duties in that position had begun just before the establishment of the first trial by jury, and who resigned when — after the acquittal of Vera Sassulitch — political offenders were denied that privilege. With the forming of this commission, General Melikoff issued an address to the citizens of St. Petersburg, wherein he modestly said:

"I can only promise one thing, that I will employ every effort and the fruits of my experience, on the one hand, to not permit the slightest forbearance, to not shrink from the most exemplary punishments respecting actions which are an insult to Russian society; on the other, to protect in a peaceful condition the lawful interests of the well-disposed portion of the community. * * * To society I look for the mainstay of the authorities in the renewal of a regular and orderly course of national life."

The 2d of March, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Czar's accession to the throne, was looked forward to with nervous expectancy as likely to be signalized by some dark event, or

nentous concession by the Government. But the day
ed, the usual remission of taxes and government dues in
eral took place, but otherwise neither reform, ukase nor
listic attempt marked the occasion. The next day an
mpt was unsuccessfully made to shoot General Melikoff,
the assassin, a Jew named Mladetzky, was tried, con-
ned and hanged within twenty-four hours. During his exe-
on, the police arrested seven men for uttering seditious
arks. On being arraigned before General Melikoff, they
fessed their error and he dismissed them, accepting their
d of honor as guarantee for their good behavior.

The next number of the *Zemlja i Volja* admitted that Mla-
zky had volunteered his services, but denied having author-
them; and further stated that the Executive Committee
not yet condemned General Melikoff, but were narrowly
erving his acts. The resignations of General Gourko, the
ded Governor-General of St. Petersburg, and General
nteln, the Chief of the Secret Police in the beginning of
rch, and of Prof. Grigorieff, the Public Censor, a little
r, gave to General Melikoff the supreme control of the
rds, the irresponsible Third Division and the arbitrary
sorship over the press. On the 28th of March appeared
first number of the new official organ, the *Bereg*, or Shore,
vidently a breakwater for the billows of the revolution. Its
or is the learned M. Tsitowitch, ex-professor of the University
Odessa, and lately famous for his essays on Nihilism,
ecially in reply to M. Tchernischeffsky's *Que Faire?* The
eg is now General Melikoff's only authorized mouth-piece.
the protection of the Czar as well as himself, General
ikoff ordered the first regiment of the Don Cossacks—who
such excellent police and guard-service under Melikoff
ing the Astrakhan plague—from Moscow to St. Peters-
g to do guard duty at the Winter Palace, and the offices of
Supreme Commission.

Early in April he added to the advisory board of the com-
sion an executive department, among whose ten members
find four members of the City Council of St. Petersburg—
des Adjutant-General Imeretinsky, Privy Councillor

Markoff, Director of the Chancellerie of the Interior Perfilief, etc. The first act of this department was to impress the entire correspondence and papers regarding all State criminals. Next followed an imperial ukase, elaborated by a committee presided over by Waluieff (made Count on the Czar's crown anniversary), regulating the powers of the governor-generals; abolishing completely the arbitrary powers vested in the officials last year, forbidding the governor-generals to mix in the current civil administration, excepting on extraordinary occasions, and commanding that they notify the Chief of the Supreme Commission and the Minister of the Interior of the name of every individual they deem it necessary to intern in other places (*dans d'autres localités*), and render "exact account of their reason for such act." Abstracts from this remarkable document—which seems almost an incredible order when read side by side with the annihilating ukase of April, 1879—appeared in *Le Nord* of the date of April 14th—the anniversary of Solowieff's attempt on the royal life!

Then, in a telegram from Charcow to the semi-official *La Voix* of April 15th, we read, that the Czar had pardoned three students at Charcow, condemned as State criminals, to banishment to Siberia. Since then, numerous mitigations of sentences and pardons of political offenders have come from General Melikoff. He has granted comparative freedom to the press in saying to its representatives that every liberty "will be granted to good subjects, but bad ones are doomed." He has put a stop to arbitrary arrests and to police provocations to crime. He has set an unofficial investigating committee to work on the examination of all records and documents of political trials pending, as well as all papers relating to political crimes that have been passed on since the appointment of provisional governor-generals last year! As one result of these investigations, it is already this month proposed to liberate 200 State prisoners at St. Petersburg, 4000 in the Empire, and to relieve 11,000 from State surveillance! General Melikoff has instituted thorough inquiry into the management of prisons. Some time ago, while on a visit to the district prisons in the Volga district, the General was

ormed that the buildings had never been cleaned, and at the
e census taken it was found that buildings destined to hold
the most 43,000, had been forced to accommodate 63,000.
en the *Moscow Gazette* complains that grammar-boys have
en kept for three years in these frightful places without
al, and, when at last tried, found guilty of only trivial
ence and sentenced to light punishment, after having, in
t dreary waiting, been reduced to mere skeletons in body
l spirit of their former selves. General Melikoff also pro-
ses to supply Russia's serious need of a middle class by
rdoning the eleven million Russian dissenters. These
fering sects, cemented by a common struggle with restrictions
t have stimulated their intellects, energy and ambition,
m in the general departments of trade and industry, the
y sinews of the nation.

Religious education in the schools has been confided to the
rge of lay teachers.

Such, briefly, are the characteristics and some of the more
ient features of General Melikoff's administration, indicating
only his broad judicious grasp of the present situation,
t that he deliberately aims at an organic and peaceful prep-
tion of Russia for transition from absolutism to a consti-
ional power. It is no longer imminently likely that he
ll fall by order of the Executive Committee, though the
lunteer and unauthorized assassin may at any moment
pear; it is from the court cabal, by the foes as it were of
own household, that General Melikoff's life and career are
naced. But his work, if he cannot carry it to completion,
nevertheless too well begun to be undone, nor can it fail of
rmanent beneficent results, and for it he deserves the admi-
ion and gratitude of the civilized world.

AXEL GUSTAFSON.

May 24, 1880.

Art. II.—The Philosophy of Final Causes.

1. *First Principles of a New System of Philosophy.* By Herbert Spencer. London: 1869.
2. *The Physical Basis of Life*—An Essay. By Thomas Huxley, F. R. S. London: 1870.
3. *Problems of Life and Mind.* By Geo. Henry Lewes. London: 1874.
4. *La Philosophie des Causes Finales.* Par M. E. Vacherot. *Revue des Deux Mondes.* Troisième Période. Tome XVI. Paris: 1876.

"Les activités du monde sont le reflet des idées de Dieu."—Papillon.

The belief in the existence of a Supreme Being is apparently as old as man. So generally held is it under one form or another, among every people, that atheists, in the strict sense of the word, may be considered exceptional existences. And yet, whenever the attempt has been made to formulate the grounds of this belief, theologians have not succeeded in giving general satisfaction. If we examine the current arguments on the subject they will be found not only unsatisfactory from a scientific stand-point, but wholly inadequate to account for the prevalence of the belief among rude and ignorant peoples. "Whatever exhibits marks of design must have had an intelligent author," is the substance of all the argument on natural theology, and is the argument which is supposed to have led the ancient Greek and the North American Indian, the savants of Europe and the savages of Africa to a belief in, and worship of, a Supreme Being. The reasons which have led to so great a unanimity of opinion on this subject must possess more of an instinctive

aracter than is generally conceded. Whether it is addressed the highest or lowest order of intellect this argument of the ools would seem to possess little real weight. What can a uth-Sea Islander whose highest idea of design consists in bing two sticks together to produce fire, or in poisoning arrow to produce death, infer from the adaptations of ure, the fitting of organs to function, the modifications of ucture to suit changing conditions? On the other hand, the ent developments of science have raised the more advanced nkers above this idea of design in the ordinary sense of the rd. To the scientist of today the world presents itself as e necessary outgrowth of forces to which he can assign no ginning, and for the origin of which he seeks no explanation. ture is all in all to him. He knows no power outside of it; seeks no explanation beyond it: he tries merely to under-nd it.

Given the forces of light, heat, electricity, etc., physical enomena are explainable. If there is such a force as emical affinity, no additional power is requisite to account r an explosion of gunpowder under certain conditions. The raction of gravity needs no outside assistance to hold our netary system together. So of every conceivable physical enomenon. Whatever power may exist in the universe, it nifests itself in physical phenomena only under the form physical force: and of such force only can intelligent ople take cognizance. This is admitted by the most orthodox nkers; and indeed it is tacitly assumed in every physical quiry. For, if there is any power in the universe capable of spending the action of physical forces, or which ever spends them; if, for example, gunpowder may, or may not, plode under the same conditions; if an unsupported body y, or may not, fall to the ground; if any physical event y, or may not, happen in accordance with physical law—en there is not a single conclusion of science which is worth e paper on which it is written. All these conclusions ume as a fundamental postulate the absolute uniformity of ture—that what occurs once will, under similar conditions, cur again. They assume, in other words, that the only

power with which we have to deal in physical phenomena is that which manifests itself under the various forms of physical energy; and that this Power, whatever you may choose to call it, follows invariable laws in its activity.

Were the forces of nature suddenly to stop their action, leaving as it were their shell—their fossilized remains—if such a conception be possible; and were this shell submitted to the inspection of some intelligent creature, he would certainly conclude, as he traced the adaptation of the parts to each other, that it was made with a purpose, that it was the creation of intelligence. But nature is not a dead, inert mass; it is full of life and activity. It is not a fossil—the handiwork of an intelligence which has departed; it is an active, living power—a manifestation of *present* intelligence, the origin of which is not in question, but whose nature and character we seek to understand. Its adaptations are not the work of an intelligence lying back of it, or above it. They are of the same sort as the intelligent acts of our fellow creatures. They do not show an intelligent author, but an intelligent actor.

The argument from design, therefore, is unsatisfactory from every point of view. It does not address itself with any force to the great mass of mankind who are steeped in ignorance, and it is inconsistent with scientific inquiry. It proposes an explanation which to the ignorant is unmeaning, and to the learned is beside the question—an explanation which science utterly ignores. It is not the evidence of design, but the evidence of *Power*, which has given rise to the notion of God. It is the manifestation throughout nature of energies distinct from those of our fellow creatures, it is the power exhibited in the storm and earthquake, that first impressed on benighted men the belief in a superhuman will—an explanation patent to the most ignorant, and irresistible to the most learned.

All effects within our experience require the expenditure of force. We never produce any physical change without the consciousness of effort. It is natural, therefore, and it is strictly logical, that when we perceive other similar changes occurring about us, not the result of animal agency, we should

ribute them to a similar cause—to the only one we know—
ll. The object of all scientific inquiry, aside from a knowledge
the facts, as Prof. Tyndall declares, is to represent in
ught *how* the phenomena occur. Referring to the phe-
nena of light and their hidden cause, he says: "To realize
subsensible world, if I may use the term, the mind must
sess a certain pictorial power. It has to visualize the in-
ible. It must be able to form definite images of the things
ich that subsensible world contains; and to say that, if such
such a state of things exist in that world, then the phe-
nena which appear in ours must, of necessity, grow out of
state of things. If the picture be correct, the phenomena
accounted for; a physical theory has been enunciated
ich unites and explains them all." But, as we are limited
our materials to the data of experience, we cannot of
rse transcend that experience. When we attempt to con-
ve the energies of nature we are limited of necessity to the
y form we know—volition.

This idea—the evidence of will in the phenomena of
ure—forms the theme of Dr. Carpenter's closing chapter
his *Mental Physiology*, and it is there fully explained and
ended. A brief quotation, however, will suffice to give the
t of his remarks. He says the law of gravitation "is an
pression of the fact that everywhere and under all circum-
nces, two masses of matter *attract* one another in certain
inite ratios; and the term 'attract' implies that they are
wn together by a *force* similar to that which directly im-
sses itself upon our consciousness by the *sense of effort* we
perience when we lift a pound-weight from the ground." *
is cause, this power which manifests itself in natural phe-
nena, is, alike to all, the object of worship; it corresponds
the theologian's God. †

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* Page 695.

† "Le mouvement peut servir à mesurer," says M. Papillon, "non à
liquer la force. Il est aussi subordonné à celle-ci que la parole l'est à la
sée. En effet, le mouvement n'est autre chose que la suite des positions
cessives d'un corps dans différents points de l'espace. La force, au contraire,
la tendance, la tension qui détermine ce corps à passer continuellement de
à l'autre de ces points, c'est-à-dire la puissance par laquelle ce corps, con-
ré en un moment quelconque de sa course, diffère d'un corps identique en
os."—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Seconde Période, Tome CV. p. 697.

But its attributes are not by any means the same to all. The untutored savage recognizes, in the operations of nature, power, and instinctively bows down before it. But to him, each object in nature is a separate entity—a distinct god—and he endows it individually with affections and will. He embodies in nature what he finds in himself; and the wisest can do no more. The conception of the universe is, with every one, an attempt to construct a scheme of nature which shall accord with the facts and account for the phenomena. The difference in the result is the difference in experience and the power of generalization. The flashing thunderbolt which, to the savage mind, is the stroke of a wrathful deity, is, to the scientist, an exhibition of the same force that draws the needle to the pole. The savant, equally with the savage, recognizes in the operations of nature will-power; but to the former all its various phenomena are exhibitions of the same great will. The multitude of gods are merged into one; caprice is banished; chance has no place; order reigns throughout the universe. All nature, in fine, resolves itself into the phenomena of force; and all force is one.

The grandest generalization of modern science is the equivalence of forces, or the persistence and conservation of energy. The doctrine itself is not new. Sir William Hamilton founds the law of causality on our inability to conceive the sum of existence either increased or diminished. We cannot conceive an absolute beginning, or absolute annihilation. When any phenomenon, therefore, rises into existence, we are compelled to believe that its essence, or as a physicist would say, its energy, existed before under another form—its cause, and will continue to exist forever in its effects. In accordance with this view he defines creation as "God passing into activity, yet not exhausted in the act;" and as a necessary inference, he would accede to the proposition that God and nature are *pro tanto* identical.

We are indebted, however, to the labors of modern scientists for the experimental proof of the proposition that physical energy is in fact indestructible; and that, when any portion disappears, an exact equivalent is certain to reappear in another

m. It is established, in other words, that physical energy der all its various forms is essentially one, and this one is ever the same in quantity and in its essential character. It y appear as light, or heat, or chemical affinity, or electricity; in all its forms it is still force, and is neither in- ased nor diminished by its changes. Matter itself, so far as know it, is a mere aggregation of force-points; not a dead, rt mass, vitalized and controlled by a force, or forces, *ab ra;* it is force itself. Take away the force and you destroy matter, so far as we are concerned. "From the most neral and abstract point of view, then," says M. Papillon, in fine essay on *La Constitution de la matière*, "matter is at ce form and force, that is, there is no essential difference tween these two modes of substance. Form is simply force cumscribed, condensed. Force is simply form indefinite, fused. Such is the net result of the methodical inquiries of dern science, and one which forces itself on our minds, rt from any systematic premeditation." *

But this force which manifests itself in physical phe- nena—which, as we have seen, gives form and substance to material conceptions—is, in fact, the only power known. one sense, "mind is the measure of the universe." We ow only what reveals itself in consciousness, and we know only as conceived *by* consciousness. In other words, the *rm* of our conceptions is determined by our nature, as it termines also their limit. Whatever may exist, we know y what is capable of affecting our senses, and we necessarily nceive it under a form imposed by the laws of thought. But s same thought, which gives form and substance to material jects, may penetrate to some extent the disguise itself im- ses, and study the cause of these phenomena as well as that its own existence. Disregarding the vast difference in ap- arance, the testimony of science is clear and emphatic that

* "Au point de vue le plus général et le plus abstrait, la matière est donc à la fois forme et force, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'y a pas de différence essentielle re ces deux modes de la substance. La forme n'est que de la force circon- te, condensée. La force n'est que de la forme indéfinie, diffuse. Tel est le ltat net des investigations méthodiques de la science moderne, et qui s'impose esprit en dehors de toute préméditation systématique."—*Revue des Deux ndes*, Seconde Période, Tome CV, p. 698.

all phenomena of the inorganic world have a common origin: that heat, light, electricity, and their correlatives are in reality the same thing. More recent progress correlates with these the so-called vital force, including under this all the phenomena of thought and volition. "Formerly," says Professor Hermann, of the University of Zürich, in the Introduction to his *Elements of Human Physiology*, "formerly an attempt was made to explain the peculiar processes which have their seat in the animal organism, by supposing them endowed with properties special to it, and heritable, depending on a supposed '*vital force.*' This vague conception has, however, been abandoned since the laws of inorganic nature have been discovered to preside over the most thoroughly investigated processes of life, and especially since the application to the organic world of a great principle of modern science has taught us the relations which exist between the changes in the matter and the forces of organized beings. Relying upon this knowledge, we believe that the forces of living are the same as those of inanimate bodies, and that they obey the same laws, and consequently, that it will ultimately be possible to explain the hitherto incomprehensible phenomena of living beings, particularly their morphological processes, by physical and chemical laws."

Professor Youmans also holds to the identity of origin of physical and mental phenomena. He says (*Introduction* to Prof. Grove's Essay on *Correlation and Conservation of Forces*, p. xxxii): "From the great complexity of the conditions [in organic phenomena] the same exactness will not, of course, be expected here as in the inorganic field, but this is one of the necessary limitations of physiological and psychological inquiry; thus qualified the proofs of the correlation of the nervous and mental forces with the physical, are as clear and decisive, as those for the physical forces alone." Similarly Professor Bain observes: "The arguments for the two substances [mind and body] have, we believe, now entirely lost their validity; they are no longer compatible with ascertained science and clear thinking. The one substance with two sets of properties, two sides, the physical and the mental—*a double-faced unity*—

uld appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case." * But it is needless to multiply quotations on this subject. we rid our minds of the prejudice imposed by preconceived as, and leave ourselves free to judge the facts as we would other cases, but one conclusion is possible. All the phenena of life may be explained on a common hypothesis: a uble origin breeds only discord and confusion. Like matter, ought and volition,—or consciousness, which is the basis of all mental faculties, through which, as metaphysicians say, all ntal qualities manifest themselves,—are absolutely dependent the physical energy which underlies them. Injure or destroy brain and spinal cord which are the seat of these physical ergies, and you injure or destroy the mind itself. Given capacity of the brain and its auxiliaries as a physical paratus, and you have an exact measure of the individual's pacity for thought and emotion. Given the character of the ain, spinal cord and sympathetic system as a physical ganism, and you have the character of the person morally d intellectually.

How chemical action can take upon itself the form of ought and emotion, or how it can give rise to them as an companiment of its action, is of course inconceivable. Nor we gain anything by introducing the term *dynamic*. As little we represent to ourselves *how* the chemical action changes form to heat or electricity; that is, *how* one form of motion anifests itself as light, another as sound, another as electricity, other as chemical affinity. In their phenomenal aspects there s little resemblance between any two of these forces as between her, and the strictly mental qualities. Yet we know that physi- energy does so change its form. When a certain quantity of ce disappears as light, or heat, an exact equivalent is sure to ppear as electricity, chemical affinity, or some other form

* *Body and Mind*, p. 196.—Mr. Lewes has well said that subject and object inseparable " in any real sense—are only separable ideally "—a fact too often looked or disregarded by old school metaphysicians. The same author es an eloquent dissertation on the beautiful and sublime facts of corren: " As the flower which comes into existence through the action of the sun, rporates the energy of the sun and grows by what it takes from the sun, so entient organism incorporates the energy of the external and reproduces all produced it."—*Problems of Life and Mind*. Vol. I, p. 174.

of physical energy. Or, to put the whole subject in a single sentence, so far as our means of testing the matter go, no force ever begins to be, or, once existing, ever ceases; the sum of these forces is a constant quantity. Whatever influence the mind exerts must be consistent with this conclusion. As we shall note more fully further on, thought and volition are more appropriately represented as a concomitant of chemical action under certain conditions, rather than forces as themselves. Or, perhaps we may say, they *are* chemical force, under certain conditions, *rising into recognition of its own activity.* At any rate, every physical event has an adequate *physical* cause. Volition, therefore, is without physical influence, or it is itself a link in the chain of physical causes.

If this is not true—if thought or volition can originate motion *de novo*—its action is an absolute creation and its activity must add to the sum of existence. For motion, which is a form of force, once existing, is, in its character as force, eternal. We are compelled, then, to accept one or the other of these alternatives: If volition exerts any physical influence, it is itself a link in the chain of physical causes, or its activity adds to the sum of physical forces. If we accept the latter alternative, then either the basis of modern philosophy and modern science, that force is eternal and indestructible, is false; or that other generalization, on which recent science so much dwells, that the sum of these forces is a constant quantity, must be abandoned, and we must accept as true, what Sir William Hamilton says is inconceivable, that force which is existence can be created, and created by a finite creature, man. And this is true if we assume that volition merely touches the trigger, so to say, and thereby liberates the physical energy stored up in the nervous tissue; for physical forces in a state of equilibrium, whether stable or unstable, can only be set in motion by another force which overbalances the equilibrium. This other force, whether small or great, is an essential link in the chain of cause and effect. It is just as essential as any other; and the principles which apply to it will apply to all.

Again, if a distinct substance, or an independent origin, is

essary to account for thought and volition in the case of
n, it is equally necessary in the lower animals. If our
ires and volition, themselves uncaused in a physical sense,
fire a train of nervous energy which results in muscular
vity, the same cause must exist wherever we find the same
chanism attended by the same result, else reasoning, as
lied to objective existence, is utterly false. Or, to reverse
statement, if the desires and volition of the lower animals
simply attendant phenomena of nervous energy, what right
e we, in man, to interpose a new element, where the facts
be explained are essentially the same? It is too late to deny
essential similarity of man and the lower animals; the
iment of every faculty possessed by us is found in
m. And these faculties are the same in kind—con-
usness is consciousness, and thought is thought—
ether exhibited in a man or a dog. But if you admit a
itual element in the lower animals, where do the functions
matter end and those of spirit begin? How low in the
er of nature will you go with this spiritual substance? Has
adpole a soul? Does an amœba, or a speck of undiffer-
iated protoplasm, enjoy the distinction of personal
nortality? If one accepts the doctrine of evolution, when
organism in the course of development first begins to feel,
n, *presto*, a new element appears, namely, soul. If one
ects this doctrine, one does not escape the difficulty, for
re is a broad border land between sentient and non-
tient creatures, where the difference is so slight that it is
possible to draw the line with certainty; yet it is just this
erence that culminates in man, and requires, we are told,
istinct element—a different ***kind*** of force—to account for,
nely, spirit.*

* [It is obviously true that all one knows of the Cosmos is predicated on
omena, and that by phenomena one is informed as to states of matter, only;
yet it is equally obvious that outside of all this there is a vast region of the
nowable in which the Ego, the conscious I, is the central figure. This
thing, call it by whatsoever name one will, is not force, it is rather the dif-
tiating principle in matter—in nature. Force and matter, if one can con-
of them as distinct from each other, are but the instruments of its
festation. Every one is conscious of a "Self," and equally conscious of
xistence of a "Not-self." This is a fact of feeling indissolubly woven into
iousness. It is absolutely inexplicable; and as Mr. Lewes forcibly says,

Let us look at the matter from a different stand-point. Recent experiments upon the lower animals prove beyond doubt that many of the acts commonly considered voluntary, and which are certainly attended by consciousness, are in fact automatic, and are as well performed in the entire absence of consciousness or volition. Pflüger carefully removed from a frog the entire encephalon, leaving only the spinal cord. He then touched the thigh with acetic acid, to the application of which frogs are peculiarly sensitive. The animal thereupon rubbed the irritated part with the foot of the same side, apparently appreciating and localizing the irritation and endeavoring, by a voluntary effort, to remove it. The foot of this side was then amputated, and the irritation was renewed in the same place. The animal made an ineffectual attempt to reach the spot with the amputated member, and, failing in this, after some general movements, rubbed the spot with the limb of the opposite side. Here we have a series of acts, which are commonly considered the result of sensation and volition, as well performed in the entire absence of the brain. We have, in other words, proof positive that sensation and volition are not confined to the brain, nor to the mind, as ordinarily conceived, but are powers which may be exercised—nay, are exercised—by the spinal cord and the medulla oblongata.

Again, remove the cerebral hemispheres from a pigeon and analogous results are observed. Pinch the toes and there is an effort to remove the foot. Pass a lighted candle in front of it, and the head follows its motion. Discharge a pistol, and the eyes are opened and other evidences given that the sound is heard, or rather makes its proper impression on the nerves, but excites no emotion. Referring to this experiment, Dr. Maudsley says: "It is quite evident from this experiment that general sensibility and special sensations are possible after the removal of the hemispheres; but they are not then transformed into ideas. The impressions of sense reach and affect the sensory centres, but they are not intellectually *perceived;* and the

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the attempt to explain it is an idle act. "The search for light behind the light," he avers, "is the natural illusion of reason—the will o' wisp of philosophy."—*Problems of Life and Mind*, Vol. I, p. 163. EDITORS.]

per movements are excited, but these are reflex or auto-
tic." *

If, notwitstanding these facts, any one chooses to assert
t mind is a distinct power, or existence, apart from the physi-
organism—an existence, however, which can neither know
lf nor manifest itself, except through physical energies—
s not possible, as yet, to demonstrate his error, except on
plane of the knowable. But the hypothesis is opposed to
ry principle of sound reasoning—to every principle which is
ognized of binding force in other departments of knowledge.

William Hamilton, who was certainly conservative
ugh, from a theological stand-point, in his methods and
ults, lays down, as the fundamental principle of sound
soning, that, in explaining any phenomena, we have no
ht to assume more causes than are necessary, or, where
wn causes suffice, we have no right to invent new ones.
w, we have, in the physical energies connected with the
vous organism, a cause which the most eminent physi-
gists hold to be adequate to explain, so far as explanation is
sible, all mental phenomena. We certainly have, in these
ysical energies, an invariable accompaniment of mental
ivity—an accompaniment exactly proportioned to this
ivity. This is the only evidence we have of a causal con-
tion in any case; and it is certainly as easy and as rational
believe that consciousness and thought are direct results of
ebral action, or the recognition by cerebral forces of their
n activity, as it is to believe this activity essential to *enable brain to think;* and one or the other is certainly true, for,
far as we know mind at all—that is, the principle of intelli-
ce—we know it only in connection with cerebral action.

Unless it can be shown, therefore, that the hypothesis of a
mon basis for mind and matter involves a contradiction,
nconceivable conditions, it is logically irresistible. This
ttempted, and it is the only objection which has ever been
ed, aside from the necessity of an individual soul to main-
our personal immortality, in the statement that mental
lities are so entirely different from physical qualities, that

* *Body and Mind*, pp. 20–21.

thought and volition are so absolutely distinct from form, color, weight, etc., that we cannot conceive, to adopt philosophical language, the two sets of attributes inhering in the same substance. Whatever force there might be in this objection is, however, utterly destroyed when you abandon the old notion of the objective existence of the physical qualities of matter as such. As we have seen, we know matter only as an objective cause of sensation—as power, energy. The various physical qualities, as we conceive them, are altogether the product of thought—the knowledge of sensations. Atoms, which are assumed as the vehicle of these forces, have no more real existence than the old metaphysical "entities" which modern scientists so much deride. *Ex hypothesi*, if they existed, we could not know it, as it is the forces only that centre in them which exert any influence. And these forces are certainly as appropriate an explanation of mental as of physical phenomena. Or, to reverse the statement: invent what explanation you like for mental phenomena, and the same cause will account for physical qualities.

This is a legitimate corollary from the approved teaching of the best scientific authorities, and it is not inconsistent with the most profound philosophical speculation. It affords, we believe, a broad neutral ground on which the contending hosts of science and metaphysics may meet and embrace. Professor Tyndall's celebrated declaration, in his Belfast Address, that he discovered in matter "the promise and potency of every form of life," is chiefly objectionable to timid and conservative people from the form of the expression. If he had said, what doubtless he would accept as substantially equivalent, that the same power which manifests itself in the forces of inorganic nature is concerned in the production of all forms of life, and that these forms equally with those forces are the unfolding of a Being, from everlasting to everlasting the same, and whose activity, under similar circumstances, is invariable—if he had put his thought in some such form as this, there are many of the most profound theologians who would accept it without qualification.

Professor Huxley, however, is perhaps the most prominent

tist who has risen above what may be called the mere ical view of nature. "The more completely," he says, materialistic proposition is admitted, the easier it is to that the idealistic position is unassailable, if the idealist nes himself within the limits of positive knowledge." *

On the other hand, among modern philosophical writers idealist hypothesis meets almost unanimous approval. uart Mill defines matter as a "permanent possibility of tion," that is the *power* which causes the phenomena we physical. Herbert Spencer adopts substantially the same . Almost without exception the profoundest thinkers of age, whether physicists or metaphysicians, concede that know matter only as the power which manifests itself in ical phenomena, and mind as the power concerned in ciousness and its attendant phenomena. It remains only onnect the two, and strive to attain some faint but just eption of the character and attributes of this power h is concerned in all existence, or rather, which *is* all ence, and which manifests itself in all phenomena, her physical or mental.

Whether you choose to call this power mind or matter, God ture, is of no consequence. All we know of it is as it re- itself in consciousness, through natural phenomena—as e. This is the only agent recognized by science; it is the power revealed in nature. If there is anything beyond if there is any power in the universe save that which be measured thermometrically, or recognized in the cules of matter, it has not been discovered; phe- ena do not require it; science does not regard it. As force is this power revealed in the heavens or on the earth, in l or in matter; as force only can it be apprehended in ght. The attributes of force are the attributes of God.

Now, what are these attributes? The only force of which ave immediate knowledge—that revealed in consciousness indissolubly connected with a nervous organization, and is wed with consciousness and intelligence. Are these quali- or conditions, essential to each other? The answer to

* *English Men of Letters: Hume*, pp. 79, 80.

this question will determine largely the proper conception to be formed of nature or God; but the matter is one which is not susceptible of direct observation or positive proof. The most we can hope for is a rational probability. We cannot make a nervous organism, and, if we could, we would have no direct means to determine whether it were conscious. Our decision in any case is a matter of inference. In the case of our fellow-creatures, possessing an organism more or less resembling our own, and whose acts correspond with what we should anticipate of ourselves under like conditions, that inference is inevitable; and we are as firmly persuaded of the conscious existence of our fellow-men and the higher order of animals generally, as we are of our own. But as we pass down the scale of existence, the inference becomes more and more doubtful, until at length we reach a border land where no one presumes to say with any degree of assurance that there is, or is not, consciousness. Outside a nervous organization we are absolutely in the dark. There is no reason in the nature of things, so far as we know, why nerve-cells, more than any other cells, should recognize their own existence and activity, or why they should give rise to consciousness as an accompaniment of their action. But we know in our own experience that they do; and we do not know it, and we have no means of ascertaining it, in any other case. Electricity or chemical affinity may be conscious in other forms or conditions. All we can say of the matter is, we do not know it, and if they were conscious we could not discover it. "A brain," says Professor Huxley, "may be the machinery by which the material universe becomes conscious of itself," * and the probability would seem to be that consciousness is confined to this form of energy.

But consciousness is not at all essential to intelligence. "The more I have examined the workings of my own mind," says Francis Galton, "* * * * the less respect I feel for the part played by consciousness. I begin with others to doubt its use altogether as a healthful superior, and to think that my best brain-work is wholly independent of it." Certainly, it is not essential to intelligent action, for all the

* *English Men of Letters: Hume*, p. 79.

cesses of nature show intelligent action. Moreover, every
is more or less familiar with unconscious cerebration in the
den recollection of names or facts, after every effort to re-
l them had failed, and the subject had apparently passed
irely out of mind. Dr. Carpenter, indeed, devotes a con-
erable portion of his work on *Mental Physiology* to this
se of the subject, and he derives from it an explanation of
ch which before was obscure. As an instance of its ordi-
y action, he says: "There is considerable ground to believe
t the best *judgments* are often mentally delivered, in diffi-
t cases, by the unconscious resolution of the difficulties in
way of arriving at a conclusion, when the question (after
ng *well considered* in the first place) is left to *settle itself*."*
Illustrations are abundant in the experience of every one.
leed, the greater portion of our physical life is unconscious
. The action of the heart and other organs is entirely so.
d even such acts as walking, talking, playing on a musical
rument, and other voluntary acts require no conscious
ervision, the nerve centres unconsciously coördinating the
essary movements. So of the instances heretofore given
m the lower orders of life. The action of the decapitated
g, as described by Pflüger, is certainly intelligent, and, if
common opinion is correct in regard to the functions of
cerebral hemispheres, it is just as certainly unconscious.
e spinal cord, in fact, exhibits all the evidence of intelli-
ce which is required of it in the physical economy. It
pts means to an end; it possesses memory; it is capable of
cation, as every child that learns to walk, talk, play on a
sical instrument, etc., abundantly proves. The physiolo-
ts call these processes "automatic," "habit," etc., and endow
animal with a new sense, namely "muscular sense," to
ich we make no objection, so long as the rationale of such
uirements is not obscured by such technical phraseology.
This is true also of the physical forces. The action of
se forces is absolutely constant; the adaptation of means
an end is perfect. The ever-changing environment of
mal life, resulting from the changing condition of our

* *Mental Physiology*, p. 531.

planet, has been met by an equally constant growth and development. New conditions have called forth new powers, or new combinations. A higher and more complex organic life keeps constant pace with the ever-changing progress of the inorganic world.

It is impossible to conceive of this except as the action of intelligence. If it is not this, it is wholly unmeaning. The common understanding represents this intelligence as lying back of the phenomena and independent of them. The latter are said to be the result of laws established for the government of nature—the manifestation of forces, themselves blind agents in the hands of an infinite intelligence. But does this conception help the matter?—does it bring us any nearer a solution of the difficulty? Law is merely a rule of action, an inevitable sequence. It is the uniformity we discover in natural phenomena. It has no objective existence. When we find, from experience, that oxygen and hydrogen combine in certain definite proportions to produce water, and that these and other elements combine in other definite proportions to produce other compound bodies, we say that these proportions are laws of chemical combination. But this does not explain *why* they combine. The law is merely a generalization of experience; it is only a terse way of saying that they *do* combine, and always, under similar circumstances, in the same way. Why they combine in this proportion rather than some other, or why they combine at all, is explicable only from the nature of the forces concerned, as a choice similar to that exercised by ourselves where several courses are open. To represent the force which is concerned in the phenomenon, and which is all we know in connection with it, as simply a blind agent, and the choice as exercised by another force lying back of it, which we call God, is certainly no advantage, so far as our conception of the matter is concerned, and is without the slightest evidence in the phenomena themselves.

Whatever exercises choice, and is capable of memory and education or improvement, is intelligent; and in this sense, the lower nervous functions manifest intelligence. With inorganic forces the action is absolutely uniform, because the conditions

e so; and it would argue imperfection, lack of intelligence, ere it otherwise. But there is little doubt, if heat or elec- city could be carried to a sphere where different conditions evailed, its action would gradually be modified to suit its anged circumstances. At any rate, the fact that it *does* not ange is no proof that it *cannot;* nor does it show lack of telligence, any more than the uniform action of the mind der similar circumstances.

Our meaning will be best illustrated by a simple example. our a little water on the ground and it exercises choice which y it will run. True, that choice is absolutely determined by e conditions: *i. e.*, we know it will choose to seek the lowest ne. But the choice is of precisely the same sort as that ercised by the mind in determining any action—it follows e direction offering least resistance. We speak of the one as rtain, the other uncertain; the one dumb, the other intelli- nt, because in one case we know the conditions and can, erefore, predict the result; in the other not, or not with the ne degree of certainty. We say the water is attracted by e earth and necessarily falls when unsupported; the mind ercises free-will. But there is, in reality, no more freedom the one case than in the other. The water obeys a law of its ture, which we call the attraction of gravity, but which in th is only a name for the general fact, that matter seeks to ite itself with all other matter with a force proportioned to mass and inversely as the square of the distance. The mind o is impelled to activity and seeks the gratification of its sires in proportion to their strength and the circumstances ling them into play. The choice in either case is equally rtain, and equally determined by the nature of the body and rrounding circumstances.

The memory of physical nature, and its capacity for edu- ion, is illustrated in the development of the organic world. evolution is true, all reflex nervous action, all instinctive bits, in fact all the diverse forms of animal and vegetal e, are proofs of the memory and education of things purely ysical. The bee forms its comb in a particular way; each ecies of bird builds its nest after a particular pattern, and

selects for it a particular sort of place, because the manner of working, and the taste, gradually perfected by consecutive generations of workers, have become organized into a "habit" of its nature. Change the circumstances surrounding these creatures, in the particulars affecting their habits, and there is every reason to believe they will change their instincts to correspond. Even in man, it is admitted that a large part of the nervous and muscular activity is automatic, and at the same time is improved by education. The coördination of movements to a degree requisite to play on a musical instrument, to dance on a tightrope, or to perform any other difficult feat requiring the combined activity and delicate sensibility of various muscles, is only acquired by practice, and is acquired much more readily by those whose ancestors have excelled in the same way. Yet, in all these cases the volition extends, after the coördination is effected, only to the excitation of the requisite nervous energy. The details of the act are purely automatic; they are of precisely the same sort as the instinct of the bee or the bird, and depend on the memory and education of the nervous centres.

There is no impropriety, therefore, in speaking of matter as intelligent. It exercises choice; it possesses memory; it is capable of education or improvement; and the choice, the memory, the education is of precisely the same sort as that of mind. Every individual existence, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral, is a mere aggregation of matter; and its life and development are absolutely determined by the character of its forces and environment. The only difference between them, so far as we can judge, is in the complexity and stability of their organization. Their life is of the same sort; the thoughts, feelings and desires of the one are as natural and as necessary a result of the forces in operation, as the form and color, or chemical reactions of the other.

Whether consciousness exists aside from nervous organization we cannot tell. It is probably confined to the higher states and conditions of matter. As electricity assumes the form and exercises the power of heat only under certain conditions, and as heat only becomes chemical affinity under certain other

ditions, it may well be that the same force only takes upon lf the form of conscious energy, when it exists in connection h what we call a nervous organization. But, if our position is l taken, this characteristic is only one phase of its multiform ver. It is no more a distinguishing feature than the peculiar racteristics of heat, light, electricity, or chemical affinity. iat is there in common between the manifestations of heat light (the two forms of energy which seem most closely ated), or between either and electricity or chemical affinity? far as appearances go—so far as their mode of manifestation oncerned—they are as widely separated from each other as sciousness is from either. The peculiarity of consciousness ves nothing at all, as to the nature of the force concerned. two physical forces in their manifestations have anything common; yet we know, from the best possible evidence, t all are essentially the same—that, under certain conditions, h may take upon itself the form of the other, or rather, that h may *become* the other. Now, we have evidence of the same , though not perhaps of the same strength, that one of these ces (chemical affinity) may produce, under certain conditions, sciousness. There is no more reason for rejecting this dence, or the conclusion to which it points, because of peculiarity of the new phase, than there would be to believe in the essential unity of the physical forces because y differ in their manifestations.

We should represent the universe, then, as a Being, infinite variety, in extent, in duration; ever changing, yet ever entially the same; ever involving itself in greater and greater nplexity, and, anon, returning to its simplest form. Sporting boundless space, it passes from everlasting to everlasting in ycle of changes; now producing a world with its variegated e and activity, again absorbing it for new forms and new nbinations. It is an infinite ocean of resources, in whose pths is included all life, actual or possible, past, present, or come—an ocean whose waves are individual existences, ich, pushed up for a moment to a greater or less elevation, ne with beneficent light, then break into spray, and sink k into the bosom whence they arose.

J. McLain Smith.

ART. III.—THE VALUE AND REGULATION OF CURRENCY.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was a period in which the principles of currency underwent, probably, a more profound discussion than in any period before or since.

The great work of Adam Smith had made its appearance long enough before to become known to students of political economy, and to exert the powerful influence that it did on the thought of the age. Adam Smith was followed by such thinkers and writers as Storch, Say, Garnier, Ricardo, James Mill, J. R. McCulloch, all of whom, with others scarcely less eminent, belong to this period.

There was much, too, in the period itself to call for the special discussion of this subject. The Napoleonic wars had unsettled all Europe. Extraordinary exertions and extraordinary expenditures were called for. England displaced a circulation consisting largely of coin, with a circulation consisting entirely of bank-notes. Austria, Prussia, Russia and other States issued more or less paper. The coin displaced by paper increased in other channels. It gathered in greater abundance in France, and enabled Napoleon to maintain coin payments throughout his struggle. His enemies, unwittingly, by forcing coin out of circulation at home through excessive issues of paper, sent it to France. For Storch shows that the coin displaced in England and other countries, did not leave Europe, but gathered in increased quantities in the countries adhering to a metallic currency. Large accessions, therefore, were made to the effective circulation of Europe, during the early part of the century. Prices rose, production was stimulated, and vast national debts were created.

With the return of peace, a return to the metallic standard, and, to a large extent, to a coin circulation, was undertaken.

nsequences wholly unforeseen ensued. The most far-seeing, parently, were deceived. The difference between an in-asing and a decreasing volume of money—between the preciation and appreciation in value—was not understood by most closely thinking economists. It was not till after the empt had been made, that the baleful effects of a redistri-ion of the precious metals were discovered. Why should ance, it might be asked, which maintained a metallic rency, suffer with those States which had departed from metallic standard, and were endeavoring to return to it? When paper in England was but two or three per cent. ow par of gold, Ricardo even saw only a fall in prices of or three per cent. He did not then see, as he afterwards , that a vast addition had been made to the effective rency of Europe, under the influence of which the entire ume of coin and paper together had become depreciated, that to withdraw the paper necessarily operated, by reduc-the whole volume, to increase the value of the part left.

No wonder it seemed strange that a return to peace should duce such consequences as were felt, not only in England, throughout all Europe. Many, like Mr. Twells in his mination by the Commission appointed by Parliament to uire into the state of affairs, "would not believe the natural ct of peace was distress." Discussion went on, both in out of Parliament. The Bullion Report of 1810 grew of it. Hundreds of pamphlets followed, some good, ny of little worth. But, taken together, the rich literature this period has been the source from which have sprung later science of political economy, and the better philosophy he functions of money. It was not, however, until subse-nt writers had worked over the material of this fruitful iod, and events had shed the light of experience on it, that ors became eradicated and the way prepared for a truer nce of money.

The influence of the discussions and the literature of the ier part of the century on economic questions, extended to side of the Atlantic, which accounts for the fact that ericans, sixty years ago, had a better understanding of

financial and economic questions than twenty years ago, or than they have even now.

One needs only to refer to the Reports of the earlier Secretaries of the Treasury,—as Hamilton's, Gallatin's, Woolcott's, or the writings of Jefferson or the treatise of Conde Raguet, for proof of this. Nor is an apology needed for saying that had there been at the head of the Treasury, during the late war, a man of the ability of Mr. Chase and at the same time one thoroughly versed in the literature, and completely acquainted with the experience of England from 1797 to 1821, at least a third part of the entire debt incurred for the war might have been avoided, without putting a man less in the field, or prolonging the war a day, or increasing in the least the difficulties of carrying it on; but, on the contrary, time and money would have been saved. And who can doubt, with the experience of both England and the United States before him, that it was possible to have avoided, in a large measure at least, the deplorable consequences of first needlessly inflating the currency volume and then the return to a gold standard, which we have experienced!

Among the questions profoundly discussed in the period referred to, were those relating to the regulation and value of money.

All sciences rest upon a few well-ascertained principles. And of no science is this more true than the science of political economy.

What the law of gravity is to physical science, the value element in money, or the principle upon which value depends, is to economic science.

Take first metallic money. The common idea, and one upon which whole treatises on money are built, is, that the precious metals possess a certain "intrinsic" value, and because of that value they are taken as the measure of other values,—that is, for money. The word "intrinsic," like the word "abnormal," may mean something or nothing. Usually "intrinsic," when applied to value in money, only misleads.

How do gold and silver get their "intrinsic" value? Or from what does their value arise? This question, when asked

gold and silver, has the same significance, and no more, as hen asked of copper or lead, or anything else. Whence ises value in copper? Nine out of ten, probably, will say comes from cost of production.

But before discussing the cost-of-production theory, let us llow a step further the value element in money.

And for that purpose we may suppose all mines to be osed, and that we have only the stock now in the hands of an to deal with. The problem is then simplified to this: much gold and so much silver in the world; such and such es. These are the elements of the problem. The uses ake the demand, and the relation of quantity to use determines lue, as compared with other things. Gold and silver, en, have no other or "intrinsic" value, except that derived om the uses they are put to, and the measure of the value is e intensity of demand growing out of the relation of antity to use. Instead, then, of having a metal, or two etals, possessing value independently of their employment money, we have two metals, the chief use of which is for onetary purposes. And the chief value of these metals, stead of existing independently of their money character, is erived from their employment as money. Statistics show at about two-thirds of the value of silver is due to its use as oney, and about one-third to other uses. That is, nearly vo-thirds of the silver in the world is directed to monetary es, and about one-third to use in the arts, as ornaments, etc.

Applying the same reasoning to gold, and accepting the ost reliable estimates, we must conclude that from two-thirds three-fourths of all the gold in the world, and of the pro- uction of the mines, is devoted to use as money, and not uch more than a fourth part to other uses. Consequently, om two-thirds to three-fourths of the value of gold comes om its monetary application. Indeed, a closer analysis shows how impossible, in the nature of things, it would be for old to have the same value *independently* of its employment money, that it has with that *additional* use. To say that has, or that it can have, is to say that a foot can be expanded to a yard without lengthening the foot.

With this law of value in money firmly grasped, the next step logically follows: namely, the uses for gold or silver remaining the same, an increase in the quantity must result in a decrease in value, and *vice versa;* the quantity remaining the same, an increase in its use—making increased demand—must be followed by an increase in value.

Macleod generalizes this proposition when he says no variations "can take place in the exchangeable relations of any two economic quantities unless there is some change in the intensity of demand, or the limitation of supply, of one, or both of the two quantities."

Instead, then, of money possessing a "fixed" or "intrinsic" value, independently of the monetary use of the metal, it is the demand for monetary uses that gives to the metals the largest share of their value.

The question arises here, whether it is necessary that gold, for instance, should have any other use than that of money, in order that it may have value as money? The answer is plain; it is not at all necessary. To have uses besides that of money doubtless increases its value, and may tend to make its value more stable, or possibly it might tend at times to impart instability. However that may be, the principle is clear that the chief value of gold arises from its employment as money, and that so far as the law of value is concerned, it might have no other source of value without being any the less money or any the less fit for money.

It was long held, however, and is still held by men of eminent ability, but hardly by economists of standing, that the labor-cost of producing the metals from the mines determines, from year to year and age to age, the value of the metals. Mr. Silliman, for instance, in a recent paper, takes this view. This doctrine, though at one time accepted, was, however, long ago disproved. A brief analysis will suffice to show its error.

There are, perhaps, ten thousand tons of gold at this time in the hands of men applicable to monetary use. The production of gold this year, or on the average for many years, may be two hundred and fifty tons; or the annual production

be taken as two and a-half per cent. of the whole stock on
d.

Now, the cost of producing this two hundred and fifty tons
vary from year to year. If the labor-cost of producing
year's supply determined the value of the whole mass,
we should necessarily have a fluctuation in the value of
whole metal, conforming to the variations constantly taking
e in the labor-cost of production each year. But we have
within thirty years a quantity of gold produced at half
present labor-cost of producing the same quantity; yet
e was no material change in the general value of gold. If
were dealing only with yearly production, then the labor-
principle would apply. There may be, and there probably
both gold and silver in existence now, that was mined
dreds, and perhaps thousands, of years ago.

Pray tell us what the cost of digging silver with slaves, in
time of Themistocles from the mines of Laurium, or gold
n the mountains of Thrace or from the sands of Hebras,
to do with the value of that metal now? The conclusion,
ever, is not to be drawn, that cost of production has *no*
ct on value. The true law is this: To the extent that
r-cost affects the relation of quantity to use, to that extent
ffects the value of the whole, but no further. This law,
eed, extends to all commodities. Those things that can be
eased and decreased at will, and are not carried largely
stock, are almost directly controlled by the labor-cost
nciple.

Again, the notion so often asserted, that to measure values,
hing must itself possess value, is true enough, if by
sessing value is meant that it must be an equivalent for
for which it exchanges. A wheel must be round to be a
eel. But it may be a wheel and be made of paper, as well
f made of iron; it may not be as good a wheel, but it is
heel. Gold coin possesses value, and generally measures
ue, but its value is largely due, as has been shown, to the
that it performs that function. Gold is not used as money
use it can be used for something else too. Nor is it used
money *because* it is valuable. It is rather valuable because

it is everywhere used for money. Whately said, pearls are not valuable because men dive for them, but men dive for them because they are valuable. ' Gold is not valuable because it is dug from mines, but it is dug from mines because it is money, and therefore valuable. Commodities are transported from place to place by various agencies, chief among which in these days is the locomotive, which rushes along with its burden train borne upon hundreds of revolving wheels. The railway, the locomotive, the wheels of every car, are all agencies in the transportation of commodities. They derive their value as such from this use. The locomotive derives its value as a locomotive from the demand for it for that purpose, and not because the material of which it is made has some value for other purposes.

But the ownership of, or the right to, commodities is transferred not by ordinary vehicles but by the intervention of of the vehicle, money. Adam Smith likened money to wheels, which was a very apt illustration. Money does certain work. It is an agent, to effect exchanges of commodities. There are a certain number of exchanges on the average to be effected, daily or yearly in a country. Money is the agency employed for that purpose. There is a given amount of money and a given number of exchanges. From this relation demand arises. The larger the volume of money the less there is for each unit to do, and the less the demand upon each unit the less the value of each.

But for a right understanding of the source of value in money, it is necessary to grasp firmly the idea that the value arises from the use itself, that is, from the work it performs. From this comes the important law: *The value of money is not determined by what it is made of, but by the relations of quantity to use.*

Prof. F. A. Walker has done good service to monetary science in clearing away the dead drift that has been allowed to gather over the living truth, in the following clear paragraph in his *Money, Trade and Industry:*

"Let me repeat, money is to be known by its doing a certain work. Money is not gold, though gold may be money; sometimes

is money and sometimes it is not. Money is no one thing, group of many things having any material property in common. the contrary, anything may be money; and any thing, in a n time and place, is money which then and there performs a ain function. Always and everywhere that which does the ey-work is the money-thing."

Admitting as established, then, as we venture to hope it be, that the value of gold and silver depends upon the ntity on the one hand, including the annual supply from mines, and their uses on the other—not uses in the arts or rnaments alone, but uses as money also—it follows that value of these metals, so long as both are used as money, depend upon supply keeping pace with increased use, wing out of larger use in the arts, especially for gold, and increase of population and the commerce of the world. If population and commerce, and the demand for the arts, ease faster than the mines yield the metals, then the value he metals will rise; or, which is equivalent to it, prices in eral will fall.

On the other hand, if the yield of the mines be greater than ufficient to answer the requirements arising from the ditions above given, and make good the losses incident to r and casualty, then prices will slowly rise, and money ergo diminution in its purchasing power.

For like reasons, if one of the metals, as silver, should be ndrawn from employment as money, the effect must essarily be to enhance the value of the other metal, as well f money generally, and correspondingly reduce the value commodities. The difference between a diminishing ume of money and an increasing volume upon production industry generally, was well stated by Hume a hundred twenty-five years ago, and has been repeatedly confirmed the experience of almost every country. As far as relates metallic money, then, regulation rests upon the mines, and eft there we have a natural regulation of quantity and ue;—not a regulation that gives ideal fixity to it as a ndard, but which, nevertheless, affords a regulation that can be nted upon, and, with some approximation to certainty, be e-calculated.

But it should be borne in mind, nevertheless, that it is competent for legislation to change all this; and legislation has, by the demonetization of silver in some countries and the closing of the mints against it in others, destroyed the natural regulation that had for a long time existed. What further disturbance may be looked for from legislative interference, cannot be foretold.

Thus far we have treated more specifically of metallic money, but as far as relates to the laws of value, the principles are the same for paper money as for metallic money.

Here, however, we are met with the declaration that something can not be created out of nothing; that it is absurd to say that the stamp, or the *fiat* of the government can impart value. A confusion of ideas always comes in at this point. Let the idea of money be separated for a moment from the idea of value. Waiving all constitutional questions, no one will deny the fact that a government can declare what shall be legal tender, and what shall be money within the territorial limits of that government. But can it impart to such money *value*? Certainly, if it can give it use. If making a thing money gives it use, by the same act it gives it value. But the *quantum* of value depends upon other conditions, over which governments have no direct control. If the Government of the United States should issue a thousand millions of greenbacks in addition to the volume of currency now in circulation, they will be money just as much as the existing greenbacks are—and *they are money*—but it would be out of the power of the Government to give to each dollar of the volume that would then exist the same value, that is, the same purchasing power, that a greenback dollar *now* has. On the contrary, it is absolutely certain that the whole volume of currency would thereby become depreciated.

We come back to the same general law, then, for paper money as for metallic money. Government by its stamp or decree, may make paper *money*, but its *value* will depend upon the relation of quantity to use. If the quantity be large and the use limited, then the value will be limited. On the other hand, if the quantity be duly limited, while the use is

qual with metallic money, the value will be equal to, or
, by sufficiently limiting the quantity, be made greater
n, that of coin. If, however, a decree making paper legal
der fails to put it into circulation, that is, fails to impart to
ıonetary use, then it will fail to impart to it the conditions
of which value arises. Ricardo says:

"The value of money, then, does not wholly depend upon
bsolute quantity, but on its quantity relatively to the payments
ch it has to accomplish; and the same effects would follow
n either of two causes—from increasing the uses for money
-tenth—or from diminishing its quantity one-tenth; for, in
er case, its value would rise one-tenth."

Of course, this view is antagonized by that class of writers
o stand upon the assumption that "the value of substitutes
coin is precisely in proportion to the credit of their maker."
s is true of checks, demand notes, and other instruments of
dit, and is measurably true of bank-notes. But it is not true
ll of such paper money as greenbacks, or Bank of England
es under suspension, as from 1797 to 1821, or even Bank of
gland notes now, or of the paper money of Austria, Russia,
f such specie-paying countries as Sweden. Nor is it true
he "State Paper Money" of Germany.

No question of credit enters into the problem, except so
as concerns the *stability* of the government itself. Should
government fail, then the money might cease to be money,
t is not made of a material recognized as money, and is not
lf money, outside of the State issuing it. This is a principle
uch importance that space can not perhaps be better ap-
priated than to make room for the opinions of some of the
st eminent economists who have written on this subject.
ardo, in his celebrated reply to Bosanquet, says:

"Now, a paper circulation, not convertible into specie, differs
s effects in no respect from a metallic currency, with the law
nst exportations strictly executed. It is only necessary that
quantity should be regulated, according to the value of the
al which is declared to be the standard. * * * By limit-
the quantity of coin, it can be raised to any conceivable
e. * * * It is on this principle that paper money circu-
s."

"A bank-note is of no more intrinsic value than the piece of

paper on which it is made. It may be considered as a piece of money on which the seignorage is enormous, amounting to all its value; yet if the public is sufficiently protected against the too great increase of such notes, either by the indiscretion of the issuers, or by the practices of false coiners or forgers, they must, in the ordinary operations of trade, retain their value. While such money is kept within certain limits, any value may be given to it as currency."

In his *Proposal for an Economic and Secure Currency*, the same writer says:

"A well-regulated paper currency is so great an improvement in commerce, that I should greatly regret if prejudice should induce us to return to a system of less utility. The introduction of the precious metals for the purposes of money may with truth be considered as one of the most important steps towards the improvement of commerce and the arts of civilized life; but it is no less true, that with the advancement of knowledge and science, we discover that it would be another improvement to banish them again from the employment to which, during a less enlightened period, they had been so advantageously applied."

Mr. J. R. McCulloch, in commenting on these principles as laid down by Ricardo, says:

"He examined the circumstances which determine the value of money, * * * and he showed that * * * its value will depend on the extent to which it may be issued compared with the demand. This is a principle of great importance; for, it shows that intrinsic worth is not necessary to a currency, and that provided the supply of paper notes, declared to be a legal tender, be sufficiently limited, their value may be maintained on a par with the value of gold, or raised to any higher level. If, therefore, it were practicable to devise a plan for preserving the value of paper on a level with that of gold, without making it convertible into coin at the pleasure of the holder, the heavy expense of a metallic currency would be saved."

The same author, in his treatise on *Money*, builds upon the same principles:

"As no means," he says, "have been devised to limit the supply of promissory notes issued by private individuals, their value, it is plain, could not be maintained were the issuers to fall into discredit, or be relieved from their promise to pay them. But it is otherwise with the promissory notes issued by the State, or by a company acting under its control. The quantity of such notes may be effectually limited, and we have seen that, when this is the case, intrinsic worth is not necessary to a currency, and that, by properly regulating the supply of paper to be legal tender,

value may be sustained on a par with gold, or any other commodity. It was by acting on this principle of limitation, that the ue of the paper of the Bank of England was maintained in interval between the passing of the restriction act in 1797, l the commencement of bullion payments in 1820. No onal explanation of this circumstance, so much at variance with the old theories of paper money, can be deduced from any er principle. * * * It appears, therefore, that if there re perfect security that the power of issuing paper money would be abused; that is, if there were perfect security for its being ued in such quantities, as to preserve its value relatively to the ss of circulating commodities nearly equal, the precious metals ght be entirely dispensed with, not only as a circulating dium, but also as a standard to which to refer the value of per."

Lord Overstone declared:

"The value of the paper currency results from its being kept the same amount the metallic currency would have been."

Mr. Jevons agrees with this theory of paper money. He s, in his *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange:*

"There is plenty of evidence to prove that an inconvertible per money, if carefully limited in quantity, can retain its full ue. Such was the case with the Bank of England notes for eral years after the suspension of specie payments in 1797, and h is the case with the present notes of the Bank of France."

This principle was perfectly well understood by Gallatin, right, Woodford and other writers in this country half a tury ago.

In truth, the *only* way to preserve the value of paper ney is to recognize the law of value laid down in respect metallic money as being alike applicable to paper money, l subject it to that law. In other words, it is only by due ulation of quantity that the value of paper money can be intained, and upon such regulation, wherever paper money used, depend the prices of commodities and the relation, any given time, of property to debt.

Indeed, it is only as a promise to pay on demand operates limit and regulate the quantity of paper, that it is effective control the value of a paper currency, and to keep it at par h the metals. Nor is a promise to pay on demand, however ll secured the ultimate fulfilment of the promise may be de, a regulator of quantity sufficiently effective to secure

in itself stability of value and the permanent equivalency of paper and coin. If, at a given time, the United States would have, as its distributive share of the world's supply of the precious metals—gold and silver—say $800,000,000, then, on the principles here recognized, if a paper currency were limited strictly to a volume of $800,000,000, and it had the same general acceptance within the limits of the United States that coin had, its value would be precisely the same, irrespectively of any promise to redeem. It should be provided, however, that the permanency of its character as money should be beyond doubt. Every possessor must be assured that he will be able, any time in the future, to pay it away for whatever he wants, or in the discharge of any obligation. Then its value rests upon, and is governed by, the same principles that control the value of any other money, namely, relation of quantity to use.

There can be no rational doubt that the two or three thousand millions of paper money in use in Europe and the United States has the same effect upon prices as so much gold and silver would have. And if every country should add to its volume of money as much paper as it possesses of gold and silver, then the effect throughout the world would be the same as though the stock of metallic money had been doubled. Prices throughout the world, other things being unchanged, would be doubled, and the economy which a nation might practise by using paper in part, while other nations used only the metals, would be neutralized.

The power of one country to affect the money of another, and thereby to change values, contracts and moneyed obligations, is far greater than has been generally supposed. When the United States issued greenbacks and sent its gold abroad, the gold went to swell the metallic currency of England, and of Europe generally. Prices felt the augmentation of money. Again, when Germany, France and the United States—the first to provide a gold coinage, and the others to prepare for resumption—took out of circulation hundreds of millions of gold, and locked it up in public coffers, the value of gold the world over was affected.

Should this policy be reversed and the four great public easuries, which now hold, perhaps, a thousand millions of lars of the precious metals, let out one or two hundred lions, the results would be the same as though, within the ie period, new mines yielding that amount had been dis- ered.

But the issue of the same amount of paper money by tes now using coin would also have the same effect. The ory that, if but twenty-five or thirty per cent. of the ount of paper issued be kept in coin in the Treasury or ık vaults, then, no matter to what dimensions the money ume may be swollen, there can be no excess, and no depreci- on of the paper, is both fallacious and dangerous.

The value and stability of a paper currency may depend ch more on the quantity of paper out, than on the quantity coin in the Treasury, and the most important character, as ll as the highest ideal, of money, is stability of value; and bility of value, as we have endeavored to show, depends on the due regulation of quantity and its adjustment to itimate wants.

The discussion of the principles that should govern the ie of paper money, and of the methods employed by different ntries for the regulation of State and bank paper, their rits and defects, must be left for another occasion.

A. J. Warner.

Art. IV.—Goethe and Bettina.

1. *Wahrheit und Dichtung.* Von J. W. von Goethe. 2 Bde. Stuttgart und Tübingen: 1840.
2. *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde.* 2 Bde. Berlin: 1835.
3. *Gespräche mit Goethe.* Von Johann Peter Eckermann. 3 Bde. Leipzig: 1876.

In the belief that coming events cast their shadows before, we turn with an eager interest to the early life of the great. We study the bright sayings and sportive ways of childhood that in their kaleidoscopic variety we may find the tint and texture of the fabric of the after-life. In the boy Napoleon assuming a dictatorial sway among his companions and awing his elders into submission by his daring precocity, we recognize the ruler of kings and the terror of Europe. So likewise we search with a hungry avidity through the dull little town on the Avon for some word or deed of the child, in which we may catch a glimmering of the dazzling genius that created Ariel and Hamlet. And as we stand in the shabby dwelling where he was born and lived, we inwardly implore the stones of the old worn pavement in the family-room to cry out and tell us the ways of the boy Shakespeare.

But if it is the world's regret that so little is known of Shakespeare's early life, it is also its grateful satisfaction that both history and tradition have been so kind regarding that of Goethe. As his own historian, he has described the youthful years at Frankfort with that simple directness and lively grace of narrative which constitute the chief charm of his style. In the varied, joyous life passed amid the refining influences of a cultured, plentiful home, and the mental stimulus

orded by the contact and influence of minds distinguished every profession and walk of life, are seen the unfolding of at rich nature and the complex activity of that wondrous tellect which, viewed in full maturity, affect the beholder t unlike—and it does not seem an ignoble comparison—one those vast Oriental tapestries, wherein the marvel of daring sign, together with the wealth of coloring, astonish and arm us as we contemplate the soft, glowing magnificence of e whole. In the eager zeal with which the boy explores the lls and towers of the old Teutonic city, and in the calm, ondering delight with which he lingers among its antiquities, discover that love for the antique—that classic spirit which eathes a serene, lofty repose over the genius of Goethe. the keen zest with which the child lays open the heart of wer and fruit, and the unflagging interest with which he tches the growth and change of living things, we find that irit of inquiry and love for the investigation of nature which re ever his. There also we find that untiring patience and eerful faith which, together with his deep insight into man nature, enabled the author of *Götz* and *Faust* to await e noble development of human character from the most toward beginnings.

It was by the happy union of these seemingly antagonistic ments that so mighty a change was wrought upon German erature through the works of Goethe. Under the magic of genius the cold marble forms of antiquity are aglow with e, and the chill glitter of a remote past is become as the rm radiance of noonday. The heroes and heroines, who all their pomp of power and glory of achievement seemed, rough the dim distance of the ages, as phantom beings apart m our humanity, are become real men and women whose arts beat with hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, closely in to our own. In *Iphigenie* we no longer behold a pallid selled divinity enduring her fate with stony submission, t a radiant, sensitive woman, whom a calm, noble spirit ses above the horrors of her situation. Amid the war and mor, the strife and discord that made hideous the night of time, the simple, noble nature of Götz arises like a lily

against a background of gore;—a knight, indeed, but devoid of the glamour in which the characters of a chivalrous age usually appear to us. Brave and true-hearted, he of the iron hand battles to save men from the evils that beset them and struggles to wrest his own soul from the thraldom of an evil time. As by Goethe's largeness of vision and true insight he found a human heart throbbing beneath the sculptured stone, and a warm, gentle spirit within the cold, clanking steel, so, also, he seized those vague dreams and fleeting fancies that haunt the deep recesses of the human mind, and embodied them in forms of such chaste, simple grandeur, that we bow in awe before the divine humanity which they reveal.

For the real lover of nature the common flowers of the wayside have, in their rank luxuriance, an interest of fact and sentiment of which the cultivated ornaments of the garden cannot boast. Goethe was a born naturalist; the small dull concerns of life were noble and full of interest to him, for he felt and told us that they are the main-springs of all great activity. Through his words, as under a spell, the homely trifles—the common things of every-day life—are invested with their proper significance. Herein lies the secret of his power over the hearts of the people, especially of women, whose life for the most part consists of a round of small duties; and to those whose higher powers seem stifled in a narrow bustling activity, and who long for the rise that would give them a freer scope, with what effect must come his words:

"Wie das Gestirn,	"Like as a Star,
Ohne Hast,	That maketh not haste,
Aber ohne Rast,	That taketh not rest,
Drehe sich jeder	Be each one fulfilling
Um die eigne Last."	His God-given hest."

Goethe did much for women and he received much from them. The warm, yet delicate color of sentiment that pervades his works, though born of woman, was his by inheritance. Through all his writings is easily perceived the influence of those women who, he tells us, made an impress upon his character. The pure, placid nature of Gretchen; the thoughtful vivacity and touching naïveté of Frederica; the

ep spirituality of Fräulein Von Klettenburg, are there; and reproachful criticism caused by the doubtful moral tone t sometimes tinges his pages fades out in a wider and truer imate before the splendid inspiration of the leading female aracters of his works. We can readily believe his statement Eckermann, that all the feelings and mental states described him were the result of his own experience, for it was a ture of Goethe's many-sided nature that he could feel not ly for, but with, others; hence the startling truth, the wonder- minuteness with which he could alike portray the most nzied passions and the finest, deepest feelings of which man- d is capable. The grief that he caused another, and which himself deeply felt, Goethe could depict with a touch so n and unerring, and in a style so vivid, that his most rapt nirers must feel a regretful pleasure that he could select for lysis the flowers which he had caused to bloom and fade in human heart, and could expose to the world's gaze their icate quivering filaments.

With all his many-sidedness of character, Goethe's power musical comprehension was imperfect, or rather we might *one-sided.* His ear was exquisitely attuned to the sounds nature. In the low rippling of the brooklet, the loud r of the cataract, the faint sighing of the breeze, the mad y of the tempest, he found a melody and harmony which touched his senses that they became, we might almost say, rified. He could sing with taste and feeling—his voice was sic itself; but a musical composition unaccompanied with rds was to him almost without meaning; a symphony h its varying tone and movement told him nothing of ure and human feeling. He could find music in nature, but nature in music. He held communion with music but did possess its revelation.

It was not until after his powers were at their zenith and genius was brought face to face with that of Beethoven, t he felt most keenly this deficiency of faculty; and he led with joy a new star that arose in his mental heaven in character of Bettina Brentano, the young gifted friend of ethoven, who interpreted the great master to him, and

who is known as the "child" of the celebrated "correspondence." The remarkable intercourse between the "poetical artist" and the "child" was of a nature that could happen nowhere but in Germany, where "philosophy is half sister to romance, and romance appears half the time in the garb of philosophy."

Of a distinguished literary ancestry, Bettina was virtually born with an adoration for the great poet of nature and passion. Both her parents and her grandparents had been enthusiastic admirers and devoted friends of Goethe, so that from her earliest remembrance the child had heard the praises of the poet, and it was only left for his mother to complete the infatuation. Genial, gifted Frau Rath found in her little favorite an eager listener to her vivid, glowing account of her absent, renowned son, for whom her love was little short of idolatry; and as she possessed in a very marked degree that power of narration which in him was so inimitable, it is not surprising that her wonder-pictures wrought an effect upon the highly imaginative mind of Bettina; nor that the child's rapt fancy should eventually break forth into exuberances of expression which, aside from its rare literary merit, is exquisitely beautiful in the simple vernacular, but becomes almost wildly fantastic when conveyed into cold, exacting English. Upon her ardent temperament the name of Wolfgang Goethe acted as a spell of power to awaken her genius and to develop the sentiment of love, in a manner which seems so allied to passion that it is scarcely possible to read her burning expressions without a regret that Goethe could encourage her enthusiastic idolatry, and play upon her heart-strings to make him music.

The letters which Bettina wrote to Goethe, at Weimar, were highly valued by him. He praised them in unmeasured terms. The purity and freshness of her thoughts, and the childlike innocence of expression, in which the maiden of fifteen addressed him, were like the very breath of spring to the man of sixty-two, when he, in the full glory of his fame, was passing a splendid existence amid the stifling atmosphere of a brilliant court. These letters, too, were veritable "songs from home," for it was in the old home at Frankfort—in his

n childhood's place at his mother's knee—that Bettina eived her inspiration.

But in all Goethe's intercourse with Bettina, there was a n of selfish egotism on his part. The warm enthusiasm of worship for him gratified his vanity. The fine thoughts l beautiful feelings with which her pen teemed, he used in own writings. That such was his purpose, he makes due knowledgment. His appreciation of them is best expressed his own language to Bettina:

Du bist ein feines Kind, ich lese ne lieben Briefe mit innigem Ver-gen, und werde sie gewiss immer der lesen mit demselben Genuss. n Malen des Erlebten sammt r innern Empfindung von Zärt-keit, und dem was Dir dein ziger Dämon eingiebt, sind wah-Originalskizen, die auch neben ernsteren Beschäftigungen ihr es Interesse nicht verläugnen, m es daher als eine herzliche hrheit auf wenn ich Dir danke. wahre mir dein Vertrauen und e es wo möglich noch zu neh-n. Du wirst mir immer sein bleiben was Du bist. Mit was n man Dir auch vergelten, als , dass man sich willig von allen nen guten Gaben bereichern t. Wie viel Du meiner Mutter weisst Du selbst, ihre Briefe ssen in Lob und Liebe über. rst Du so fort den flüchtigen menten guten Glückes, liebliche nkmale der Erinnerung zu wid-n; ich stehe Dir nicht dafür, s ich mir's anmaassen könnte sol-geniale lebenvolle Entwürfe zur sführung zu benützen, wenn sie n nur auch so warm und wahr s Herz sprechen.—*Briefwechsel*, . 177.

"Thou are a sweet minded child; I read thy dear letters with inward pleasure, and shall surely always read them again with the same enjoyment. Thy pictures of what has happened to thee, with all inward feelings of tenderness, and what thy witty demon inspires thee with, are real original sketches, which, in the midst of more serious occupations, cannot be denied their high interest; take it, therefore, as a hearty truth, when I thank thee for them. Preserve thy confidence in me, and let it, if possible, increase. Thou wilt always be, and remain to me, what thou now art. How can one requite thee, except by being willing to be enriched with all thy good gifts. Thou thyself knowest how much thou art to my mother, her letters overflow with praise and love. Continue to dedicate lovely monuments of remembrance to the fleeting moments of thy good fortune. I cannot promise thee, that I will not presume to work out themes so high-gifted and full of life, if they still speak as truly and warmly to the heart."

Nur wenig Augenblicke vor mei-Abreise nach Carlsbad kommt n lieber Brief aus dem Rheingau; jeder Seite so viel Herrliches und chtiges leuchtet mir entgegen, s ich im voraus Beschlag lege jede prophetische Eingebung ner Liebe; deine Briefe wandern

"Only a few moments before my departure for Carlsbad, thy dear letter came to me from the Rhinegau; on each page appears so much that is splendid and weighty, that I beforehand lay an embargo upon every prophetic inspiration of thy love. Thy letters go with me,

mit mir, die ich wie eine buntgewirkte Schnur auftrössel, um den schönen Reichthum den sie enthalten, zu ordnen. Fahre fort, mit diesem lieblichen Irrlichtertanz mein beschauliches Leben zu ergötzen, und beziehende Abentheuer zu lenken ;—es ist mir alles aus eigner Jugenderinnerung bekannt, wie die heimathliche Ferne, deren man sich deutlich bewusst fühlt, obschon man sie schon lange verlassen hat.

..... Adieu ! Der Eichwald und die kuhlen Bergschluchten, dei meiner harren, sind der Stimmung nicht ungünstig, die Du so unwiderstehlich herauszulocken verstehst; auch predige deine Naturevangelien nur immer in der schönen Zuversicht, dass Du einen frommen Gläubigen an mir hast. *Ibid.* p. 229.

which I unravel like a worked cord of many colors, to set in order the splendid wealth which they contain. Continue with this attractive fairy-light dance to rejoice my contemplative life, and to lead relative adventures: it is all familiar to me, through my own youthful recollections, as the distant home, which one feels distinctly enough, although it has been long left.

"* * * Adieu! the oak forest and the cool valleys, which wait for me, are not unfavorable to the state of mind, which thou understandest so irresistibly how to call forth: preach also thy Nature-evangelies, always in the happy assurance, that thou hast a pious believer in me."

The exalted impulses of her mind and heart were refreshing to his nature, indurated by so many years of contact with the world. Again, he writes:

Du bist ein einziges Kind, dem ich mit Freuden jede Erheiterung, jeden lichten Blick in ein geistiges Leben verdanke, dessen ich ohne Dich vielleicht nie wieder genossen haben würde.—*Briefwechsel*, II, p. 166.

..... Alles was Du schreibst, ist mir eine Gesundheitsquelle, deren krystallne Tropfen mir Wohlsein geben, erhalte mir diese Erquickung, auf die ich meinen Verlass habe.—*Briefwechsel*, II, p. 166.

"You are an unparalleled child, whom I joyfully thank for every enjoyment, for every bright glance into a spiritual life, which, without you I should perhaps never again have experienced.

"* * * All that you write is a spring of health to me, whose crystal drops impart to me a well-being. Continue to me this refreshment, upon which I place my dependence."

That the brilliant precocity of her intellect was the object of his admiring curiosity—something to be studied and analyzed rather than trained and nurtured—is evident from the following expressions:

Deine Weissagungen über Menschen und Dinge Vergangenheit und Zukunft sind mir lieb und nützlich, und ich verdiene auch dass Du mir das Beste gönnst.—*Briefwechsel*, II, 218.

.... im Gegentheil wenn ich Dir ein unverholnes Bekenntniss machen soll, so wünsch ich Deine Gedanken über Kunst überhaupt wie über die

Your clear views upon men and things, upon past and future, are dear and useful, to me, and I deserve, too, that you grant me the best.

"* * * I wish to have your thoughts on art in general, and particularly on music, committed to me. Your solitary hours you can

sik mir zugewendet. In einsa-
n Stunden kannst Du nichts
ssers thun als deinen lieben Ei-
sinn nachhängen und ihn mir zu
trauen.—*Briefwechsel*, II, p.287.
Was Dir Schlosser über mich
getheilt hat, verleitet Dich zu
r interessanten Excursionen aus
n Naturleben in das Gebiet der
nst. Dass Musik mir ein noch
nselhafter Gegenstand schwie-
er Untersuchung ist, läugne
nicht . . . . Da ich nun heute
zum Amen Deiner reichen in-
tsvollen Blätter gekommen bin,
möchte ich Dir schliesslich nur
einem Wort den Genuss aus-
cken, der mir daraus erwächst
l Dich bitten, das Du mir ja das
ema über Musik nicht fallen
st, sondern vielmehr nach allen
ten hin und auf alle Weise
iirst. Und so sage ich Dir ein
zliches Lebewohl; bleibe mir
, bis günstige Sterne uns zu
ander führen. — *Briefwechsel*,
pp. 278, 279.

spend in no better way, than in meditating on your dear caprice, and to intrust me with it."

"What Schlosser imparted to you about me, induces you to highly interesting excursions out of Nature's field, into the domain of *art*. That music is *still* a mysterious subject, of difficult research to me, I do not deny. * * * As I have today reached the Amen of your rich substantial letter, I would fain express to you, in conclusion, in one word, the enjoyment which has grown out of it for me, and beg you, by no means, to let slip the theme upon music; but, on the contrary, to vary it in every possible way and manner. And so I bid you a hearty farewell: continue to love me, till happy stars bring us once more together."

All Goethe's letters to Bettina were short, and seem written
h the intent to draw out her replies rather than to impart
own ideas, or to exert a helpful influence over her mental
velopment. He gave but poorly of his substance in return
her rich gifts. It is hardly possible to read the corre-
ndence without a feeling of sadness that a gifted, affection-
girl should lavish such a wealth of thought and feeling
on a man who, in the full maturity of his powers, sought
rely to enrich his own being with the fresh outpourings of
nature. The regret is no less because this man was the
at Goethe, but rather more, when we consider what he
ght have done for Bettina. To be sure, it was in his name
t her genius was first awakened, and in her adoration she re-
rded him as the virtual creator of her being. In him seemed
ntred the springs of her existence. Every fine thought and
ble impulse was but the emanation of his spirit that dwelt
hin her. All thought, all feeling were referred to him as
ir first source. Goethe encouraged this idolatry, and never
e pointed above and beyond himself to something loftier

and more worthy of worship. It must be evident to all who read the correspondence, even in the simple undistorted German, that the pure fountain of her affections was darkened by his shadow, and that the consciousness of his presence, as it were, frequently incited her to thoughts and expressions foreign to her natural disposition. The profound thought, richness of imagery, and felicities of diction that abound in her writings, indicate a mind at once poetic and philosophic—similar to that of Goethe himself, while the incoherence of expression and the lack of method in the arrangement of her ideas evince a wilful untutored nature—faults of education which Goethe might easily have remedied, and thus secured to her a brilliant literary career. It was his satisfaction with her style of writing that endeared it to Bettina and caused her to cling to it ever afterward with loving tenacity.

The *Correspondence*, as published by Bettina, forms two small volumes, consisting mostly of her own letters; those of Goethe being comparatively few in number, and, almost without exception, very brief in comparison with her lengthy efforts. Some idea of the "child's" regard for the "poet" may be gathered from a letter written by her to him at the opening of their correspondence:

Wenn die Sonne am heissesten scheint, wird der blaue Himmel oft trübe; man fürchtet Sturm und Gewitter, beklemmende Luft drüct die Brust, aber endlich siegt die Sonne; ruhig und golden sinkt sie dem Abend in Schoos.

So war mir's, da ich Ihnen geschrieben hatte; ich war beklemmt, wie wenn ein Gewitter sich spüren lässt, und ward oft roth über den Gedanken, dass Sie es unrecht finden möchten, und endlich ward mein Misstrauen nur durch wenig Worte, aber so lieb gelöst. Wenn sie wüssten wie schnelle Fortschritte mein Zutrauen in demselben Augenblick machte, da ich erkannte, dass Sie es gern wollen!—Gütiger, freundlich gesinnter Mann! ich bin so unbewandert in Auslegung solcher köstlichen Worte, dass ich schwankte über ihren Sinn: die

"When the sun shines hottest, the blue sky is often clouded; we fear the storm and tempest, a sultry air oppresses the breast, but at last the sun conquers, and sinks tranquil and burnished in the lap of evening.

"Thus it was with me after writing to you; I was oppressed, as when a tempest gives warning of its approach, and I often blushed at the thought, that you would find it wrong; at last my mistrust was dispelled by words, which were few, but how dear! If you only knew, what quick progress my confidence made in the same moment, that I knew you were pleased with it!—Kind, friendly man! I am so unskilled in interpreting such delicious words, that I doubted their meaning; but your mother said, 'Don't be so stupid; let him have written what

Mutter aber sagte: sei nicht so umm, er mag geschrieben haben, as er will, so heisst es. Du sollst m schreiben, so oft Du kannst und as Du willst.—Ach ich kann Ihnen chts anders mittheilen, als blos, as in meinem Herzen vorgeht. O ürft ich, jetzt bei ihm sein, dacht' h so glühend hell sollte meine reudensonne ihm leuchten, wie ein Auge freundlich dem meinen begegnet. Ja wohl herrlich! in Purpurhimmel mein Gemüth ein armer Liebesthau meine Rede, ie Seele müsste wie eine Braut us ihrer Kammer treten, ohne chleier und sich bekennen: o Herr, Zukunft will ich Dich oft sehen nd lang' am Tage, und oft soll ihn n solcher Abend schliessen.

Ich gelobe es, dasjenige, was von er äusseren Welt unberührt in mir orgeht, heimlich und gewissenhaft emjenigen darzulegen, der so gern heil an mir nimmt, und dessen llumfassende Kraft den jungen Keimen meiner Brust Fülle beruchtender Nahrung verspricht.

Das Gemüth hat ohne Vertrauen n hartes Loos; es wächst langsam nd dürftig, wie eine heisse Pflanze wischen Felsen; so bin ich,—so ar ich bis heute,—und diese Hernsquelle, die nirgend wo ausrömen konnte, findet plötzlich en Weg an's Licht, und paradiesiche Ufer im Balsamduft blühender Gefilde, begleiten ihren Weg.

O Goethe! — meine Sehnsuchtt, ein Gefühl sind Melodieen, die ich ein Lied suchen, dem sie sich nschmiegen möchten. Darf ich nich anschmiegen?— dann sollen iese Melodieen so hoch steigen, ass sie Ihre Lieder begleiten könen.

Ihre Mutter schrieb wie von mir: ass ich keinen Anspruch an Antvorten mache; dass ich keine Zeit auben wolle, die Ewiges hervorringen kann; so ist es aber nicht: eine Seele schreit, wie ein durstiges Kindchen; alle Zeiten, zukünfge und verflossene, möchte ich in nich trinken, und mein Gewissen he will, the meaning is, you shall write to him as often as you can, and what you like!' Oh, I can impart nothing to you but that alone, which takes place in my heart. Oh, methought, could I now be with him, my sun of joy should illumine him with as bright a glow, as the friendly look with which his eye met mine. Yes, splendid indeed! A purple sky my mind, a warm love-dew my words, the soul *must* come forth like a bride from her chamber, without veil, and avow herself. O! master: in future I will see thee long and often by day, and often shall it be closed by such an evening.

I promise, that that which passes within me, untouched by the outward world, shall be secretly and religiously offered to him, who so willingly takes interest in me, and whose all-embracing power, promises the fulness of fruitful nourishment to the young germs of my breast.

"Without trust, the mind's lot is a hard one; it grows slowly and needily, like a hot plant betwixt rocks; thus am I,—thus was I, till today; and the fountain of the heart, which could stream nowhere forth, finds suddenly a passage into light, and banks of balsam-breathing fields, blooming like paradise, accompany its course.

"Oh, Goethe! my longings, my feelings, are melodies, which seek a song to which they may adapt themselves. Dare I do so?—then shall these melodies ascend high enough to accompany your songs.

"Your mother wrote, as from me, that I laid no claim to an answer to my letters, and that I would not rob that time which could produce for eternity: but so it is not; my soul cries like a thirsty babe; all this time, past and future, I would drink into myself, and my conscience would make me but small reproach,

würde mir wenig Bedenken machen, wenn die Welt von nun an weniger von Ihnen zu erfahren bekäme, und ich mehr. Bedenken Sie indess, dass nur wenig Worte von Ihnen ein grösseres Maass von Freude ausfüllen werden, als ich von aller späteren Zeit erwarte.—*Briefwechsel*, I, pp. 120–122.

if the world from this time forth should learn but little from you, and I more. Remember in the mean time, that only a few words from you fill up a greater measure of joy than I expect from all futurity."

The following letters indicate the manner in which Bettina responded to Goethe's desire for her ideas on music and art. We give Bettina's own translation with all its crudities of conception to an English mind. No letter in all their correspondence, probably, shows so strikingly the overpowering influence of Goethe's commanding genius on Bettina's mind. We therefore quote the letter at length:

Ich habe eine kalte Nacht verwacht um meinen Gedanken nachzugehen, weil Du so freundlich alles zu wissen verlangst, ich hab doch nicht alles aufschreiben können weil diese Gedanken zu flüchtig sind. Ach ja Goethe, wenn ich alles aufschreiben wollte wie wunderlich würde das sein. Nimm vorlieb, ergänze Dir alles in meinem Sinn, in dem Du ja doch zu Hause bist. Du und kein andrer hat mich je gemahnt Dir meine Seele mitzutheilen, und ich möchte Dir nichts vorenthalten, darum möcht ich aus mir heraus ans Licht treten, weil Du allein mich erleuchtest.....

Über Kunst. Ich hab sie nicht studirt, weiss nichts von ihrer Entstehung, ihrer Geschichte, ihrem Standpunkt. Wie sie einwirkt, wie die Menschen sie verstehen, das scheint mir unächt.

Die Kunst ist Heiligung der sinnlichen Natur, hiermit sag' ich alles was ich von ihr weiss. Was geliebt wird dass soll der Liebe dienen, der Geist ist das geliebte Kind Gottes, Gott erwählt ihn zum Dienst der sinnlichen Natur, das ist die Kunst. Offenbarung des Geistes in den Sinnen ist die Kunst. Was Du fühlst das wird Gedanke und was Du denkst, was Du zu erdenken strebst das wird sinnliches Gefühl.

"I have spent a cold night listening to my thoughts, because you in such a friendly manner ask to know all; yet I could not write all, these thoughts are too volatile. Ay! Goethe! should I write down all, how odd would that be! be contented with those, supply them in my mind, in which thou hast a home. You,—no other,—have ever reminded me to impart my soul to you, and I would withhold you nothing; therefore I would come forth to light out of myself, because you alone enlighten me.

* * *

"Art!—I have not studied it, I know nothing of its origin, of its history, its condition; how is its influence, how men understand it,—that seems unreal to me.

"Art is the hallowing, sensual nature, and that is all I know of it. What is beloved, shall serve to love: spirit is the beloved child of God,—chosen by God for the service of sensual nature, this is art. Intuition of spirit into the senses is art. What you feel becomes thought, and what you think, what you strive to invent, that becomes sensual feeling. What men compile in art, what they produce in it, how they

Was die Menschen in der Kunst usammen tragen, was sie hervor- ringen, wie sie sich durcharbeiten, as sie zu viel oder zu wenig un, das möchte manchen Wider- ruch erdulden, aber immer ist es n Buchstabiren des göttlichen Es erde.....

Ach was fragst Du nach der unst, ich kann Dir nichts genü- endes sagen? frage nach der iebe, die ist meine Kunst, in ihr ll ich darstellen, in ihr soll ich ich fassen und heiligen.

Ich fürchte mich vor Dir, ich irchte mich vor dem Geist den Du mir aufstehen heissest, weil ich n nicht aussprechen kann. Du gst in Deinem Brief der ganze ensch müsse aus sich heraustre- en an's Licht; nie hat dies einfache ntrügliche Gebot mir früher ein- eleuchtet, jetzt aber wo Deine eisheit mich an's Licht fordert, as hab ich da aufzuweissen als ur Verschuldungen gegen diesen neren Menschen; siehe da! er ar misshandelt und unterdrückt. -Ist aber dieses Hervortreten des neren Menschen an's Licht nicht ie Kunst?—Dieser innere Mensch er an's Licht begehrt, dass ihm ottes Finger die Zunge löse, das ehör entbinde, alle Sinne wecke, ass er empfange und ausgebe! -Und ist hier die Liebe nicht allein eisterin und wir ihre Schüler in edem Werke das wir durch ihre nspiration vollbringen.

Kunstwerke sind zwar allein das as wir Kunst nennen, durch was ir die Kunst zu erkennen und zu eniessen glauben. Aber so weit ie Erzeugung Gottes in Herz und eist, erhaben ist über die Begriffe nd Mittheilungen die wir uns von m machen, über die Gesetze die on ihm unter uns im zeitlichen eben gelten sollen, eben so erha- en ist die Kunst über das was die enschen unter sich von ihr gel- nd machen. Wer sie zu verstehen ähnt der wird nicht mehr leisten, s was der Verstand beherrscht. Vessen Sinne aber ihrem Geist un- erworfen sind, der hat die Offen- arung.....

force their way through it, what they do more or less, that would be submitted to many contradictions, but yet is it even a spelling of the divine, 'Let it be.' * * *

"Ah, what do you ask about art; I can say nothing that shall satisfy you. Ask about love, this is my art; in it I am to perform, in it I shall recollect myself and rejoice.

"I am afraid of you; I am afraid of the spirit which you bid to arise within me, because I am not able to express it. In your letter you say: 'The whole internal spirit shall come forth to light out of itself.' Never before has this simple infallible command been obvious to me; and now, where your wisdom calls me forth to light, what have I to display as only faults against this internal genius; look there!—misused and oppressed it was. But this breaking forth to light of the mind, is it not art? This inner man asking for light, to have by the finger of God loosened his tongue, untied his hearing, awakened all senses to receive and to spend; and is love here not the only master, and we its disciples in every work which we form by its inspiration?

"Works of art, however, are those which alone we call art, through which we think to perceive and enjoy art. But as far as the producing of God in heart and mind overpowers the idea we make to ourselves of him, and his laws, which in temporal life are of value, even so does art overpower men's valuing of it. They who fancy to understand it will perform no more than what is ruled by understanding; but whose senses are submitted to its spirit, he has revelation. * * *

Die Vorrathskammer der Erfahrung hat Vortheile aufgespeichert, diese benützen zu können nach Bedürfniss ist Meisterschaft, sie auf den Schüler über zu tragen ist Belehrung; hat der Schüler alles erfasst und versteht er es anzuwenden so wird er losgesprochen; dies ist die Schule durch welche die Kunst sich fortpflanzt. Ein so Losgesprochner ist Einer dem alle Irrwege zwar offen stehn aber nicht der rechte. Aus der langgewohnten Herberge in die die Lehre der Erfahrung ihn eingepfergt hatte, entlassen, ist die Wüste des Irrthums seine Welt, aus der es nicht heraus zu treten vermag, jeder Weg den er ergreift ist ein einseitiger Pfad des Irrthums, des göttlichen Geistes baar, durch Vorurtheile verleitet, sucht er seine Kunstgriffe in Anwendung zu bringen, hat er sie alle an seinem Gegenstand durchgesetzt, so hat er ein Kunstwerk hervorgebracht. Mehr hat noch nie das Bestreben eines durch die Kunstschule gebildeten Künstlers erworben. Wer je zu etwas gekommen ist in der Kunst, der hat seiner Kunstgriffe vergessen, dessen Fracht von Erfahrungen hat Schiffbruch gelitten und die Verzweiflung hat ihm am rechten Ufer landen lassen. Was aus solcher gewaltsamen Epoche hervorgeht, is zwar oft ergreifend aber nicht überzeugend, weil der Maasstab des Urtheils und des Begriffs immer nur jene Erfahrungen und Kunstgriffe sind die nicht passen, wo das Erzeugniss nicht durch sie vermittelt ist; dann auch: weil das Vorurtheil der errungnen Meisterschaft, nicht zulässt dass etwas sei was nicht in ihm begriffen ist; und so die Ahnung einer höheren Welt ihm verschlossen bleibt. Die Erfindung dieser Meisterschaft wird gerechtfertigt durch den Grundsatz: Es ist nichts Neues, alles ist vor der Imagination erfunden. Ihre Erzeugnisse theilen sich in den Missbrauch des Erfundenen, zu neuen Erfindungen, in das Scheinerfinden wo das

" To improve the advantages of experiences as they ought to be, is mastership; to transfer them on the scholar is teaching; has the scholar comprehended all and understands how to employ it, then he becomes absolved; this is the school by which art will be transplanted. To one in such a manner absolved all ways of error are open, but never the right one. Once released from the long frequented school in which system and experience had enclosed him, the labyrinth of errors becomes his world, from which he may never escape. Every way he will choose, is a misguiding path of error; void of divine spirit, misled by prejudices, he tries to employ all his artificial craft to bring the object of his labor to a good issue. More will never be attained by the endeavors of an artist educated in the school of art. Whoever is come to something in art, did forget of his craftiness; his load of experiences became shipwrecked, and despair led him to land on the right shore. What from such a violent epoch will proceed, is indeed often captivating, but not convincing, because the scale of judgment and of perception is no other than those experiences, and artifices, which never suit where production will not be made up by means of them; then also, because the prejudices of an obtained mastership will not allow of anything to be, that depends not on its authority; and because the presentiment of a higher world will thus remain closed to it. The invention of this mastership is justified by the principle, that there is nothing new; that all is invented before imagination; such productions are partly an abuse of that which is invented, to new inventions, partly apparent inventions, where the work of art has not the thought within itself, but must make up for its want by the devices and experiences of the school of art; and finally productions, which go just as far as thought

Kunstwerk nicht den Gedanken in
ch tragt, sondern seine Entbeh-
ung durch die Kunstgriffe und
rfahrung der Kunstschule ver-
ittelt sind, und in die Erzeugun-
en die so weit gehen als dem
edanken durch Bildung erlaubt
t etwas zu fassen. Je kluger, je
bwägender, je fehlerfreier, je siche-
er: je wohl verstandener von und
ir die Menge und diess nennen wir
Kunstwerke.....

In der Musik ist die Erzeugung
elbst ein Wandeln der göttlichen
rkenntniss die in den Menschen
ereinleuchtet ohne Gegenstand,
nd der Mensch selbst ist die Emp-
ingniss.—In allem ist ein Verein
er Liebe, ein Ineinanderfügen geis-
ger Kräfte.

Jede Erregung wird Sprache,
ufforderung an den Geist;—er
ntwortet: und dies ist Erfindung.
-Dies also ist die geheime Grund-
ge der Erfindung: das Vermögen
es Geistes auf eine Frage zu ant-
orten, die nicht einen bestimmten
egenstand zur Aufgabe hat, son-
ern die vielleicht bewusstlose Ten-
enz der Erzeugung ist.

Alle Regungen ist geistiger Erei-
nisse des Lebens nach aussen,
aben einen solchen tief verborg-
en Grund; so wie der Lebens-
them sich in die Brust senkt um
uf's neue Athem zu schöpfen, so
enkt sich der erzeugende Geist in
ie Seele um auf's neue in die hö-
ere Region ewiger Schöpfungs-
raft aufzusteigen.

Die Seele athmet durch den Geist,
er Geist athmet durch die Inspira-
on, und die ist das Athmen der
ottheit.

Das Aufathmen des göttlichen
eistes ist Schöpfen, Erzungen; das
enken des göttlichen Athems ist
ebären und Ernähen des Geistes,
-so erzeugt und gebärt und ernährt
ch das Gottliche im Geist; so,
urch den Geist in der Seele, so
urch die Seele in dem Lieb, der
ieb ist die Kunst,—sie ist die
nnliche Natur in's Leben des
eistes erzeugt.

by improvement is allowed to comprehend; the more prudently balancing, the more faultless and secure; the more comprehensible, too, for the multitude; these we call works of art. * * *

"In music producing is itself a wandering of the divine idea, which enlightens the mind without object, and man himself is conception. In all is union of love, a joining of mental forces one in another.

"Excitement becomes language, a summons to the spirit; it answers, and this is invention. This also is the secret base of invention: the faculty of mind to answer a demand; which has no fixed object as problem, but is the perhaps unconscious tendency of production.

"All motions of mental events in life have such a deep hidden basis: thus, as the breath of life sinks into the breast, to draw breath anew, so the procreating spirit sinks into the soul, again to ascend to the higher regions of eternal creative power.

"The soul breathes by spirit, spirit breathes by inspiration, and this is the breathing of the divinity.

"To inhale the divine spirit is to engenerate, to produce; to exhale the divine breath is to breed and nourish the mind: thus the divine engenerates, breeds, and nourishes itself in the spirit; thus through spirit in the soul, thus through the soul in the body. Body is art; art is the sensual nature, engenerated into the life of spirit.

In der Künstlersprache heisst es; Es kann nichts neues erfunden werden, alles ist schon vorher da gewesen; ja! wir konnen auch nur im Menschen erfinden, ausser ihm giebt es nichts, denn da ist der Geist nicht, denn Gott selbst hat keine andere Herberge als den Geist des Menschen. Der Erfinder ist die Liebe. Da nur das Umfassen der Liebe das Dasein gründet, so liegt ausser diesem Umfassten kein Dasein, kein Erfundenes.—Das Erfinden ist nur ein Gewahrwerden wie der Geist der Liebe in dem von ihr begründeten Dasein waltet.

Der Mensch kann nicht erfinden, sondern nur sich selbst empfinden, nur auffassen, erkennen was der Geist der Liebe zu ihm spricht, wie er sich in ihm nährt, und ihn durch sich belehrt.—Ausser diesem Gewahrwerden der göttlichen Liebe, in Sprache der Erkenntniss umsetzen: ist keine Erfindung.—*Briefwechsel*, II, pp. 289–298.

"In the style of art they say: nothing that is new is to be invented, all has existed before: Yes! we can but invent in mankind, nothing is without them, for spirit is not without man, for God himself has no other harbour but the spirit of man. The inventor is love; and because embracing love alone is the foundation of existence, therefore, beyond this embraced one, there is no being, no invention. Invention is only perceiving how the genius of love rules in the being founded by love.

"Man cannot invent, only feel himself; only conceive, learn, what the genius of love speaks to him; how it nourishes itself in him, and how it teaches him by itself. Without transforming this perception of divine love into the language of knowledge, there is no invention."

The following letter from Bettina on music is also interesting. In this instance, as heretofore, we give Bettina's English version, not, however, without feeling a strong temptation to tamper with it:

Ja das hat der Christian Schlosser gesagt: Du verstündest keine Musik, Du fürchtest Dich vor dem Tod, und habest keine Religion, was soll ich dazu sagen?—ich bin so dumm wie stumm, wenn ich so empfindlich gekränkt werde. Ach Goethe, wenn man kein Obdach hätte, das vor schlechtem Wetter schützt, so könnte einem der kalte, lieblose Wind schon was anhaben, aber so ich weiss Dich in Dir selber geborgen; die drei Räthsel aber sind mir eine Aufgabe. Ich möchte Dir nach allen Seiten hin Musik erklären, und fühl' doch selbst, dass sie übersinnlich ist, und von mir unverstanden; dennoch kann ich nicht weichen von diesem Unauflösbaren und bete zu ihm: nicht dass ich es begreifen möge; nein,

"Yes! Christian Schlosser said, that you understand nothing of music, that you fear death, and have no religion; what shall I say to this? I am as stupid as I am mute, when I am so sensibly hurt. Ah! Goethe, if one had no shelter, which could protect in bad weather, the cold, loveless wind might harm one; but I know you to be sheltered within yourself; but these three riddles are a problem to me. I would fain explain to you music in all its bearings, and yet I myself feel, that it is beyond sense, and not understood by me; nevertheless, I cannot retire from this indissoluble, and I pray to it; no, the inconceivable is ever—God; and there is no medium world, in which other secrets can be hidden. Since

s Unbegreifliche ist immer Gott, d es giebt keine Zwischenwelt, in r noch andere Geheimnisse be-ündet wären. Da Musik unbe-eiflich ist, so ist sie gewiss Gott; es muss ich sagen, und Du wirst t Deinem Begriff von der Terz d der Quint mich auslachen! ein. Du bist zu gut, du lachst nicht; d denn bist du auch zu weise; Du rst wohl gerne Deine Studien d errungenen Begriffe aufgeben gen ein solches, alles heiligende eheimniss des göttlichen Geistes der Musik. Was lohnte denn ch die Mühe der Forschung, enn es nicht dies wäre! nach was nnen wir forschen, was bewegt s, als nur das Göttliche!—und s können Dir andere, die Wohl-ıdirten, Besseres und Höheres rüber sagen;—und wenn einer gegen was aufbringen wollte,— isste er sich nicht schämen? enn einer sagen wollte: Musik nur da, dass der Menschengeist h darin ausbilde?—Nun ja! wir len uns in Gott bilden. Wenn er sagt, sie sei nur Vermittlung n Göttlichen, sie sei nicht Gott bst! Nein, Ihr falschen Kehlen, er eitler Gesang ist nich göttlich rchdrungen. Ach, die Gottheit bst lehrt uns den Buchstaben greifen, damit wir gleich ihr, aus nem Vermögen im Reich der ttheit regieren lernen. Alles rnen in der Kunst ist nur dazu, ss wir den Grund der Selbstständ-keit in uns legen, und dass es ser Errungenes bleibe. Einer gte von Christus, dass er nichts n Musik gewusst habe; dagegen nnte ich nichts sagen; einmal iss ich seinen Lebenslauf nicht nau, und dann was mir dabei fiel, kann ich nur Dir sagen, schon ich nicht weiss, was Du zu sagen wirst. Christus sagt: uch Euer Leib soll verklärt wer-n!" Ist nun Musik nicht die Ver-rung der sinnlichen Natur?— ührt Musik nicht unsere Sinne, s sie sich eingeschmolzen fühlen die Harmonie der Töne, die Du

music is inconceivable, so is it surely God; this I must say, and you will, with your notion of the 'terz' and the 'quint,' laugh at me! No! you are too good, you will not laugh; and then you are also too wise; you will surely willingly give up your studies and your conquered ideas, for such an all-hallowing mystery of the divine spirit in music. What could repay the pains of inquiry, if it were not this? After what could we inquire, which moves us, except the divine only? And what can others, the well-studied, say better or higher upon it;—and if one of them should bring something forward against it, must he not be ashamed? If one should say, 'music is there, only that the human spirit may perfect itself therein.' Well, yes! we should perfect ourselves in God! If one say, it is only the connecting link with the divine, but not God himself! No, ye false voices, your vain song is not divinely imbued! Ah! divinity itself teaches us to understand the signs, that like it, by our own power, we may learn to govern in the realm of divinity. All *learning* in art, is only that we may lay the foundation of self-dependence within us, and that it may remain our conquest. Some one has said of Christ, that he knew nothing of music: to this I could answer nothing; in the first place, I am not nearly enough acquainted with his course of life; and then what struck me at the time, I can only say to *you*, although I do not know what you may answer to it. Christ says: 'Your body also shall be glorified.' Is not music now the glorifying of sensual nature? Does not music so touch our senses, that we feel them melted into the harmony of the tones, which you choose to reckon by terz and quint? Only learn to understand! you will wonder so much the more at the inconceivable. The senses flow on the stream of inspiration, and that exalts them. All which spiritually lays claim on man, here goes over

mit Terz und Quint berechnen willst?—Lerne nur verstehen,—Du wirst um so mehr Dich wundern über das Unbegreifliche. Die Sinne fliessen in den Strom der Begeisterung, und das erhöht sie. Alles was den Menschen geistigerweise anspricht, geht hier in die Sinne über; drum fühlt' er sich auch durch sie zu allem bewegt. Liebe und Freundschaft und kriegerischer Muth, und Sehnsucht nach der Gottheit—alles wallt im Blut; das Blut ist geheiligt; es entzündet den Leib, dass er mit dem Geist zusammen dasselbe wolle. Das ist die Wirkung der Musik auf die Sinne; das ist die Verklärung des Leibes; die Sinne von Christus waren eingeschmolzen in den göttlichen Geist; sie wollten mit ihm dasselbe; er sagt: "Was Ihr berührt mit dem Geist, wie mit den Sinnen, das sei göttlich, denn dann wird Euer Leib auch Geist." Siehst Du, das hab' ich ungefähr empfunden und gedacht da, man sagte, Christus habe nichts von Musik gewusst.—*Briefwechsel*, I, pp. 300–302.

Talent überzeugt, aber Genie überzeugt nicht; dem, dem es sich mittheilt, giebt es die Ahndung vom Ungemessenen, Unendlichen, während Talent eine genaue Grenze absteckt und so, weil es begriffen ist, auch behauptet wird.

Das Unendliche im Endlichen, das Genie in jeder Kunst ist Musik.—In sich selbst aber ist sie die Seele, indem sie zärtlich rührt; indem sie aber sich dieser Rührung bemächtigt, da ist sie Geist, der seine eigne Seele wärmt, nährt, trägt, wiedergebärt; und darum vernehmen wir Musik, sonst würde das sinnliche Ohr sie nicht hören, sondern nur der Geist; und so ist jede Kunst der Leib der Musik, die die Seele jeder Kunst ist; und so ist Musik auch die Seele der Liebe, die auch in ihrem Wirken keine Rechenschaft giebt, denn sie ist das Berühren des Göttlichen mit dem Menschlichen, und auf

to the senses; therefore it is that through them he feels himself moved to all things. Love and friendship and warlike courage, and longing after the divinity, all boil in the blood; the blood is hallowed; it inflames the body, that it becomes of one instinct with the spirit. This is the effect of music on the senses, this is the glorifying of the body; the senses of Christ were dissolved in the divine spirit; they were of one instinct with him; he said: 'What ye touch with the spirit, as with the senses, must be divine, for then your body becomes also spirit.' Look! this I myself almost felt and thought, when it was said that Christ knew nothing about music."

"Talent strikes conviction, but genius does not convince; to whom it is imparted, it gives forebodings of the immeasurable and infinite, while talent sets certain limits, and so, because it is understood, is also maintained.

"The infinite in the finite,—genius in every art is music. In itself, it is the soul, when it touches tenderly, but when it masters this affection, then it is spirit which warms, nourishes, bears, and reproduces the own soul,—and, therefore, we perceive music: otherwise, the sensual ear would not hear it, but only the spiritual: and thus every art is the body of music, which is the soul of every art: and so is music, too, the soul of love, which also answers not for its working; for it is the contact of divine with human; and, once for all, the divine is the passion which consumes the human. Love expresses nothing through itself, but

n Fall ist das Göttliche die lenschaft die das Menschliche ehrt. Liebe spricht nichts für aus, als dass sie in Harmonie unken ist; Liebe ist flüssig, sie iegt in ihrem eignen Element; monie ist ihr Element.—*Brief-hsel*, I, p. 181.

h wünsch' es Dir Goethe, und glaub' es auch fest, dass all' Forschen, deine Erkennt- und das was die Muse Dir t und endlich auch deine Liebe int deinem Geist einen verklär- Leib bilden, und dass der dem chen Leib nicht mehr unter- fen sein werde wenn er ihn gt, sondern schon ihm jenen tigen Leib übergeströmt. Ster- muss Du nicht, sterben muss der dessen Geist den Ausweg t findet. Denken beflügelt den t, der beflügelte Geist stirbt t, er findet nicht zuruck in den .—*Briefwechsel*, II, p. 4.

erzeihe mir, dass ich so mit spreche, gleichsam ohne Basis, n mir schwindelt, und ich e kaum an, was ich sagen hte und vergesse alles so leicht ler; aber wenn ich in Dich das rauen nicht haben sollte Dir zu ennen, was sich mir aufdringt, n sollte ich's sonst mittheilen! *riefwechsel*, I, p. 302.

that it is sunk in harmony. Love is fluid; it flows in its own element, and that element is harmony."

"I wish for you, Goethe, and I believe it firmly too, that all your inquiry, your knowledge, and that which the Muse teaches you, and lastly also thy love, may, united, form a glorified body for thy spirit, that it may no longer be subject to the earthly body, when it puts it off, but may already have passed over into that spiritual body. Die you must not, he only must die whose spirit does not find the outlet. Thought wings the spirit, the winged spirit does not die, it finds not back the way to death."

"Pardon me, that I thus speak with you, nearly without substantial ground, for I am giddy, and I scarcely perceive that which I would say, and forget all so easily again; but if I could not have confidence in you, to confess that which occurs to me, to whom should I impart it?"

The history of an experience—of the growth of a mind and development of a character—is correctly the life of an indi- ual. This is something that can seldom be written of any . Bettina's life in such a sense is replete with interest; ectively, facts of her career are numerous and of a specially eptional character. Filling, as she does, a larger space in literary history of the nineteenth century than any other rman woman, her singular career cannot but interest all o study that brilliant epoch in the literature of the Father- d, which was outlined by the life and works of the great ethe. Bettina was the sister of Clemens Brentano, a brilliant matist and novelist, whose plays still keep possession of German stage; the daughter of General Brentano, who

died in the Prussian service, and of Maximiliane, daughter of Sophia de la Roche, a very talented German authoress, whose family circle at Ehrenbreitstein is so charmingly described by Goethe in his *Wahrheit und Dichtung*. Bettina inherited the imaginative powers and philosophic cast of mind which distinguished this gifted woman; but, as she did not receive a similarly rigorous mental training, romance and philosophy frequently burst their bounds and run riot in her mind.

Bettina's was not a character formed by study. She had no great fondness for books. But her mind was singularly reflective and keenly susceptible to impression. She had, withal, a deep, innate sense of the divine and the beautiful, and its revelation in nature and art was the subject of her early contemplation. It was this that bowed down her nature to worship Goethe. She grasped and analyzed with rare skill the spirit's manifestation in men and things, this strange natural aptitude being fostered by the fact that she was educated in peculiar freedom from the restraints which ordinarily invest a woman's life; for, as her parents died when she was very young, Bettina was left very much to her own guidance. She was indeed a veritable child of nature. Her being chafed under restraint. She so disregarded the conventionality and repressing formalism of her elevated social position that she was considered wild and eccentric; while her attractive presence and sparkling displays of intellect made her a favorite even with those who had little sympathy with her eccentricities of conduct and sentiment. In the daring and power with which she seeks the heights and depths of vital questions, and the facility with which she comprehends their bearings, we recognize the wild young creature who scaled the dizzy heights of the Rhinegau, penetrated the cavernous chambers of a mine, and found in a simple Rhine boatman an epitome of many climes and tongues.

From her earliest childhood Bettina associated with the greatest of Germany's great men and women: she was born in their midst. Her beauty, vivacity and evident genius gave her an assured position in literary circles of the most exclusive character. It is not strange, therefore, that her singularly

eptive mind should have found itself possessed of ideas
l sentiments that struggled for expression before her
ellect was sufficiently mature to grasp their entirety.
e attacked questions that perplexed the gravest minds of
time; and, far from ridiculing the child's ineffectual
empts to solve them, we should rather wonder that she
estled with them so well.

Her early marriage with the distinguished writer, Ludwig
him von Arnim, widened still more her restless literary
ivity. Her home at Berlin was long the great attraction of
t literary metropolis, while she was a privileged favorite of
Prussian King. Her marriage was a most happy one, but
he midst of her brilliant career she ceased not in her wor-
o of Goethe; and when, on the death of the gifted Von
im, she retired to a comparatively quiet life, she exerted
energies to the laborious task of collecting and translating
o a then unknown tongue her correspondence with the great
n whose name first awakened her genius. Until her com-
atively recent death (1848), Bettina was the precious link
t bound the living to Goethe—the present to the past.

The glowing enthusiasm of Bettina's worship never faded
ay. The simple ardor and freshness of spirit which marked
first utterance to the great poet pervaded all that followed,
appear as a veritable inspiration in the lofty panegyric
ressed to his departed spirit; while they are touchingly
nifest in the zealous devotion to his memory,—even to the
y hour of her death, nearly thirty years afterward. The
ild" of the correspondence never ceased to be a child in
true sense of the word, and, viewed in her relation to
ethe, seems a blossom upon which the morning dew is still
ing.

One by one the memorials of Goethe's life are passing
ay. The friends with whom he lived and conversed are gone.
those who ever beheld the deep, penetrating fire of his
nce, and heard the mellifluous tones of his voice, but few
still living. His works remain. They will be to his
mory as a monument of imperishable adamant, whose many-
ed, glittering proportions reflect every phase and shade of

human thought and feeling. It is through the written record of his life, as through an atmosphere of noonday clearness, that their full splendor flashes upon us. And when we are dazzled and bewildered by the exceeding brightness, we understand the rhapsodies of the lively, open-hearted child who felt so powerfully the effulgence of his genius.

To know Goethe's power of intellect and wealth of learning is not needful. Human nature was to him the prince of studies; and for every rank and condition in life, his wide sympathy found expression. The simple peasant of the Black Forest makes the dark solitude resound with songs that tell of his own humble joys, and the soft ditty which the Suabian maiden hums at her wheel, breathes the quiet, cheerful content that blesses the lot of those who toil and spin for rude fare and coarse raiment. Even the clear, wild plaint which the Rhine boatman flings out upon the evening air is Goethe's own prayer for those who day and night stem the sweeping current. All Germany says "Our Goethe," for in the mirror which he held up to nature, high and low alike catch their own reflection.

Whatever truth there may be in the old saying that "every true poet is the child of his time" was most forcibly exemplified in Goethe. Born in a period of general unrest, a period of reaction against the stiff formalism of the past, he quickly imbibed the discontent with the existing order of things which pervaded all classes, and entered with his whole might into that great struggle for freedom and light which for many years agitated Germany. Even in his childish vagaries we can catch a presentiment of that gloomy doubt and melancholy unrest, which afterward burst forth in *Werther*, with a wail that rang through all Europe. All his life long he was a powerful exponent of his time, and his works show forth not only his own nature, but that of the people for whom he wrote. His intellectual progress, his spiritual and moral history were theirs, and were a true index of the struggling tendencies of the age. His life was a constant, toilsome striving after excellence. To use his own words, he "struggled toughly" for truth. From the time when, amid the wild cry for light

which rent the air on every side, his eyes first opened to the day, until the hour when they closed in death, it was Goethe's earnest aim to find the light and to lead others to it. He suffered bitterly under the perplexities of the time, but he mastered them and entered into the light, drawing others with him. But his accurate vision discerned from afar the infinitude of the glory to which he had attained, and to increase the human capacity for receiving the quickening ray was his lofty endeavor. Calm, patient, unhasting, unresting, Goethe finished his course in the serene peace of an exalted spirituality, to the last mindful of them who looked to him as their leader. Even his final words in departing were a redoubled echo of those which had so long before greeted his new-born presence: *Licht, mehr licht.*

As the birth of Goethe marked a new era, and as his life shed light upon the dark places of thought, so in his death was old age glorified. The mellow splendor of that evening was a fitting close to a long, glorious day. The clear radiance of morning, the dazzling brightness of noonday, melted into a soft golden glory that long remained, and scarcely seemed a presage of fading light, but rather as the gentle glow of a new day eternal that had already begun to dawn.

The eventful career of Goethe was rounded with a fulness of years that reached far beyond the commonly allotted span. His unwearied activity continued to the very last. His mental faculties remained singularly clear and vigorous; while the power of his august personality was heightened by the heavenly mildness and celestial peace which filled his being and rested like a benediction upon those in his presence.

Goethe's death was more like an apotheosis. The unusual assiduity with which he had for some years previous applied himself to the observation and study of natural phenomena, together with the valuable discoveries made by him, when near his eightieth year, in the metamorphosis of plants and also in the nature of light and vision, were a fitting prelude to the great physical change that awaited him, and to his own entrance into the realm of light. Indeed, his majestic utterance became marked by such force and depth of spiritual meaning,

that it seemed as if the wisdom of a nobler world were already revealing itself to him. With a slow majesty, unhasting, unresting, Goethe approached the end. It was near noon on a bright day in Spring, when he laid aside his pen and asked for the shutters to be opened that more light might enter. As the sunlight flooded the room, he quietly left his earthly garment and blissfully passed forth into the light and became one with it. *So stirbt ein Held: anbetungsvoll!* (So dies a hero: sight to be worshipped.)

Goethe thought Schiller happy because he died young, in the full vigor of his days, that he could "figure him as a youth forever." The world deems Goethe thrice happy that he departed in the fulness of time, that he can be pictured forever as a seer whose sacred head is circled with an *aureola* of divine light.

It is a peculiarity of many-sided natures that they should be able to inspire the most contradictory opinions of their character, and this in proportion to the force and intensity of their talent or genius. Among the admirers and detractors of a great universal nature, it seems inevitable that there should be but comparatively few with vision and sentiment sufficiently broad and elevating to enable them to grasp its entirety and feel its multifarious workings. The judgment of each is shaped by his own peculiar mental bias, and tinged with his individual prejudices. One will not accept another's version of this or that thought; while scarcely any two can agree upon the inciting motive of a given action. This divergence of judgment is not unfrequently carried to a ridiculous extent How much fruitless discussion has there been as to the religious belief of Shakespeare! Until the end of time it will probably afford material for acrimonious debate. Whether the tint of Hamlet's complexion was a dusky olive or the dazzling pink and white of the conch, may also excite disputation. As in the case of Shakespeare, the personal identity may be mooted, and to settle the question no means is too audacious or absurd. The sanctity of the tomb may be invaded or the spirit summoned from another world, if such a thing were possible, to give an account of itself. Even the dread anathema of the

departed against any who should disturb his bones, scarcely avails for their protection. It is a sad reflection upon the reverent appreciation due the great who have evolved such wonderful music from the simple gamut of human feeling, that their personality has no rights to be respected, and that their frailties are sure to be dragged forth and obtruded upon public notice.

Goethe was preëminently a many-sided man, and we can only imagine what the result would have been had he not lived long enough to answer his critics; to review in detail the wide range of his activity, and to reveal the true inwardness of his intellectual and spiritual development. The unique manner in which Goethe handled a subject would have been the despair of those who seek to elucidate a theme by bringing to bear upon it a great apparatus of philosophy and hypothesis. We can easily conceive what a confusion of tongues —what a separation into critical tribes—there would have been among those who endeavored to build a tower of refuge, a standard of literary criticism that was based upon his style, had he not lived to explain his method. "Time," says Goethe, "is a strange thing. It is a whimsical tyrant, which in every century has a different face for all that one says and does." * Goethe did not seize boldly upon a great subject, and by turning it this and that way produce brilliant surface effects; but he saw into his subject, as it were, and by a quiet development from its interior, he unfolded an outward form that was nature itself. Thus it is that a certain childlike purity of mind is requisite duly to appreciate the classic simplicity and enchanting grace of his creations. His method is no cunning artifice, no mystery to be unlocked, but the true, simple course which the intellect must take with nature to make her reveal her mysteries. His works are a richly provided banquet of which all who approach in the right spirit may partake, and to which they may bear witness as the great source of life from which they have drawn. His greatness astonishes anew at

* Und dann ist die Zeit ein wunderlich Ding. Sie ist ein Tyrann, der seine Launen hat, und der zu dem, was einer sagt und thut, in jedem Jahrhundert ein ander Gesicht macht.—*Gespräche*, III, p. 116.

every reading. He was a man of himself. So mightily does his genius loom above the ordinary mind, that it is only possible to retain a realizing sense of his greatness by a frequent renewal of impressions. Still, as in nature there is no isolation, and as everything is connected in some way with what is about it, so Goethe cannot be viewed aright, except in connection with his contemporaries and the time in which he lived. His nature seems phenomenal, yet it did not spring from nothing. He was a product of the age, which acted upon him, and upon which he in turn reacted. He took root in the antique and the best which had been done before him. He used the advantages of his time and owed much to his contemporaries and predecessors. But, generally speaking, his contemporaries did not harmonize with him any more than they did with each other. During the earlier years of that formative period strange things were seen; particularly in that known as the *Sturm und Drang* period, when there was on every side a wild impetuosity among men to break through a limited mannerism to nature and freedom, without any trace of a similar direction and a common interest. "They seem to me," said Goethe long afterward, "like billiard balls which run blindly by one another on the green cover without knowing anything of each other; and which, if they come in contact, only recede so much the farther from one another."* Goethe spoke of his antagonists as a race which would never become extinct:

"Their number," he said, "is legion; yet they may be in some degree classified. First, there are my antagonists from stupidity—those who do not understand me, and find fault with me without knowing me. This large company has wearied me much in the course of my life, yet they shall be forgiven, for they knew not what they did.

"The second large class is composed of those who envy me. These grudge me the fortune and dignified station I have attained

* Man sieht lauter gewissermassen bedeutende Menschen, aber keine Spur von gleicher Richtung und gemeinsamen Interesse, sondern jeder rund abgeschlossen für sich und seinen eigenen Weg gehend, ohne im geringsten an den Bestrebungen des Andern Theil zu nehmen. Sie sind mir vorgekommen wie die Billardkugeln, die auf der grünen Decke blind durch einander laufen ohne von einander zu wissen und die, sobald sie sich berühren, nur desto weiter auseinander fahren.—*Gespräche*, II, 343.

through my talents. They pluck at my fame, and would like to destroy me. If I was poor and miserable, they would assail me no more.

"There are many who have been my adversaries because they have failed themselves. In this class are many of fine talent, but they cannot forgive me for casting them into the shade. Fourthly, there are my antagonists from *reasons*. For, as I am a human being, and as such have human faults and weaknesses, my writings cannot be free from them. Yet as I was constantly bent on my own improvement and always striving to ennoble myself, I was in a state of constant progress, and it often happened that they blamed me for faults which I had long since left behind. * * * Another large class comprises those who are adversaries because they differ from me in their views and modes of thought. It is said of the leaves on a tree that you will scarcely find two perfectly alike, and thus, among a thousand men, you will scarcely find two who harmonize entirely in their views and ways of thinking. Allowing this, I ought less to wonder at having so many opponents than at having so many friends and adherents."*

Above all others, Goethe mastered the art of writing German; yet his style was so severely judged that, he said, had he listened to the criticisms on *Werther*, there would not have been a line of it left; and a well-meaning critic once told him that he ought to write like Schiller. To appreciate the

* Ihre Zahl ist Legion, doch ist es nicht unmöglich, sie einigermassen zu classificiren. Zuerst nenne ich meine Gegner aus Dummheit; es sind solche, die mich nicht verstanden, und die mich tadelten, ohne mich zu kennen. Diese ansehnliche Masse hat mir in meinem Leben viele Langeweile gemacht; doch es soll ihnen verziehen sein, denn sie wussten nicht was sie thaten.

Eine zweite grosse Menge bilden sodann meine Neider. Diese Leute gönnen mir des Glück und die ehrenvolle Stellung nicht, die ich durch mein Talent mir erworben. Sie zerren an meinem Ruhm und hätten mich gerne vernichtet. Wäre ich unglücklich und elend, so würden sie aufhören.

Ferner kommt eine grosse Anzahl derer, die aus Mangel an eigenem Success meine Gegner geworden. Es sind begabte Talente darunter, allein sie können mir nicht verzeihen, dass ich sie verdunkele!

Viertens nenne ich meine Gegner aus *Gründen*. Denn da ich ein Mensch bin und als solcher menschliche Fehler und Schwächen habe, so können auch meine Schriften davon nicht frei sein. Da es mir aber mit meiner Bildung ernst war ich an meiner Veredelung unablässig arbeitete, so war ich im beständigen Fortstreben begriffen, und es ereignete sich oft, dass sie mich wegen eines Fehlers tadelten, den ich längst abgelegt hatte.....Eine fernere grosse Masse zeigt sich als meine Gegner aus abweichender Denkungsweise und verschiedenen Ansichten. Man sagt von den Blättern eines Baumes, das deren kaum zwei vollkommen gleich befunden werden, und so möchten sich auch unter tausend Menschen kaum zwei finden, die in ihrer Gesinnungs und Denkungsweise vollkommen harmoniren.

Setze ich dieses voraus, so sollte ich mich billig weniger darüber wundern, dass die Zahl meiner Widersacher so gross ist, als vielmehr darüber, dass ich noch so viele Freunde und Anhänger habe.—*Gespräche*, I, p. 43.

ridiculous absurdity of such an idea it would be only necessary to compare *Götz* and *The Robbers*, *Faust* and *Wallenstein*.

The naturally subjective tendency of their minds led the Germans to imagine that there was always some abstract thought, some occult meaning in the writings of Goethe. He was continually besieged with questions as to what idea he meant to embody in this or that production, and was often implored for the key to a mystery where no mystery existed. Goethe did not strive to embody the abstract. His mind received impressions just as a lively imagination presented them; and, as a poet, he rounded them off and elaborated them with an artistic completeness and finish that made their simplicity a marvel and puzzle to his deep-thinking countrymen. The hypothetical invention of the German mind seemed to reach a fantastic grotesqueness in the abstruse speculations and conjectures which greeted the appearance of Goethe's last work, the *Helena*, or second part of *Faust*. Goethe himself was amused at the far-fetched suppositions excited by certain imaginary problems in this work, particularly by the enigma thought to be contained in the words, *Die Mütter! Mütter! 's klingt so wunderlich!* (The mothers! mothers! Nay, it sounds so strange.)

Thus, then, we repeat, we can only imagine what the result would have been if Goethe had not lived to explain himself and to say of his productions: *Sie ist Bein von meinem Bein und Fleisch von meinem Fleisch.* (They are bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh.)

In order to form an adequate estimate of Goethe's works, the changing course of his earthly career and of his mental condition should be most carefully studied, for his different productions are as different fruits of different epochs of his life. A wide field of vision is open to those who have the faculty of seeing more than is expressed, and what can only be read between the lines. The personal character of few men was ever assailed with a more virulent aspersion. His opponents made weapons of some facts which were, perhaps, with a passing show of reason, urged against him. But no one can read the touching account of his early attachment for

Lili, and its sad termination, without realizing how darkly such an event might shadow the life of a man who, possessing a deeply passionate nature together with a lofty ideal, was actually forced into the society of brilliant, gifted women, without feeling drawn toward any sufficiently to form a pure, lasting attachment. Even the most prejudiced might find some degree of palliation in the ring of true pathos that characterized the aged poet's *résumé* of his splendid career:

" A widespread celebrity, an elevated position in life are good things. * * * I have ever been esteemed one of Fortune's chiefest favorites; nor can I complain of the course my life has taken. Yet, truly, there has been nothing but toil and care; and, in my seventy-fifth year, I may say that I have never had a month of genuine comfort. * * * The claims upon my activity, both from within and without, were too numerous. My real happiness was my poetic meditation and production. But how was this disturbed, limited and hindered by my external position! Had I been able to live more in solitude I should have been happier and should have accomplished much more as a poet." ....." I have never been so near a happiness after my own heart as during the time of my love for Lili. * * * My affection for her had about it something so delicate, and something so peculiar, that even now in the representation of that painfully happy epoch, it has an influence upon my style. * * * She was the first whom I deeply and truly loved. I may also say she was the last, for all the little affections which I have felt in the after part of my life are, when compared with this first one, only light and superficial. * * * The obstacles which separated us were not really insurmountable, and yet she was lost to me." *

* Ein weit verbreiteter Name, eine hohe Stellung im Leben sind gute Dinge. .....Man hat mich immer als einen vom Glück besonders Begünstigten gepriesen; auch will ich mich nicht beklagen und den Sang meinem Lebens nicht schelten. Allein im Grunde ist es nichts als Mühe und Arbeit gewesen, und ich kann wohl sagen, dass ich in meinen fünf und siebzig Jahren keine vier Wochen eigentliches Behagen gehabt. ..... Der Ansprüche an meine Thätigkeit, sowohl von Aussen als Innen, waren zu viele. Mein eigentliches Glück war mein politisches [*sic*] Sinnen und Schaffen. Allein wie sehr war dieses durch meine äussere Stellung gestört, beschränkt und gehindert. Hätte ich mich mehr von öffentlichen und geschäftlichen Wirken und Treiben zurückhalten und mehr in der Einsamkeit leben können, ich wäre glücklicher gewesen und würde als Dichter weit mehr gemacht haben.—*Gespräche*, I, p. 123. Ich bin meinem eigentlichen Glücke nie so nahe gewesen als in der Zeit jener Liebe zu Lili. ..... Meine Neigung zu ihr hatte etwas so Delicates und etwas so Eigenthümliches, dass es jetzt in Darstellung jener schmerzlichglücklichen Epoche auf meinen Stil Einfluss gehabt hat. ..... Sie war in der That die erste, die ich tief und wahrhaft liebte. Kann ich auch sagen, dass sie die letzte gewesen; denn alle kleinen Neigungen, die mich in der Folge meines Lebens berührten, waren, mit jener ersten verglichen, mir leicht und oberflächlich. ..... Die Hindernisse, die uns auseinanderhielten, waren im Grunde nicht unübersteiglich—und doch ging sie mir verloren!—*Gespräche*, III, p. 207.

Goethe lived to see the rise of a new generation of men whose favorable disposition toward him was in agreeable contrast to that found among his contemporaries, and the unanimity of whose aims and tendencies augured well for the fulfilment of Goethe's favorite idea—the unity of Germany. Of an age when affection, enthusiasm and loyalty are rife, these young writers loved and revered the great man who had opened so wide and glorious a field for their national literature. Particularly among the younger of these, a youthful exuberance of feeling not unfrequently found vent in forms of expression that seem wild and extravagant to those who fail to regard them as the natural utterance of fresh, childlike natures, through the open avenues of whose being the splendor of Goethe's genius flashed with a power that filled their unprejudiced, appreciative minds with a delirium of joy.

Chief among these was Bettina. In the ardor of her devotion she represents those in whom Goethe found an earnest of the rich reward that the future was to yield him. She appeared before his nature had risen to the exalted spirituality of that calm which hallowed his later years, and while his noble idea of renunciation was yet struggling with the demands of worldly preferment. The energy, strength, and will which carried to magnificent completion his various projects naturally produced a pleasing consciousness of his own superiority; the adulation which a brilliant court lavished upon him fostered this consciousness until he regarded even the reverential attitude of his youthful devotees with a self-complacency which, to say the least, bordered upon a selfish egotism. Even his greatness was not superior to this weakness.

But his genius was their inspiration. The mellow splendor that made glorious the long evening of his life suffused them with its peace; and when he had passed from sight they could look into the still glowing heavens and say: *Untergehend sogar ist's immer dieselbige Sonne* (Still it continues the self-same sun e'en while it is sinking). They could find sublime consolation in the words he had uttered to them; "I am fully convinced," he said, "that our spirit is a being of a nature quite indestructible, and that its activity continues from eternity to

eternity. It is like the sun, which seems to set only to our earthly eyes, but which in reality, never sets, but shines on unceasingly."*

The world is constantly progressing. The aged pass away, the young grow old, and human affairs wear every fifty years a different aspect; but there was something in the friendship of Goethe and Bettina that can never grow old or pass away. We might call it an *Entelecheia*—a soul—a portion of eternity, which gifts with undying vigor that into which it enters. The light that fell from him upon her will never fade away. It has immortalized her youth and she will figure as a "child" forever. Had Goethe used the full power of his influence upon her genius, had he given her the fruit of his wonderful experience, would she ever have attained to a still higher career than that of a brilliant literary star at the Prussian capital? Would she have shone as one and the same light that illumined all Germany?

Goethe's words invoke silence: "Child! Child! Forbear! As if goaded by invisible spirits, the sun-steeds of time rush onward with the light car of our destiny; and nothing remains for us but bravely and composedly to hold fast the reins, and now to the right, now to the left, here from a rock, there from a precipice to avert the wheels. Whither is he going, who can tell? Does any consider whence he came?" †

Finally, we may observe that man is a benighted being. He knows not whence he comes nor whither he tends. It is only by renouncing, while enjoying, the pleasures of life, that he can rise above them and enter into the light. Even in the smallest enjoyments must be observed this principle of renunciation. Thus have we a conflict forced upon us by a necessity

* "Ich habe die feste Überzeugung, dass unser Geist ein Wesen ist ganz unzerstörbarer Natur; es ist ein fortwirkendes von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit. Es ist der Sonne ähnlich, die bloss unsern irdischen Augen unterzugehen scheint, die aber eingentlich nie untergeht, sondern unaufhörlich fortleuchtet."—*Gespräche*, I, p. 134.

† Kind! Kind! nicht weiter! Wie von unsichtbaren Geistern gepeitscht gehen die Sonnenpferde der Zeit mit unseres Schicksals leichtem Wagen durch, und uns bleibt nichts als, muthig gefasst, die Zügel fest zu halten und bald rechts, bald links, vom Steine hier, vom Sturze da, die Räder abzulenken. Wohin es geht, wer weisses? Erinnert er sich doch kaum, woher er kam?—*Egmont*.

of our moral nature, into which we are compelled to enter, whatever may be the odds against us. Nor do the great exemplars of the race form any exception to the law of this conflict. They are our models, and best illustrate and enforce in their lives—in their triumphs and defeats—the principle of renunciation. Such is the lesson which all sympathetic souls learn from the career of this great man, whose whole life was a grand exemplification of the doctrine of Renunciation, whose sympathetic genius is become immortal, and who, perhaps more than any other man for many centuries, comprehended the needs and perplexities of the struggling heart. Even where his name is not known his power is felt. To the great Goethe, then, if ever to any man, is due the title of Imperator.

CLARA WHITE.

ART. V.—THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL.

THE passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the execution of the law by Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, led directly to secession and its consequences. The Kansas-Nebraska bill was the most important which ever passed the Congress of the United States. Yet the American people to this day do not know, and cannot have known, who was its author, or what were the immediate objects to be accomplished by its passage. Stephen A. Douglas was, and still is, believed by the country to have been its author. It is a fact that he, as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, reported it to the Senate, and was its able and active supporter and advocate. But Mr. Douglas was not its author.

That the people of today may know the importance of that bill, it is necessary that a brief sketch be given of the slavery question. The writer desires to say—and it is due to the reader—that he was in 1854 in a position to know many facts and incidents connected with this bill which were not accessible to the public, or even to the press of the country. He believes only one other person, perhaps two, to be now living, familiar with the origin and secret history of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He may also add that he is familiar with, and has taken part in, the slavery agitation since 1819 and 1820, and that he was a slave-holder until the late war. As early as 1835 he was convinced that slavery was one of the greatest evils we had to contend with, and the greatest barrier to national prosperity. These views were obtained by observations made in extensive travels through the southern and western States. He, however, disapproved of the slavery agitation as conducted by Garrison and his coworkers. He believed that their course delayed the emancipation of the

slaves, so much desired by some of the most distinguished men, slave-owners, in Virginia, in 1831 and 1832, who were then endeavoring to devise some scheme for gradual emancipation.

At an early period in the history of our country it was foreseen that the question of slavery would be one of the most serious with which we would have to contend. This feeling was manifested in the convention which framed the Constitution. The South at that time did not desire the extension of slavery, and it is well known that she opposed the extension of the time at which the slave trade should cease. Virginia, then the largest slave State in the Union, in 1784 conveyed to the United States her immense domain, the North-West Territory, now composing five or six of the largest and most powerful and wealthy States in the Union. In the ordinance of cession she stipulated that slavery should never exist in that territory. This cession, with the circumstances under which it was made, has no parallel in the history of the world. It gave to the United States an empire from which, as Mr. Webster declared, the United States derived two hundred millions of dollars. She dedicated it forever to freedom, a noble deed on which her citizens may look back with pride; and if at any time Virginia, in the eyes of her sister States, has made mistakes or committed errors, she has, by virtue of her glorious past, a right to ask that they be blotted from memory, and that she be considered the peer of any State. She was the author of free-soilism in the United States. At the time she made this cession of territory and consecrated it forever to freedom, nearly all the States held slaves. When France ceded Louisiana to the United States it was expected that one State would soon be admitted into the Union with slavery; but it was then known that, in the future, out of that immense territory other States would be formed where slavery would not exist. In 1819 Missouri asked to be admitted into the Union, with slavery. She was a part of the Louisiana purchase. It was upon this petition of Missouri that parties arrayed themselves against each other on the slavery question. Up to that time there had been no disposition shown to inter-

fere with slavery in the States where it then existed. On the one hand, the North took the ground that slavery should not be extended over any portion of the territory belonging to the United States. On the other hand, the South held that the territory was the joint property of all the States, and that the people of all the States had equal rights and privileges in their occupancy; that property was entitled to protection, and that slaves were recognized by the Constitution as property, and as such could be rightfully and legally carried into any territory. The North, regarding slavery as an evil, contended that it was its duty to prevent its extension, believing it would be held responsible before the civilized world if it did not avail itself of every means to arrest the increase. These issues were plain and distinct, and upon them a most angry and exciting discussion in Congress, through the press, and among the people, ensued for nearly two years. No one then living can forget the excitement which existed throughout the whole country. Mr. Jefferson said in one of his letters that it was "like a fire bell in the night." The Union seemed to hang on a slender thread; a dark pall appeared to cover the country. Patriots trembled for its safety, and men calculated the value of the Union. But fortunately there was in the councils of the nation a patriot statesman, wise and fearless. He represented a slave-holding State. He came forward with the olive branch and offered the famous Missouri Compromise, under which Missouri was admitted as a State. By this compromise slavery was permitted south of 36° 30′ north latitude, but forever excluded north of that line. This solution of the difficulty was accepted by all political parties; reluctantly accepted by the South, yet acquiesced in and acted upon by all. The country canonized the Compromise and all people held it sacred until 1854. The name of the author of that Compromise scarcely needs to be mentioned. It will ever be cherished by the American people. Henry Clay needs no monument to tell who he was, or the part he bore in that eventful period.

Peace was restored, a new lease of life and prosperity was given to the Union, and for years this state of quiet continued.

Yet, in the discussions which had preceded the Compromise, the seed of dissolution was sown which ripened for the harvest of secession in 1860 and 1861. Frequently after the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, the slavery question was introduced into Congress and brought before the country by petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in the annexation of Texas and the admission of new States. These never failed to cause angry and bitter feeling and had a tendency to weaken the ties which bound the States together. A very small party only exhibited any disposition to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed. But a great and rapidly increasing party had been formed in the non-slave-holding States for the avowed purpose of preventing its extension. Very many of the northern leading democrats adopted the principles of this new party. Among the most distinguished of these were ex-President Van Buren, the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, and the Hon. D. S. Dickinson, of New York. Mr. Dickinson, on the 1st of March, 1847, while opposing the Wilmot Proviso as an amendment to the loan for prosecuting the Mexican war, said in the Senate: "I will vote for a separate bill to exclude slavery from all the territory we now have, or may hereafter acquire, instructed or not instructed." He had been instructed by the Legislature of New York to vote for the Wilmot Proviso. The sweeping declaration on the part of Mr. Dickinson indicated public opinion in the free States, and especially in view of the fact that we expected to acquire California, a large portion of which lay south of the line of 36° 30′; and, further, that a very large portion of the people of the United States were looking for a speedy acquisition of Cuba.

In 1848 the Free-Soil Convention met at Buffalo, New York, and nominated Mr. Van Buren for President, with Charles F. Adams for Vice-President. The convention was composed chiefly of democrats and took strong position against the extension of slavery. In 1852 the Democratic Convention convened in Baltimore, and it is a matter of history that the Virginia delegates offered the Presidency to Mr. Dickinson, who only five years before had made his free-soil declaration in

the Senate. It would thus appear that at that time Virginia did not consider the principle of free soil odious. It cannot be doubted that, had Mr. Dickinson consented to accept the nomination, the other southern States without exception would have followed the lead of Virginia. In that event he would have been elected, as was Mr. Pierce, and the United States would have had for President a free-soil man made President by the South. But had Mr. Dickinson been elected, it is reasonable to believe that a different condition of national affairs would have existed from that we witnessed a few years later.

The next great slavery agitation which occurred in Congress was in the session of 1849 and 1850, during the discussion of the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo between this country and Mexico. By this treaty the United States had acquired from Mexico an immense territory, a large portion of which was south of 36° 30′. No territorial government had been established and no enabling act had been passed. California had framed a constitution, elected United States senators and asked admission into the Union as a State. She had included within her State limits a great part of the territory south of the Missouri Compromise line of 36° 30′. The discussions growing out of the admission of California exceeded in bitterness any which the country had witnessed since the time of the adoption of the Missouri Compromise. When and how the feeling engendered by this discussion would have terminated it is difficult to predict, had not Mr. Clay, now near the close of life, again come forward with a second compromise. He feared that he would fail of success unless he could secure the active coöperation of an old political adversary, a man who for fifty years had filled a larger space in the public eye than any other person in the United States. This was Mr. Ritchie, the editor of the *Washington Union*, the organ of the Administration and of the democratic party. Mr. Clay sent his friend Mr. Simonton, now connected with the Associated Press, to Mr. Ritchie to learn if it would be agreeable for him, Mr. Clay, to call on him. Mr. Ritchie replied that under the circumstances it was proper that he should make the first call, and he did so, accompanied by Judge Bayley of

Virginia. Thus these two men, each great in the sphere in which he was called to act, were brought together after a long estrangement, and smoked the calumet of peace. It was their joint labor that then saved the country from the fearful disaster which threatened it from the violent agitation of the slavery question. Each loved the Union and each desired its perpetuity. Each was opposed to nullification and secession. Soon after securing the pacification of the country, Mr. Clay passed to the spirit-land, and in a brief space after, Mr. Ritchie received his last summons. God in His wisdom took them to Himself before the great disruption both so much feared and labored to avert had cursed the country they so loved.

The compromise measures of 1850 gave another lease of life and prosperity to the nation; but it was destined to be of short duration. In 1852, Mr. Pierce was triumphantly elected. He was supported by all sections, receiving a majority in all the States excepting four,—and was installed as President with every indication that a brighter day was dawning. The slave question was apparently settled, and peace and prosperity everywhere prevailed. No serious attempt had been made for thirty years to repeal the Missouri Compromise. The North considered it a sacred compact and the South was satisfied with it. No disposition was shown to disturb it. But this was the calm before the mighty storm which swept over the land, and in its progress carried everywhere devastation and woe. From its effects millions of men, women and children have mourned and still do mourn, in every part of our country. Fraternal blood flowed like the mountain torrent, the dead covered the fields like sheaves at harvest time, and the wounds of those who survived are yet but half healed. The wail of distress was everywhere heard, widows and orphans were in almost every house, and every home was draped in mourning. In the South, grief and want went hand in hand, and demoralization followed in the wake of all. Now, and in the years to come, the primary cause of all this may be asked. It is the purpose of this article to answer that question.

The people of Missouri had commenced the cultivation of hemp, a crop yielding large profits, but which it was believed

could not be successfully produced except by slave labor. That portion of Nebraska which is now Kansas was regarded as peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of the crop. A considerable number of the people of Missouri had long desired to occupy that section, to open it to slave labor and to the cultivation of hemp. It was known by the representatives of Missouri that for this reason the repeal of the Missouri Compromise would be popular with the people of that State.

Thomas H. Benton had served thirty years in the Senate, but had then been superseded. He had lost caste with a portion of the democratic party, after having been for many years its trusted and fearless leader. He never was popular with either of the extreme wings of the party, and was especially objectionable to the friends of Mr. Calhoun. He was too national to be popular with the nullifiers and secessionists of the South or the abolitionists of the North. He had been the strongest supporter of Mr. Van Buren's Administration, and many believed that he sympathized with that gentleman in 1848. After being defeated for the Senate he was elected to the House of Representatives, but he looked forward to a reëlection to the Senate when the term of his late colleague, the Hon. D. P. Atchinson, should expire. He had been further alienated from the democratic party by his opposition to Mr. Polk's Administration during the Mexican war, and the bitter warfare which he waged against Secretary Marcy, Mr. Ritchie and other prominent men of the party. Mr. Polk had made an effort to conciliate him, and, against the protests of three members of his Cabinet, he appointed him Generalissimo of the armies in Mexico, to which office he was confirmed by the Senate. He was clothed with diplomatic powers. In one hand he was to hold the sword and in the other the olive branch. But just at the time he was to leave on his mission, a misunderstanding arose and he was not sent. Mr. Atchinson had been President of the Senate, was a native of Kentucky, and was very popular, especially in the South and with the friends of Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Benton and he had become bitter personal and political enemies. His term in the Senate was about to expire and Mr.

Benton was his most formidable competitor. The result of the contest was considered doubtful, and it was deemed by Mr. Atchinson's friends important to strengthen him in Missouri, and to weaken Mr. Benton.

How to do this was considered in "secret session." It is thought that only three, besides Mr. Atchison, knew in the early stages the programme marked out. Subsequently others were made acquainted with it. The originators of the plan fixed upon were Mr. Atchinson and three other able and distinguished southern senators, men of great influence in the whole country and especially influential in the South. Only one of these four men is now living, and it is due to him and to those now at rest to say that if they could have foreseen the consequences which would result from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, we believe no one of them would ever have been instrumental in causing it. Mr. Pierce had carried for his election all the States of the Union, save Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, and it was believed that the measure to repeal the Missouri Compromise could be carried and cause but little sensation in the country. This was a grave error. The primary object, therefore, which induced the initiation of the measure to repeal the Missouri Compromise was to secure the reëlection of Mr. Atchinson to the Senate. The means to be employed was the repeal of the Compromise, in order that the people of Missouri might carry their slaves to Kansas and there raise hemp.

The author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was not Mr. Douglas, but Mr. Atchinson.

Early in the session of 1854, Mr. Douglas, Chairman of the Committee on Territories, introduced a bill to establish a territorial government in Nebraska, then embracing the present States of Kansas, Nebraska and parts of Colorado, and the Territories of Wyoming and Dakota. No mention was made in it of Kansas. The bill, as originally introduced, differed but little from kindred bills which had been passed by Congress. Soon after the introduction of the bill Mr. Dixon, a whig senator from Kentucky, and a personal friend of Mr. Atchinson, gave notice in the Senate that when this bill

came up he would offer an amendment to repeal the Missouri Compromise. This was the first notice that such action was contemplated. The whole country was taken by surprise. There were then two democratic papers published in Washington: the *Union*, edited by O. P. Nicholson, the organ of Mr. Pierce's Administration, and the *Sentinel*, edited by the gifted B. Tucker. Each of these papers, when Mr. Dixon gave this notice, denounced it as a whig movement, intended to be a firebrand and having for its object the breaking down of the democratic party. The files of these papers will show the facts as here given. It is certain that neither of these editors was at the time in the secret.

Not long after the notice given by Mr. Dixon, Mr. Douglas moved in the Senate to have the Nebraska bill recommitted to the Committee, which was done. Again, a little later, he reported the Kansas-Nebraska bill for establishing two territorial governments. But before this was done he was made to believe it would be a very popular movement in the South and contribute largely to his nomination for the Presidency in 1856. It is doubtful whether he ever knew the real object to be attained by the repeal. The President was also consulted, and was impressed with the idea that if he made it an administration measure it would give him additional strength in the South, and greatly help him to a renomination in 1856. The President laid the subject before his Cabinet, then composed of Secretaries Marcy, Guthrie, Jefferson Davis, Campbell, Cushing, Dobbyn and McClelland, and all consented that it should be made an administration measure. Mr. Marcy, who consented reluctantly, was not very cordial in its support.

Undoubtedly President Pierce and Mr. Douglas both overestimated their influence in the North. They could not have foreseen that the whole country would become so excited as to jeopardize the Union. The debates which ensued in both Houses of Congress were long and very bitter. The entire slavery question was reopened. A caucus of southern democrats, composed of fifty or sixty members of both Houses, had been held, and after a good deal of opposition it was decided to support the bill. The South, therefore, with few exceptions,

supported it, being aided by a portion, and a portion only, of northern and western democrats. A very considerable number of the latter, and all the northern whigs, were found to be opposed to it. Very few of the northern or western democrats in either House who voted for the bill were reëlected and only two of all its supporters are now in Congress. These are H. B. Wright, of Pennsylvania, and A. H. Stevens, of Georgia. The democratic party in the North received a blow from which it never recovered.

As indicating the sectional feeling aroused, we recall the fact that, during the discussion a serious difficulty arose between the late John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and F. B. Cutting, of New York, growing out of words spoken in debate. For nearly a week a duel was pending. A challenge had been sent and accepted. An intense excitement prevailed not in Washington only but throughout the country, and much sectional feeling was manifested in relation to it. Happily, wise and prudent men interfered and a meeting was prevented.

The bill finally passed, and the President appointed the various officers who were to govern the two Territories, and it may as well be mentioned here that the writer was one of them. In making these appointments, President Pierce was greatly embarrassed. The South, and especially Missouri, desired that he should appoint southern men only to the offices in Kansas, where it was believed that slavery might go, and northern men in Nebraska, where slavery never could go. At first the President was disposed to pursue that policy, but he afterward changed his views and appointed to each Territory about an equal number from each section. He selected for Governor of Kansas a northern, and for Governor of Nebraska a southern man. This course was not pleasing to the people of Missouri, and at an early period a very bitter state of feeling existed. This was occasioned partly by the lack of prudence displayed by the Governor, and partly by the determination of the people of the border counties to make Kansas a slave State.

Emigrant aid societies were soon formed in the North, and a struggle commenced to counteract the pro-slavery movement.

It was not difficult to see that in the end the anti-slavery party would succeed. In the early stages, Missouri had the advantage. She had but little aid from any southern State. Only one regular organization for colonizing Kansas existed in the South. That was in South Carolina and was headed by Mr. Buford. For three years the country was kept in a state of excitement. In Kansas every man went fully armed. Frequent murders took place and house-burning was practised by both parties. At one time several thousand men fully armed and under military command confronted each other, and a regular battle was daily expected. No one not present could form any idea of the extent to which anarchy prevailed. Four different governors had been appointed, all northern men, democrats, and each had been quickly deposed. The United States troops had been employed and yet no peace or quiet could be had. At last it was thought that by calling a convention, framing a constitution and asking to be admitted as a State into the Union—although the population did not justify it—the vexed question might be settled. The attempt was made. The pro-slavery party obtained a majority of the convention and framed what was known as the Lecompton Constitution. It was pro-slavery. Had that constitution been properly submitted to the people, it was contended that it would have been rejected. Indeed there is little doubt but that it would have been. Unfortunately, the convention adopted it without giving the people who were to live under it an opportunity to say whether or not it was acceptable to them. This was a fatal error, and, as might have been foreseen, increased and intensified the excitement.

Such was the status of the Kansas question when Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated, March 4, 1857. Mr. Buchanan received the nomination over Mr. Pierce and Mr. Douglas. He owed his nomination and election to the fact that he was out of the country at the time the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, and that he had taken no part in it. At Cincinnati, in 1856, it was the settled purpose of the Convention not to trust to the election of any candidate who had been active in the support of this bill. Hence the defeat of Mr. Pierce and Mr.

Douglas, and the nomination of Mr. Buchanan. In the election, Mr. Buchanan was able to carry only five northern States, while four years previous Mr. Pierce had carried all but two. This proved an extraordinary and unprecedented change in public opinion, and must be attributed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. When Mr. Buchanan came to the Presidency, all attention was turned to him, and from his long experience, his prudence, moderation and wisdom much was expected.

Governors Reeder, Thomson and Geary, who had been appointed by President Pierce, had each failed to give peace and quiet to Kansas. No security to life or property existed in the Territory. Mr. Buchanan immediately appointed as Governor, R. J. Walker, a man of national reputation, who had with marked ability filled many high and important positions. With Mr. Walker was associated another gentleman well known to the country, an ex-member of Congress from Tennessee, Mr. F. P. Stanton. These gentlemen did not desire to accept the positions assigned them, and consented only after the strongest appeals to their patriotism had been made by Mr. Buchanan and others. Having been clothed with plenary powers, they proceeded on their mission of peace. It was distinctly understood that they were to use all proper influences to have the Lecompton Constitution submitted to the people. While they were actively engaged in this effort, and with every prospect of being successful, they received notice that the President had changed his Kansas policy, and that he desired the constitution to be sustained as it came from the hands of the framers. This change of policy on the part of Mr. Buchanan was one of the most extraordinary, unfortunate, and, so far as the public knows, most unaccountable ever made by any public man. While he was supported in this policy by a portion of the South, it alienated from him thousands and tens of thousands of friends who had, up to that time, warmly sustained him. He never recovered from that act.

Soon after this change of policy, Governor Walker was recalled, and anarchy again held high carnival in Kansas. Four governors had now failed, and a bold, an able and a

prudent man was required to act the part of Moses; one, too, who was a man of unflinching courage. Fortunately such a man was found in the Hon. James W. Denver, an ex-member of Congress from California, a distinguished and gallant veteran of the Mexican war,—a noble man and a statesman, now a resident of Washington, loved and respected by all who know him. Mr. Buchanan appointed him Governor. To him the country owed the pacification of Kansas, and the crisis for the time was satisfactorily passed.

Soon after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, another and a still more dangerous doctrine, growing out of the repeal, came up, convulsed the country, and resulted in secession. This was whether Congress or the people of a Territory, possessed the right to admit or prohibit slavery in any territory of the United States. The republicans contended that Congress alone held that power, while Mr. Douglas and his friends asserted that it belonged solely to the Territorial Legislature. In other words, Mr. Douglas and his friends claimed that the creatures of Congress could do what Congress itself could not do. The South contended that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature possessed the right, but the people alone, in forming a constitution and organizing a State, possessed it. On these issues the Presidential canvass in 1860 was conducted. The result was that the republicans carried every northern and western State. All that followed is too painfully impressed on the mind and memory of the people now living to require repetition here.

This sketch has been written at the request of friends and to supply a missing link in the history of the past. It has been written in no sectional spirit, neither to wound the feelings of any now living nor to disturb the ashes of the dead. The writer has outlived all bitterness and unkind feeling towards any party or person on earth.

From these facts, as herein given, the following conclusions are warranted:

First.—That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was not called for by the South at the time it was repealed, the bill being offered by a northern man who was its ostensible author.

Second.—That the primary object of the repeal was to politically strengthen one man and to weaken another.

Third.—That the South contended for a principle which, had it been established, would have been of no political benefit to it or to the cause of slavery: 1. Because slavery could never have been established north of 36° 30′; 2. Because there was open to slavery south of 36° 30′, in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida and Alabama, unoccupied lands sufficient to employ all the slaves in the United States, and their increase for at least one hundred years to come.

To establish the Union and to preserve it to this time has cost in lives and treasure an amount which can not be estimated. To continue to preserve it will require wisdom, justice, prudence, patriotism, and, above all, a kind and catholic spirit. Let these virtues be cultivated, let the errors of the past be forgiven and, as far as possible, forgotten. Let us have such a Union as its founders intended it should be. Then all of us in all sections can say of it, *Esto perpetua!*

JOHN A. PARKER.

ART. VI.—THE SCIENCE OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

1. *Annual Report of the National Board of Health for 1879.* Washington, D. C.
2. *Reports and Papers of the American Public Health Association for 1877–1878.* Vol. IV. Cambridge.

THE movement in behalf of the public health, which has taken on such broad proportions in modern times, had, like all important movements, a small beginning. The development of physiology and its allied sciences awakened the individual to a sense of personal responsibility for the ills he suffered, and led him to reflect on the means and methods within his control by which he could rid himself of them. It was discovered that health had its own laws, no less than disease; and the conclusion suddenly—and prematurely—dawned upon him, that if one lived in accordance with the laws of one's being, one need never be sick. This doctrine, so practically false and theoretically true, became a favorite maxim in the common parlance of the day, and was seized upon by a set of half-educated fanatics and preached to a gullible public, with endless changes in diet, bathing, fresh air exercise and sunlight, *ad nauseam*, apparently quite oblivious of the fact that the individual can no more escape the influences which beset him, or violate the laws of his environment, than he could avoid being poisoned in an atmosphere freighted with infection, or feeling cold in a temperature below zero.

The subjective position of the individual in the body politic becomes self-evident on a moment's reflection. His environment is not only in the control of the public, but is made by the public. It is for the public to say whether he shall have pure water or foul water to use, and

in what quantities; whether his food shall be pure or adulterated; whether his house and the highways shall be drained, and the air he breathes preserved in its native sweetness and simplicity, or otherwise; whether he shall be housed, by the cupidity of landlords, in overcrowded tenements, or have roomy, well-lighted and well-aired places to dwell in; whether he shall be protected from contagion without and infection within,—the poison-breeding fumes of manufacturing establishments, or the morbific causes engendered by contiguous cities; whether, indeed, he shall be protected from all noisome influences under the control of the public authorities. The greed of men has reached such proportions as to make it incumbent on the public to assume supervision of all the industries of civilized society. Short weight and defective measurements, spurious coin and counterfeit bank-notes, shoddy clothing and adulteration of food and medicines, are constantly met with on every hand; so that it has become a public necessity to have a board or commission appointed in every community with supervisory powers over every department of industry which affects the public weal or the individual welfare. This necessity has been appreciated in respect to many departments of trade, such as finance, for example, which affect the pecuniary interests of mankind; but the most important part of all, the sanitary condition of the public, has received the least attention, and it is just beginning to dawn upon our benighted sensibilities that the supervision of sanitary causes and influences, and the protecting the individual against the engendering and propagation of morbific causes, are as much a part of the function of government as is the protection of the political liberties of the citizen from either foreign or domestic enemies. The science of public health receives its sanction from this broad principle of government polity, and comprehends the application of sanitary science to the body politic.

It is interesting to observe that the movement in behalf of the public health was not, at the outset, inspired by any benevolent or philanthropic spirit toward the poor wretches who live in filth, feed on refuse, and imbibe death at every breath,

in the slums of the great cities, the overcrowded tenements, mines, workshops and counting-rooms of civilized countries. It seems to have been the outcome of self-interest, in a pecuniary sense. The life-insurance companies of England, half a century ago, were moved to investigate in their own interest the subject of mortality in towns—with the view of modifying their losses by lessening the death-rate among policy-holders—in the same way, and for the same reason, that fire insurance companies interest themselves in an efficient fire-department service. The result certainly justified the means, meagre and defective as they were, that were instituted to improve the public health and reduce the high death-rate, as may be seen in Chadwick's *Report on the Health of Towns*, published in London, in 1844. The decrease of the annual mortality which followed this inquiry was so remarkable as to excite surprise. Equally surprising was it that the subject had been neglected so long. But nothing was more natural. It has been the custom from time immemorial, to intrust matters relating to life and health to a Providence with a big *P*. It was a mistaken policy, of course, as the experience with plagues and pestilence has proved—providence with a small *p* having happily been found far more trustworthy in all such matters.

It may be still further observed that executives, as a general rule, have not been much in the habit of condescending to the sphere of matters which concern the physiques of mankind, looking rather away and abroad, over the frontiers, in the direction of "natural enemies," and bearing the sword at home to coerce and punish domestic transgressors. Politics have been regarded paramount to physical sanity; treason to disease. But science, with its many rays of light, is doing its inevitable work, however slowly, and men are becoming dissatisfied with the old fatalisms which left matters of health and sickness very much to the care of providence, after the manner of those Oriental traditions which have so largely influenced the social philosophy of our times. It is now thought that "our vile bodies" are worth treating with an enlightened respect; especially as they are found to be, after all, more intimately connected than people have hitherto supposed with

the more dignified elements or accidents of our being—the intellectual and the moral. Until very recently the knowledge and administration of the laws of health were in the keeping of a distinctive class of men, who, like their brethren of the religious order in the twilight ages, assumed an especial right to deal with the infirmities of our race. But, in the one case as well as in the other, the old reliances are losing ground, and men in general have resolved to understand and care for their own sanitary condition, and do what they can to remedy their own ailments of whatever sort. For this purpose, they are controlling their governments—which were never yet found in the van of human progress, though this would be the most reasonable and worthy place for them; and these last now find themselves bound to act in accordance with the rights and requirements of the people.

The obligations of government as regards national health have been already recognized in France, Germany, and England. In our great sister republic, a decree of the 9th of October, 1879, has ordained that a Consulting Commission of Public Hygiene, under the control of the Ministries of Agriculture and Commerce, shall have cognizance of all questions respecting quarantine; the prevention of epidemics; the propagation of vaccine; the preparation of mineral waters, especially for the benefit of the poor; the qualifications of medical practitioners; the organization of health societies and commissions; a pharmaceutical police, and the sanitary condition of workshops. Under this decree the Consulting Council of Public Hygiene is composed of twenty members; including the Director of Consulates and Commerce; the President of the Council of Military Hygiene; the President of the Council of Naval Hygiene; the Directors of Charities and Internal Trade; the Inspectors of Sanitary Service and Veterinary Schools, and the Inspector of Architecture belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture. With these are associated eight physicians. By another article of the decree the Council has the right to advise the directors of other governing departments. It meets once a week; its members are paid a certain sum for each session; and the secretary

has a fixed salary. The French precision, so proverbial in matters of organization, is very notable in the new sanitary arrangement.

The Imperial Health Board of Germany was established at the close of 1875. Its purposes are to gather sanitary information and give counsel to the Government and to the health societies of the empire—as set forth in the Report of the Grand Chancellor, issued in 1876. Its main object is to elevate the care of the people's health to the dignity of a science; and that, certainly, is the noblest of all the imperial pretensions. The Board makes investigations concerning the causes, preventions and remedies of diseases, and collects and publishes the vital statistics of North-Germany.

Having merely glanced at the great work of a great people, we turn to the more familiar ground of England, where Parliament, immediately influenced by the British Medical Association, passed, in 1858, a registration law which greatly improved the material of the army, the navy and the Poor Law medical service. It also established boards independent of medical teachers, to grant diplomas. By its Acts of 1861, 1867 and 1871, it has made vaccination compulsory. But its chief steps in a sanitary direction were made in six Public Health Acts enacted between 1850 and 1875, establishing a system of public hygiene, under which Great Britain is now divided into about fifteen thousand sanitary districts, duly furnished with their proper officers. The British Medical Association is a grand ally of the government system, continually offering advice and proposing reforms; such, for instance, as the abolition of coroner's inquests, the building of asylums for habitual drunkards, and the forming of Conjoint Examining Boards to license pharmaceutists, midwives, dentists and nurses.

The central sanitary agency of England is named the Local Government Board, taking cognizance of hygiene and charity, supervising, advising and assisting local health boards in matters of drainage, sewerage, water supply, etc. It has little or nothing to do with quarantine—a notable peculiarity, due, of course, to the climate of England. The engineer of

the Board (Mr. Rawlinson) is considered its most important officer, his purview extending over the whole kingdom. In all English cities and towns, the authorities, health boards and societies are more or less alive to the great necessity of sanitary improvement, especially in sewerage and water supply. In a great number of places the sewerage is found to poison, not alone the air, but the waters of rivers, killing fish and injuring the health of those who use it for domestic purposes. To correct these evils, the refuse of many towns has been diverted to the land, where it serves the purposes of agriculture—encouragingly in some localities. Still, it is found to be a great nuisance and difficulty—greatest in the largest cities—and altogether one of the most mischievous legacies of preceding generations, who could never appreciate its danger as a poison or its value as a fertilizer. The water both of wells and rivers has been subjected to the analyses and tests of English chemists and other experts, who have warned the public against impurities derived from tainted soils in a variety of ways—some of which were recently noted in an article on *The Hygiene of Water* in this REVIEW—and also suggested the precautions necessary to secure the purity so needful to the general health. The sanitary measures of the British Health Boards are, in fact, very creditable to the kingdom.

The United States Government began to move in a sanitary direction on March 3d, 1879. Under the provisions of an Act of Congress, the President appointed as members of the National Board of Health, Preston H. Bailhache, M. D., U. S. M., Maryland; Samuel M. Bemiss, M. D., Louisiana; John S. Billings, M. D., U. S. A., D. C.; Henry J. Bowditch, M. D., Mass.; James L. Cabell, M. D., Va.; Hosmer A. Johnston, M. D., Illinois; Robert W. Mitchell, M. D., Tenn.; Samuel F. Phillips, Esq., Solicitor-General, D. C.; Stephen Smith, M. D., New York; Thomas J. Turner, M. D., U. S. N., D. C.; Tullio S. Verdi, M. D., D. C.; seven being chosen from different States, assisted by a legal member, and three representing the Army, the Navy and the Marine Hospitals.

Since its formation, the Board has met at eight periods (during 1879) and three places—these last being Atlanta, Ga.,

Nashville, Tenn., and Washington, D. C. (six times). Those frequent meetings were necessary, as the executive which it had chosen was not recognized by law, though it has had charge of all the routine business of the organization. The Board in its operation has accepted the advice and some of the views of the leading sanitarians and health-institutions of the nation, and these have been mainly expressed in the terms of the American Public Health Association, at the meeting of that body on the 21st of November, 1879, in Nashville. There it was resolved that the investigations set on foot by the Board are approved by the Society, and should be continued; that Congress should appropriate funds sufficient to employ the best talent and apparatus necessary to its purposes; that the regulations of the Board, as regarded foreign vessels from infected ports, were fit and proper, and that the system of quarantine should be placed under its control. It was also resolved that Congress should invite an International Congress for the discussion of quarantine subjects, and should organize a quarantine station near the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Another influential ally of the Board is the National Academy of Sciences, which placed on record (December 27, 1879,) its recommendation that for the present no change be made in the Board; that it should have a legal executive committee; that it should extend its supervision to cholera, malaria, typhoid and other fevers, diphtheria and cerebro-spinal meningitis; should cause to be surveyed places remarkably unhealthy or likely to become so; should try to secure uniformity in the collection of vital statistics in the several States, and should for that purpose invite a commission of State representatives and local authorities; that the Act of June, 1879, to prevent the introduction of contagious and infectious diseases, should be amended in order to enforce penalties against ships entering without clean bills of health; that when the Executive Committee of the Board shall report any locality in the States dangerously infected, the President may prohibit trade between such places and other localities until justified by further report of the committee; and that the

Board should establish quarantine stations near Chesapeake Bay, and Ship Island in the Gulf of Mexico, to be maintained at the national expense.

Supported by such sanctions and the general sense of the nation, the Board has been distributing schedules of questions respecting the sanitary conditions of cities and towns in the several States, and gathering a valuable amount of information. Its proceedings, as regularly reported in the weekly *Bulletin* published at Washington, have been interesting to all sanitarians, but can be alluded to here only in a general way, with a notice of the most important. Of these was the expedition sent to Cuba in July, 1879, not in the old style of international expeditions, but in a spirit of scientific amity. It was the Commission of Dr. S. E. Chaillé, of New Orleans; Col. T. S. Hardie, C. E., of New Orleans; Dr. John Guiteras, of Philadelphia, and Surgeon Geo. M. Sternberg, U. S. A., having for its object the investigation of yellow fever in one of its chief habitats. The party set out on the 4th of July and returned on the 4th of October. The investigation was duly reported in a Health Bulletin, and is chiefly interesting as a beginning. Yellow fever—which the Spaniards say was noted at Havana for the first time in 1761—was found to be endemic, showing itself regularly in Cuba, and being most deadly in the chief ports, where people were most crowded together in badly ventilated houses, in the midst of dirty streets, and suffering from bad sewerage. The customary death-rate in such localities is from four to five per cent. annually, nearly double the average mortality in our States. Dr. Chaillé concluded that the disease does not originate in the shipping, but is brought to ships from the shore. Dr. Sternberg photographed certain crystalline bodies existing in the air, taken from various localities in Havana, especially the military hospitals. He found certain slender, glistening acicular crystals radiating from small opaque masses,—things that have been detected in Morgan City, Centreville, and Bayou Bœuf, La., but never discovered in the hospitals of New York.

On the arrival of the American Commission, the Captain-General appointed another body to act in an auxiliary capacity,

and among its members was Dr. Finlay, who has contributed his share of information on the theme of yellow fever. In his report, which accompanies that of our commissioners, he asserts that the air of Havana is always alkaline, the alkali increasing from May to August, lessening from September to December, and remaining low from January to April. This alkalinity seems to be a cause of the disease, though the latter will exhibit itself in the cool months also. The air of Havana is found to be more alkaline than that of any other locality in Cuba, and this is supposed to account for the more deadly nature of the disease in that capital.

The Commission gathered a great number of facts, but nothing trustworthy as regards the cause of yellow fever. They have, however, been convinced that filth and bad ventilation in a warm atmosphere have much to do with it. The water supply of Havana is bad, the soil is undrained, and half the population live under conditions very favorable to the chief product of the place, yellow fever. The seeds of this disease may possibly have their birth in the high temperature of Cuba and the West-Indian islands; but it seems evident that they are never propagated in it to any injurious extent, but gather all their deadly vitality in the midst of the ignorant and reckless inhabitants of cities and towns. Some such conclusion will yet be reached, very probably, by the above-mentioned Spanish Commission, which has been made permanent in Cuba.

As regards the necessity of making an international agreement with Spain on the subject of quarantine, the National Board of Health, in its Annual Report (Supplement No. 2), declares that our Government will find a difficulty in the fact that our States have the power to exclude or delay vessels coming from foreign ports, though bearing clean bills of health, and that such action cannot be controlled by the central authority. The difficulty is a serious one; but it will no doubt be overcome or diminished, in the general progress of sanitary improvement which tends to abate the dangers or terrors of international intercourse.

Among the other movements of the National Board

were: the appointment of a competent legal authority in Boston, to collect all the laws of the several States relating to the public health; the appointment of Prof. Ira Remsen, of the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore, to determine the amount of organic matter in the air; of Dr. C. F. Folsom, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Health, assisted by Drs. Bigelow, Bowditch and Wood, to investigate the nature of disinfectants; of Prof. C. F. Chandler, of Columbia College, New York University, to examine patent disinfectants; of Dr. H. A. Johnson, assisted by Dr. Kedzie, of Michigan, and Prof. Dielh, of Louisville, Ky., to investigate the adulteration of drugs and food; of Drs. Cabell, Verdi and Bailhache, to examine the diseases of food-producing animals; and of Col. George E. Waring, of Newport, R. I., to report on sewerage. Other movements of the Board have been a sanitary survey of the coast of New Jersey, near New York Bay; a sanitary survey of Memphis, under a special committee of which Dr. Billings was Chairman; an investigation of the hygiene of the mercantile marine, under Surgeon P. H. Bailhache, U. S. M.; another of diphtheria in Vermont, by Dr. Elisha Harris, of New York, and another, made by Prof. Raphael Pumpelly, of the United States Geological Survey, on the influence of soils on public health.

These investigations have been followed by published reports, exhibiting a large amount of sanitary activity and progress; and the rules and regulations of the central Board have been adopted by the State authorities of Illinois, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas; and by the local boards of several cities and towns in these States, as well as by the local boards of Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina and Missouri.

The question of imported diseases has largely occupied the attention of the Board, which has decided that complete establishments of quarantine are needed only at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore (the mouth of the Chesapeake), Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Brunswick, Ga., Fernandina in Florida, Ship Island, Miss., and some point on the Texas coast. This recommendation is no doubt wise under

the circumstances. We would not disparage the wisdom of quarantine supervision, under the sanitary conditions which exist at present in most civilized countries; but we cannot altogether ignore the force of the thought that if the sanitary conditions of a section were what they ought to be, there would be less need of quarantine in that section. Indeed, we are confident that if sufficient attention were given to local conditions, in other words, if our own homes, streets and soil were kept wholesome, we might safely defy every approach of disease from sources foreign or outside of our habitations and immediate environments.

The great enemy to be guarded against is yellow fever. When, in July, 1879, the disease was found to exist in New Orleans and Memphis, the Board sent twenty-five inspectors to those places. The condition of Memphis, as published by by the Board (*Health Bulletin* of December 13th, 1879), gave sufficient evidence that the disease—however originating—found its habitat and proper nourishment in the physical defects and abuses of the city. The list of its foul cisterns, wells, houses, closets, broken streets and wharves, defective sewers, etc., is very significant. Dr. Billings, Major Benyaurd, Drs. Folsom and Mitchell and Col. Waring recommended a great number of reforms which the people of Memphis are fully determined to adopt. The site of their city is favorable to a good system of drainage, and it will probably soon be a new city with a happier sanitary future before it.

In New Orleans also, the influence of the Board has been beneficially felt, and the citizens are beginning to lose the fatalism or apathy with which they have usually regarded those epidemical "visitations of Providence." They begin to see the great necessity of that eternal vigilance which is the price of their prosperity, and their engineer, Captain Eads, is now engaged in deepening and clearing the *embouchures* of the Mississippi, a work which will cost millions of dollars, well expended. It is recognized that—to quote the happy motto of the New York *Sanitarian*—"public health is public wealth," and the means of securing it the best policy of all cities. The trading prosperity of New Orleans has been

impaired by the prevalence of its periodical diseases and the necessary quarantines. Just now, St. Louis is urging many reasons against a free trade with it, pleading the dangers of infection, and making agreements with Texas to draw away the customary trade of that State with New Orleans. The latter can perceive that, in order to keep or increase its commerce, it must, so to speak, "make itself clean," and be in a fit and proper condition to hold free intercourse with its neighbors. Such considerations, as true of the whole country as of St. Louis, will wonderfully help the progress of sanitary science in New Orleans and all along the great highway of the Mississippi.

It is interesting to see the waking up of our great cities under the strong sanitary compulsions of the time. The younger cities of the West are particularly active; for the reason, probably, that there changes can be made with comparative facility and effect, in open localities, unembarrassed by any interest of long standing, and, therefore, not easily obstructed.

At the same time, our old eastern capitals have felt the necessity of changing their conditions and keeping pace with the progress of intelligence. Boston, for instance, has been forced to wrestle with its sluggish and deadly sewerage which, having a fall of only a few feet, flowed stagnantly into the flats on the edges of the city, and was largely borne back by the tides; while several of its outlets are in the midst of a dense population and very near some hospitals and bathing-houses. For this state of things an expensive remedy has been adopted, on a plan followed in London, Berlin, Dantzig and other cities. Great intercepting sewers are taking shape along the margin of the city, lower than the existing sewers, for the purpose of receiving their contents and conveying it to a main sewer, a few feet lower, whence it is to flow to a pumping station and be raised by machinery to a height of some forty feet. From this elevation the matter will be carried in a sloping tunnel, about seven thousand feet long, to the edge of the bay, and thence through the rocky ground to Moon Island. From this place it will be discharged

into the sea at the hours of ebb tide. It will no doubt be a very onerous remedy, but the situation of Boston makes it a grand necessity of existence; though it is to be regretted that such an expensive means of throwing the sewerage into the sea could not be employed to utilize it, in some shape, as an excellent manure for the soil of Massachusetts—a thing not half so well cultivated as the intellect of its people. Massachusetts was the first of our States to establish (in 1870) a State Board of Health—and the example was of great national value. By a recent change, its health administration has been combined with that of charity and lunacy in a new commission; and the union will, no doubt, tend to advance the best interests of sanitary science.

Other cities have been making a multitude of improvements favorable to the health and comfort of their inhabitants; and our medical and scientific societies are working in cheerful accord with the purposes of the Central Board. The American Public Health Association is one of the most efficient of these, giving countenance and encouragement to everything that may benefit the community in a sanitary way. Dr. Cabell, in his address to the Association (reported in the *Sanitarian* for January, 1880), gives an account of Prof. Gamgee's proposals to disinfect vessels by means of refrigeration assisted in a great degree by the use of deliquescent chlorides, which would remove from the air all molecular matter and moisture, and by the employment of superheated steam—means which the Government has not yet thought fit to sanction. The Professor's plans have much to recommend them; but they would involve great expense and trouble to produce results which will probably be secured by those means of prevention—cleanliness and care—which have been already suggested by our sanitarians.

The science of public health, though in its infancy, has made progress in many ways, more or less notable, and has in its service a great number of excellent periodicals and journals which contribute largely to the sanitary education of the people. State Boards of Health have been formed in sixteen States; and in New York a bill was presented during the last

session by Senator Woodin, at Albany, for establishing such a Board. "It provides"—we quote the New York *Sanitary Engineer* of February 1st, 1880, "that the Governor, by and with the consent of the Senate, shall appoint three commissioners, two of whom shall be graduates of legally constituted medical colleges in the State, and of not less than seven years' practice in their profession. These three, together with the Attorney-General, State Engineer, and the Health Officer of the Port of New York, who shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board, and three other persons to be designated by the Governor, one of whom shall be a commissioner of health of the city of New York, and the others commissioners of health of organized boards of health of cities of the State, shall constitute the proposed State Board. The proposed commissioners are to hold office for three years, and are to meet once in every three months, or oftener if necessary. The Secretary only shall receive pay, his salary being placed at $3,000 per year, but the actual travelling expenses of the other members of the Board are to be paid. The Board is to have general supervision of the State system of registration of births, marriages, deaths, etc., a bureau of vital statistics being established at Albany for that purpose. The commissioners are to report annually to the Governor, and the sum of $15,000 is appropriated to carry out the general provisions of the act." Pennsylvania and other States will doubtless join in the movement. The legislature of Maine still holds out against its sanitarians, who have found themselves under the necessity of pleading that, as the State had, among its enactments, one that appropriated some four thousand dollars for the killing of bears and wolves, it should now sanction a little more expense to destroy public infection—an enemy vastly more dangerous than the existence of wild animals. But, as the New York *Sanitarian* pleasantly remarks—"the Solons of Maine" got out of the difficulty by taking the old law from the statute-book—thus weakening the sarcastic logic of the sanitarians. It is, however, but a question of time; and, in this respect, Maine will yet be found as much in the Union as New Jersey.

New York City, like Boston, is becoming alive to the re-

quirements of good health—though it does not yet feel under the necessity of gathering up its sewer filth about the wharves and sending it, in a tunnel as tall as its bridge-towers, to Sandy Hook—thanks to the sanitary rushing of its magnificent surrounding waters. Its municipal authorities, either warned or incited by the growing sanitary sentiment—largely helped by the equally sanitary outcries of the public journals—are beginning to reform many things that need reforming. The Superintendent of Public Buildings has received the pelting of a pitiless public opinion, with regard to a great number of slight and perilous houses "run up" in the city. Factories, tenement dwellings, cellars and fœtid sewers are assailed and brought into court; and chemistry is called on to disinfect air, burn up smoke and abolish a good many of our "two and seventy stenches." The New York Sanitary Reform Society, recently created under the presidency of James Gallatin, is in accord with the City Board of Health, of which Prof. C. F. Chandler is president, and both are earnest in the cause of city health. In the same cause are effectively engaged the *Sanitarian*, edited by Dr. Bell, and the *Sanitary Engineer*, edited by Charles F. Wingate—this last bringing the great social question "home to the business and bosoms" of the intelligent, industrial population, whose desire to learn justifies the trouble he takes through his paper and in his *Healthy Homes for Rich and Poor*, and *Rural Hygiene*, to enlighten and benefit them. Another sanitary undertaking of New York citizens is an improvement in the architecture and arrangement of school buildings—public or private—in which the conditions of light and ventilation have, in many instances, been found very defective. A matter affecting the physical growth of the rising generation is of the first importance, and public opinion has justified the liberality of the *Sanitary Engineer*, which has offered a premium for the best specimen of a school-house constructed according to the requirements of health. Such things are significant evidences of the popular progress of sanitary knowledge; more significant, perhaps, than the proceedings of larger agencies, such as the American Public Health Association, already alluded to, which has done and is doing a good work coextensive

with our States, since its formation in 1872. Its sanitary philosophy is of the peripatetic order, for its yearly meetings are held in various State capitals, and are generally regarded as conferences of national importance. Its volumes of printed proceedings are valuable records; and perhaps the last issued (1877, 1878) may be considered the worthiest, in the great variety of its contents.

Supported by such auxiliaries, the National Board of Health has undertaken the duty of gradually educating the public mind on this great question. Dr. Billings, in a late address to the New York County Medical Society, said that "a National Board of Health, by its publications, by advice given through its members and inspectors, and in many other ways, can and should give a powerful stimulus to the progress of sanitary education." This it has been doing, and its influence is felt in a hundred ways. The National Board of Trade, at a meeting in December, 1879, agreed, on the motion of Mr. Thurber of New York, to offer a reward for the best essay on the mode of preventing or detecting food-adulterations, without injuriously interfering with traffic. The Bureau of Education has sanctioned the circulation of a lecture by Mr. Commissioner Eaton, on the "training of nurses" for public hospitals; and Dr. Buck, American editor of Ziemssen's *Cyclopædia of the Practice of Medicine*, lately published a *Treatise of Hygiene and Public Health*, containing essays from some of the most eminent practitioners in the States. At the same time, the great question has been treated and discussed by a large number of able men—authors, lecturers, journalists—among whom we would enumerate Dr. H. H. Kane, who has published a complete *Manual of the Sick Room*, for the instruction of our American nurses, a class of persons who will yet contribute in an ample degree to the sanitary well-being of society.

WILLIAM DOWE.

Art. VII.—The Political Future of the Jews.

1. *Geschichte der Juden.* Von Professor L. Von Grätz.
2. *Civil Disabilities of the Jews.* By Lord Macaulay.
3. *Tancred, or the New Crusade.* By Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli.
4. *Statistical Reports upon the Condition of the Jews in Russia and Roumania, 1870-9.*

It is recorded that one of the most notorious of mediæval ruffians, when confessing his crimes upon his death-bed, pleaded in extenuation of them that "he had at least performed two good actions in his life—helped to burn a heretic, and murdered a Jew." Whether authentic or not, this saying is a true and terrible symbol of the condition of the "outlawed people" during the whole of the vast period which elapsed between the final destruction of Jerusalem and the outburst of the French Revolution. What the Christian was under Pagan rule, the Jew has been under that of Christianity—a creature utterly beyond the pale of human sympathy, born to be universally hated, contemned, plundered, tortured, hunted down like a wild beast—seeing in every new ruler only a fresh persecutor, in every political change only a fresh variety of suffering.

But all this furnace of affliction has not sufficed to burn out the vitality of that wonderful race, which has been justly styled "a mystery to itself and to all mankind." It would be impossible to name any other people which has so long held a prominent place in history, without showing any sign of decrepitude. All its contemporaries have long ago vanished from the world's stage. Antiquaries puzzle over the ruins of Persian and Assyrian palaces. The Greek and the Roman live only in the imperishable records of genius. The Tartar,

whose forefathers trampled like grass the proudest chivalry of Europe, is now a peaceful herdsman upon Asiatic steppes, to whom the very names of Gerghiz and Timour are almost unknown. The all-conquering Moslem has long since waned from a terror to a scoff. But the Jew, who saw the rise of all these, has survived their fall. Over the graves of countless empires he still stands erect and vigorous; overcoming seemingly insuperable obstacles with his silent, stubborn tenacity, and fast monopolizing all the real power of every Christian community, while still retaining in all their fulness the creed, the observances, the characteristics of the men who followed Moses through the deserts beyond the Red Sea, thirty-five centuries ago.

It is this intense individuality that distinguishes the Hebrew stock from all other great human families. Many nations have perpetuated their influence while losing their independent personality. The Anglo-Dane, the Saxon, the Norman, have merged themselves in the Englishman, the Lett and Wend in the Prussian, the Breton and Provençal in the Frenchman. But neither the loss of his country, the proscription of his faith, the disuse of his ancient language, nor the destruction of his ancient capital, has availed to alter the Jew one whit. As he was in the days of Pontius Pilate and Porcius Festus, so he is now — the most thorough and indomitable personality upon the face of the earth. This fact alone is a sufficient explanation of the systematic and almost unparalleled oppression of which he has been the victim. To the iron centralization of the Roman Empire, or the grim feudal tyranny of the Middle Ages, the existence of a race of men who recognized no code and no religion but their own, set the ordinances of Moses before the decrees of either king or kaiser, and preferred death in its worst form to the slightest infraction of the Levitical law, was simply intolerable. The unmistakable seriousness with which Tacitus (a man of exceptional enlightenment and, in his own way, of equally exceptional humanity) deplores the failure of Antiochus Epiphanes' efforts to "reform" * (by hanging, torturing,

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burning alive, and other approved methods) "that execrable nation, the Jews," is one of the most instructive as well as the most lamentable monuments of the irreconcilable feud between free thought and irresponsible despotism.

Almost up to the close of the last century, only a few far-sighted politicians paid any attention to the "Jewish question," which was so soon to become to Europe what the Chinese problem now is to America. But the march of events during the last three generations has made that question one of the most important public facts in Europe—and not in Europe alone. To those who have travelled in Central Asia and northern Africa, it might well seem as if Providence had destined the very regions which were formerly the scene of the Jew's deepest degradation to become that of his completest triumph. The savage Ameer of Bokhara, Nasr-Ullah Khan (whose death in 1860 came just in time to save him from the well-merited vengeance of Russia), while perpetrating nameless atrocities upon every other class, never, from first to last, harmed a Jew. The only restriction imposed upon his Jewish subjects was the wearing of a broad yellow girdle, and high black funnel-shaped cap, to distinguish them from the Mohammedans; and at this moment nearly a thousand of them are living peacefully and prosperously in Samarcand, under the shadow of the very walls upon which the quartered bodies of their countrymen were once exposed by Timour. Independent Jewish communities, some of which possess considerable wealth, exist in every part of Persia and northern Afghanistan. In Smyrna, where the proscribed race was all but exterminated in 1665, their *soi-disant* "Messiah" himself, Sabbathai Tzewi, being fain to save his life by apostasy and abject self-degradation, the leading men in every department—bankers, merchants, tradesmen, land-owners—are Jews. Tunis, in whose lowest dens the persecuted people once burrowed like hunted foxes, with the yell of "Death to the circumcised dogs!" ringing in their ears day and night, now numbers among its 120,000 inhabitants no fewer than 25,000 Jews, who hold in their hands the entire commerce of the place; and the Jewish ladies walk abroad unattended, in their quaint semi-masculine dress,

without the slightest risk of insult—a fact of which the writer himself had ample proof during a recent visit to the city.* Jerusalem itself, where its former possessors were recently a despised and down-trodden handful, has had its former population of 12,000 more than doubled since the Crimean war by a constant Jewish immigration; and although the immigrants have hitherto come exclusively from the poorer class, this very fact sufficiently shows what may be done by their wealthier countrymen when the latter shall think fit to follow their example.

When we turn from Mussulman to Christian countries, the same wonderful change meets us at every turn. Poland, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was the most conspicuous of anti-jewish persecutors, and Bogdan Khmelnitski, the famous Cossack leader whose rebellion in 1647 transferred the Ukraine from Poland to Russia, is stated on good authority to have destroyed during his ten years' rule at least a quarter of a million Jews.† But at the present day, in a population of 6,025,421 souls, the Jews number 815,433 (nearly one seventh of the whole), a large proportion of whom are men of respectable means and position. Peter the Great, in the earlier part of his reign, banished them from Russia altogether, with the two-edged sarcasm that "if he were to let them remain, the Russians would cheat them out of all they had." At the present day, the province of the Caucasus alone contains 22,732 Jews, and Russia proper 1,944,378 more, including not a few of the greatest capitalists in the whole empire. Spain, again, expelled every unconverted Jew from her dominions in 1492, denouncing the penalty of death at the stake against all who should dare to return; and Portugal, in which no fewer than 70,000 of the exiled families had sought refuge, followed the evil example, to her own incalculable loss, three years later. Any one who has lately visited either country, can judge for

* It is a well-established though very deplorable fact, that the mediæval Jews fared infinitely better among the "barbarous" Moslems, than under the Christian sovereigns of Europe. Moorish Spain sheltered and nourished the outcasts whom Christian Spain pursued to the death; and in 1290, the very year of Edward I's wholesale expulsion of the Jews from England, a Jewish physician was made Finance-Minister of Persia by Shah Arghim.

† See M. Kostomaroff's *History of the Cossack Rebellion.*

himself how utterly these cruel precautions have been defeated by the irresistible march of events. But it is needless to multiply instances, which the statistics of every European country from Norway to Greece will furnish in abundance to those who need them.

It is, however, in France and England that the progressive changes of this great historical drama have been most striking and instructive; and a very cursory glance at the past of the "separated race" will enable us to measure (so far, at least, as they can be measured at all) the mighty possibilities of its future.

In the earlier ages of French history, as in those of most other European States, the long torment of the Jews was relieved by an interval of comparative peace. Men were not yet civilized enough to be wantonly cruel, or religious enough to be bloodily fanatical. The aliens traded, prospered, amassed wealth, and often held posts of considerable importance among their Christian compatriots. But the outburst of that great succession of religious earthquakes known as the Crusades, broke in rudely upon the repose of this golden era. The bigoted zeal which thirsted for the blood of Saracens, involved in the havoc of its ferocious piety all non-Christians alike. "Ye go forth to slay the unbelievers," yelled the fierce Dominican, Rudolph; "begin, then, with these infidel Jews around you." The savage suggestion was only too readily carried out; and although Bernard of Clairvaux, to his eternal honor, at length succeeded in stemming the tide of destruction, he did so only when thousands of innocent victims had cruelly perished.

From this time onward to the close of the fourteenth century, the history of the Jews in France is one long persecution, in which one scarcely knows whether to wonder most at the blind brutality of the oppressors, or the superhuman endurance of the oppressed. Philip Augustus, the brother-in-arms of Richard Cœur de Lion, banished them from his dominions at the opening of the third Crusade, but, wiser than Louis XIV five centuries later, permitted them to return, in 1198. In 1215, the Lateran Council inflicted upon them the stigma of

a "distinctive badge," which thenceforth became universal in Christendom. In the ensuing generation, St. Louis (whose natural kindness of heart was sadly warped, in this as in other cases, by the bigotry of his age) expelled them a second time, only to return with unflinching tenacity a few years later. Their third exile was effected in 1306 by Philip the Handsome, to whom belongs the unenviable notoriety of the three greatest crimes of his age—the destruction of the Templars, the persecution of the Jews, and the establishment of the "Anti-Pope" at Avignon. But even in their banishment a new and awful calamity pursued them. The terrific pestilence of 1348–50, known in history by the hideous name of "Black Death," drove all Europe mad with that unreasoning terror which has in every age been the parent of cruelty. It was rumored that the Spanish Jews had invented a subtle poison, which their brethen had been charged to pour into the wells of every country in Europe. Among fierce and ignorant men, half-crazed by the daily spectacle of death in its most appalling form, even this monstrous falsehood passed current only too readily. A wholesale butchery commenced, which spared neither age nor sex. Only a miserable remnant of the exiles lived to avail themselves of the amnesty of 1360, which restored them to France, to be driven out again, however, in 1394, for the fourth and last time, by the "mad king," Charles VI.

Thrust out of France, the castaways sought refuge in Italy, where they enjoyed an interval of unwonted peace and comfort, before persecution found them out anew. But even when it did so, they were probably no worse off than they would have been if permitted to remain in France. Under a human hyena like Louis XI, a maniac like Charles IX, a satyr like Henry III, or a puppet like Louis XIII, they could have had little to hope for; and the senseless bigotry which, in 1685, expelled the peaceful and industrious Huguenots, would certainly not have spared the far more obnoxious Jews. A State which was governed by Maintenons, and Pompadours, and Dubarrys, was no home for *them*. But the day of deliverance, though long delayed, came at last in overflowing

measure; and the earthquake that shook the whole world broke the shackles of the oppressed race at once and forever. On the 28th of September, 1791, the National Assembly of France recognized the Jews as French citizens; and within a very few years of that recognition, Jewish financiers were being consulted upon the weightiest political secrets of the French Empire, and Jewish generals leading to victory the finest armies of Napoleon.*

Let us now turn to England, which, to her eternal shame, was the last of civilized States to recognize as human beings the race that had stood foremost among the nations of the earth, in days when Britain itself was a pathless haunt of naked savages. Here and in Germany, the persecution of the oppressed people was the most prolonged and unsparing of all, checkered at long intervals by a few delusive gleams of hope. What the life of an English Jew was in the so-called "age of chivalry," the author of *Ivanhoe* has told us in words that can never die. What it has been even in a far milder age, may be gathered from the more concise but equally powerful details of Lord Macaulay.

The reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, regarded by so many enthusiasts as the heroic age of English history, was to the ill-fated Jews only a season of unparalleled gloom and despair. His coronation gave the signal for a general massacre of the unoffending aliens in every part of the kingdom, culminating at York in that fearful tragedy which surpassed the bloodiest excesses of the Thirty Years' War. During Richard's prolonged absence on the third crusade, the horrors inflicted upon them by the "Front-de-Bœufs" and "Malvoisins" of the time, transcended the worst atrocities of the Roman Cæsars; while under Richard's cruel and cowardly brother, John, their sufferings were, if possible, even greater.

During the long and uneventful reign of Henry III, the hunted race enjoyed some respite, and even made a show, for the first time, of distinct national existence. One of the chief

* The Hebrew origin of Marshal Soult seems to be pretty clearly proved, while the statement that Massena was a Jew, whose real name was Manasseh, is supported by more than one very respectable authority.

rabbis, a man highly esteemed by the King for his piety and learning, was permitted to exercise considerable authority over his countrymen, and even to convene a Jewish parliament, which met periodically at Worcester. But it soon degenerated into a mere "committee of supply" for the needs of the sovereign and his rapacious courtiers; and even this shadow of liberty vanished at the coming of his iron-handed son and successor, Edward I. In 1290, a royal edict banished the Jews "forth of the realm, never to return."

The majority of the outcasts sought refuge in Holland, where, amid a community already giving promise of its future commercial eminence, and not yet crushed out of all semblance of freedom by the gloomy tyranny of Spain, they enjoyed a hitherto unknown measure of quiet and even of prosperity. Many of them took an active part in the growing traffic of the great Flemish cities, and by degrees established a Jewish colony at Amsterdam, which was afterward to produce one of the greatest and most misrepresented heroes of modern times, Baruch Spinoza.

But amid all this undreamed-of good fortune, the exiles cherished the hope of one day returning to England, as steadfastly as the Moors of Tetuan and Tangier still cling to that of a Moslem reconquest of Spain. That hope was at last realized. With them, as with their French brethren, the death-day of absolute monarchy was the birthday of Jewish freedom. In 1655, when Cromwell was at the height of that power before which the haughtiest of the Stuarts had fallen, the Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel crossed from Amsterdam to London and pleaded the cause of his people before the great Puritan leader, face to face. Oliver listened, and was convinced. After three hundred and sixty-five years of exile, the Jews of England returned to their homes once more.

But they returned only to encounter another phase of persecution, which, if less crushing than the former, was infinitely more unmanly and degrading. The Hebrew had ceased to be the hunted wolf, born to the doom that "every one who findeth him shall slay him;" he was now the despised beast of burden, spared by the contemptuous mercy of those

who found his life more profitable to them than his death. *Subjectos tanquam suos, viles tanquam alienos*, summed up, for many a weary year, the condition of the Jews in "free" England. The walls of the mediæval "Ghettos" were replaced by the impalpable but far stronger barrier of public opinion. The age of wholesale massacre and wanton torture, of illegal imprisonments and exorbitant ransoms, had indeed gone by forever; but to all who retained any spark of the ancient Hebrew spirit, the new *régime* of degrading restrictions and vulgar insults was almost equally intolerable. No Jew, however well qualified, dared to appear as a candidate for any public office. No clever Jewish lad might presume to share the sports or the studies of Christian boys. Even the dandy of the Mall or St. James' Park, however willing to borrow the Jew's money when his own purse had been emptied by ill-luck at basset or ombre, treated him as a Pariah is treated in British India by a high-caste Bramin. "A downright Jew," "as bad as a Jew," were the current phrases to express the superlative of knavery and meanness. Nor was even personal outrage wholly a thing of the past. When some unlucky Jew was ducked in Fleet Ditch by a band of roystering young Templars, or tossed in a blanket by the roughs of Smithfield or Hockley-in-the-Hole, English justice made no very strenuous exertions either to redress his wrongs or to prevent their recurrence. In a word, the popular feeling toward the Jew, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was not the remnant of a fast disappearing prejudice; it was simply the strong intolerance of the old school moving in a narrower circle.

Nor was this all. Literature, reflecting as usual the temper of its age, arrayed against the outlawed caste foes of a very different kind from the grimy ruffians of Porridge Island, or the feather-brained loungers of Ranelagh and Vauxhall. Great wits and brilliant novelists held up the Jew to public contempt as a monstrous mixture of demon and buffoon, alternately hateful and ridiculous, sacrificing all obligations of religion and morality to gratify his avarice, and avarice itself to gratify the foulest of sensual appetites. Nor was this injustice confined

to England. Several of the best German tales of Jacob Grimm make a Jew at once the villain and the booby of their vivid little melodramas—the author of every imaginable crime, and the butt of every imaginable jest. Nay, in a quaint Cossack legend still popular with the Russian peasantry, the Evil One himself, when charged by a pious hermit with a design upon his soul, answers with righteous indignation, "I'm not such a *Jew* as all that!"

The result of all this was what it has invariably been. Prejudice fostered misrepresentation, while misrepresentation sustained and apparently justified prejudice. The Jew's unpopularity multiplied the allegations against him, while those allegations in their turn increased his unpopularity. What the received type of a Jew was even among the large-souled worthies of the Elizabethan age, has been depicted in imperishable colors by the world's greatest dramatist; and the dreadful portrait of Shylock has unquestionably done much to perpetuate a feud which the great human heart of Shakespeare would have been the first to repudiate. Later writers, following in the same direction, represented every Jew as a Shylock without his redeeming points; and the ideal Hebrew of the nineteenth century was as accurately typified in Dickens' Fagin as his predecessor of the sixteenth in the savage usurer of Venice.

But the last day of this monstrous wrong was now beginning to dawn. The example set by France and the United States, and already followed by most of the smaller kingdoms of Europe, was not to be ignored. The more liberal class of Englishmen began to feel an honest and manly shame at finding their country last, instead of first, in a work of justice and humanity; and the repeal of the iniquitous statutes against the Catholic subjects of Great Britain naturally impressed upon every candid and intelligent man a conviction of the justice, as well as expediency, of removing the similar restraints imposed upon the Jews. In 1830, a "Jewish Emancipation Bill" was presented to the House of Commons; and its author, having carried it triumphantly through the first reading, gave notice of his intention to bring it forward again in the ensuing session.

Such an announcement, made at a time when the impending conflict over the Reform Bill was stirring every fibre of the nation, had an effect which may be easily imagined. Strenuous support on one side, and furious opposition on the other, greeted the projected movement in every part of the country. The public press became a battle field, upon which the cause of the Jew was fought out by conflicting Christian champions; and among the countless arguments brought forward on either side, the ablest critic of the *Edinburgh Review* gave utterance to his opinion in words that are well worth repeating:

"It would be impious, of couse, to let a Jew sit in Parliament. But a Jew may make money, and money may make members of Parliament. That a Jew should be privy-councillor to a Christian king, would be an eternal disgrace to the nation. But a Jew may govern the money-market, and the money-market may govern the world. A Minister may be in doubt whether he can carry out his ablest scheme, till he has been closeted with the Jew. A congress of sovereigns may be forced to summon the Jew to their assistance. The scrawl of a Jew upon the back of a piece of paper may be worth more than the royal word of three kings, or the national faith of three new South American republics. But that he should put 'Right Honorable' before his name, would be the most frightful of all national calamities."

Viewed in the light of subsequent events, this splendid irony appears absolutely prophetic. At the time of its publication (January, 1831), there was, in London, an aspiring young Jew of twenty-five, as yet known chiefly by an abortive attempt to get into Parliament, and a caustic political novel called *Vivian Grey*. But this crude, flashy, impetuous young man, who had broken down in his first speech amid the laughter of his entire audience, and had been taunted by Daniel O'Connell as "the lineal descendant of the impenitent thief," was destined in after years to accomplish, and even to overpass, all the impossibilities enumerated above. He was to become not merely the privy-councillor, but the prime-minister of an English sovereign. He was not merely to put "Right Honorable" before the name of Benjamin Disraeli, but even to surround the latter with an earl's coronet. He was not merely to sit in the national Parliament, but to make the

Parliament the mouth-piece of his own opinions and the instrument of his own designs. He was to confer titles upon scores of Christian statesmen and generals, and to send thousands of Christian soldiers to death, in pursuit of his private schemes of Eastern conquest and Eastern annexation.

But the time for all this had not yet come. So long as the world remains what it is, every great forward movement in the cause of humanity must reckon upon encountering strenuous opposition; and few such movements have ever been more violently opposed than the Jewish Emancipation Bill. It seemed, indeed, as if the non-admission of the Jew into Parliament were the last and strongest fortress of his enemies, destined to hold out after every other had yielded. One by one, the ancient barriers reared by ignorant intolerance around the proscribed race were fast crumbling away. In 1835, Mr. Salomons, after serving several years as an alderman, was made Sheriff of London. A few years later, the same distinction, supplemented by that of knighthood, was conferred upon Mr. Moses Montefiore, a man with whom any one, whether Jew or Christian, might have been justly proud to claim affinity.* Jewish candidates were again and again returned by immense majorities, although their election was subsequently disallowed; and to crown all, the Jews who held municipal offices in London and elsewhere were expressly exempted by act of Parliament from the necessity of taking the customary oaths. But the doors of the House itself still remained obstinately closed against them.

While the great struggle was thus stubbornly protracted in one part of the field, it had long since been virtually decided in every other. As early as 1813, Frederick William III, of Prussia, wishing to unite his whole people as one man for the final grapple with Napoleon, conceded the rights of citizenship to all his Jewish subjects, an example speedily followed by most

* Montefiore's character, and its striking contrast to that of the man who was the typical Jew of the period, the elder Rothschild, are photographed by one anecdote: "You young fellows," said Rothschild, when Montefiore spoke of retiring, and devoting himself wholly to the cause of his countrymen, "always want to retire directly you've made a trifle." The "trifle" in question was $1,500,000!

of his immediate neighbors. Six years later, indeed, the cry of persecution was once more raised in southern Germany, where not a few men of education stood forward to advocate the checking of the growth of the Jewish race, by means too hideously inhuman to be repeated. But the tide had now turned too decisively to be stemmed by any human power. Even narrow and bigoted Austria, taught wisdom at length, in spite of herself, by the tremendous experience of 1848-9, sullenly yielded to the overmastering impulse; and when the so-called "year of peace" (1851) dawned upon Europe, the only trace of the savage intolerance which had so long disgraced the whole civilized world was to be found in "enlightened" England.

But even there its days were already numbered. The Jewish Emancipation Bill, carried in triumph through the House of Commons in 1849, by the influence of Lord John Russell, was twice rejected by the House of Lords; but all in vain. Any chance of a compromise had already been rendered impossible by the firmness of Baron Rothschild in refusing to be sworn upon the New Testament, and of Mr. Salomons in declining to take the oath of allegiance while the words "on the faith of a Christian" were allowed to stand. The renewal of the contest in 1851-2 showed that the strength of the emancipationists was increasing in proportion as that of their opponents declined; and the concession of full equality to the Jews in 1858 was supplemented in 1860 by an official proviso, that, when the parliamentary oaths were administered to a Hebrew, the obnoxious clause, "on the faith of a Christian," should be omitted.

So ended at length, in a complete though tardy triumph, the great battle of justice and humanity against the rooted prejudice of ages. But even before this consummation had been reached, the race which had maintained its indomitable vitality under the iron heel of such modern Pharaohs as John of Anjou and Frederick Barbarossa, had already given ample proof of what it could do under a milder and freer *régime*. One glance over Europe in 1849 might have sufficed to convert the most bigoted disbeliever in the future greatness

of the Jewish people. He would have seen Crémieux, Fould and Goudchaux foremost among the politicians of France, and Pincherle a leading member of the Provisional Government of Venice. In Germany, where the Jewish name itself had once been a byword, he would have found Jacobi of Königsberg acting as leader of the opposition in the Parliament of Berlin, and Riesser filling the post of vice-president in that of Frankfort. Even in fanatical Austria he would have discovered Dr. Fischhof standing firm at the head of affairs in Vienna, even after the flight of the court; Rabbi Meisels returned as member of the Austrian Diet by the electors of Cracow; and Adjutant Freund learning, amid the stirring scenes of the Hungarian insurrection, the military skill which was to raise him five years later to the rank of a Turkish general under the title of Mahmoud Pasha. In England itself, where the battle of Jewish emancipation was still undecided, he would have seen Disraeli already midway toward his future eminence, and Baron Rothschild hanging to his purse-strings the whole system of national politics.

But the "coming race" did not confine its triumphs to the field of politics or of warfare. Conspicuous among the great composers of the time were Meyerbeer, Herz, Halévy, and others of scarcely less note. In the foremost rank of a countless host of Jewish savants appeared the great names of Luzzato, Zunz, Geiger, Rappoport, and the "three Jacobs." On the stage, the Hebrew race was represented by the unrivalled talent of Rachel, in the field of Oriental research by Munk, Dernburg, Weil, and Oppert. To the list of eminent political economists it had contributed Lasalle and David Ricardo; to that of mathematicians, Sklow, Stern, and Witzenhausen; to that of pulpit orators, Mannheimer, Kley, Salomon, Frankfurter; to that of philosophers, Maimon, Franck, and Ben-David; to that of physical scientists, Bloch, Valentin, and Hirschfeld; to that of astronomers, Beer, Stern, and Slonimski; to that of historical critics, Jost, Riesser, Fürst, Philippson, Salvador, Cohen, Dukes, Frankel, Sachs, Jellinek, Herzfeld, Grätz, and Steinschneider in Europe, beside Raphael, Wise, and Leeser, in the United States; to that

of miscellaneous writers, Isaac and Benjamin Disraeli, Auerbach, Noé, Grace Aguilar, and Jules Janin, the prince of critics.

Such, then, are the past and the present of the Jewish race; it remains for us to consider briefly its probable future.

The first question which offers itself is naturally the possibility that the Jew, having done so much, may hereafter do yet more, and from being the equal of the Christian, may rise to be his superior. This is precisely the result which many Jews confidently anticipate, and which many Christians as confidently pronounce impossible. The latter willingly admit what they can hardly deny—that the Jew has already shown himself a man of no mean calibre; but they are none the less fond of asking exultingly, whether it is credible that the Jew should prove himself a match for the Christian on the latter's own ground.

It is abundantly evident what answer such a question is intended to receive; and on the principle that "the wish is father to the thought," it probably will receive that answer in most Christian communities. Our own opinion, based on a tolerably minute observation of nearly all the civilized States now existing, is diametrically opposite. We consider the Jew likely to surpass, as well as to rival, the Christian upon the latter's own ground. Indeed, when we remember to what a height the Jew has already risen despite all the efforts of the Christian to keep him down, despite of persecutions, restraints, and judicial severities which would have crushed any other nation upon the face of the earth, it requires no great stretch of fancy to imagine him rising higher yet, now that the removal of these obstructions has left him free to exercise his natural powers at will.

Some reasoners (if such they can be called) are given to cutting this Gordian knot by the sweeping assertion that the Jews as a class are "mere money-grubbers," wholly unfit to discharge the duties of statesmen or of generals. But this convenient theory is manifestly grounded on prejudice rather than sober reason, and may fairly stand in the same category with the belief of our English ancestors, that a Frenchman, simply because he was a Frenchman, must necessarily be incapable of

courage, honesty, human kindness, or any other virtue, and more especially incapable of holding his ground for a moment against an Englishman. In reality, it would be difficult to name any one essential of success in public life which the Jewish race has not. Is it wealth that is required? It is a light thing to say that the richest men of almost every civilized community are Jews; we may go yet farther, and confidently assert that, were the Jewish capitalists to combine in earnest, they could make any European government bankrupt within a week. Is it tenacity? The whole history of the Jews, from their defence of Jerusalem against Titus to their thirty years' struggle at the doors of the English Parliament, is a record of that quality such as the world has never seen elsewhere. Is it cunning or dexterity? The ablest spy at present in the Russian service is a Central-Asian Jew, who has thrice penetrated in disguise, at the imminent risk of his life, into the wildest regions of Afghanistan, bringing back with him each time information which it may safely be asserted that no other man could have obtained.* Is it courage? The feats of Napoleon's Hebrew marshals, and those of the five hundred Jewish volunteers who fell by Kosciusko's side at the storming of Praga, might furnish conclusive evidence on that point, even without the countless other instances with which history teems. Is it the power of obtaining important information, despite all obstacles of time and space? The first man in England who knew of the victory of Waterloo was the elder Rothschild, and that of the Alma was known to a Jew banker in Vienna before reaching the Austrian Cabinet itself. Is it keen foresight, and unerring discernment of character? Any one who is acquainted with the Jewish business men of London, New York or St. Petersburg, will give them ample credit for both. Is it inventiveness? The possession of that gift can hardly be denied to men who, amid the racks and pincers of the grim Plantagenet era, devised that system of "bills of exchange" which was the first germ of our modern banking. Is it versatility? Mediæval and modern historians vie with each other in multi-

* I myself met this man on my way through Central Asia in 1873, and shall not easily forget what I heard and saw of him.

plying instances of the Jew's marvellous aptitude for any and every pursuit by which money could be made, or persecution avoided—an aptitude surpassing even that attributed by Juvenal to the Romanized Greek of the second century:

> "Rhetor, schœnobates, medicus, magus—*omnia* novit
> Graeculus esuriens; in cœlum, jusseris, ibit." *

But, apart from these manifold advantages, the modern Jew possesses yet another, which is perhaps the most important of all. The same power which is now beginning to make labor a match for its old adversary, capital, has for generations past enabled the Jew to hold his own against the seemingly overwhelming strength of the Christian. That power is combination. What the Chinese merchants are to the great towns of Asia and South America, the Jews are to those of Europe. Every knot of Jewish capitalists forms a trades-union of its own, as complete and well-organized as any in Manchester, Lyons, or Pittsburg. "You Gentiles," said an influential Russian Jew to the writer some years ago, "are all trying to undersell and outwit each other, and every man's hand is against his neighbor. We Jews, on the contrary, hold together like one man, and play systematically into each other's hands; and that is how we are enabled to beat you." Volumes could not have said more.

The effects of this judicious system are visible even in those semi-barbarous regions where (as in Roumania and along the Levantine seaboard) some traces still linger of the tyrannical restrictions formerly imposed upon the proscribed race. National laws may forbid, and national prejudices condemn, the idea of a Jew holding landed property, or in any way becoming a "son of the soil;" but of what avail are such hindrances against the irresistible though secret action of wealth allied with cunning? Some native whom an unpaid debt, or any similar cause, may have placed in the power of the Jew, is chosen to act as the latter's representative. The land ostensibly

* Thus paraphrased by Dr. Johnson:

> "Astronomer, rope-dancer, rhetorician,
> Priest, prophet, lackey, lawyer, pimp, physician,
> All sciences a fasting Monsieur knows,
> And bid him go to hell—to hell he goes!"

held by him yields all its profits to his unacknowledged patron; the law is evaded though not broken, and once again the indomitable Hebrew has his will.*

Summing up, then, the facts already stated, it is not difficult to draw the conclusion to which they point. But recently one of the greatest of European States had a Jew at its head, and the movement thus inaugurated will certainly not stop there. Before many years are over, Europe may behold a circle of Jewish premiers, legislating as vigorously for the benefit of their own people as Christian statesmen once legislated against it; and although the progress of civilization happily forbids them to retaliate the cruelties of the latter by the exercise of equal severity, there can be no question as to which of the two opposing races would be likely to have the advantage under such a *régime*.

Before quitting the subject, it remains for us to consider one more department of it, which has been so often and so persistently misunderstood as to demand special attention. We refer to the *vexata quæstio* of the ultimate restoration of the Jews to their own country, and the reorganization of Palestine into its former condition of a distinctively Hebrew State.

The reasons for the persistent ignoring or misinterpreting of this question are not hard to discern. One set of thinkers, who consider all Scriptural utterances as "intended to bear a metaphorical meaning"—*i. e.*, no meaning at all—conveniently dispose of the predicted restoration by classing it with "purely prophetic [and therefore, according to their view, purely impossible] events." Another school, without going so far as to pronounce the thing impossible, set it down as an abnormal and unnatural contingency, which, should it ever happen at all, can happen only at a very remote period. A third class, again, while admitting that the experiment *might* be tried, stoutly maintain that the race for which it is said to be reserved would be the last men upon earth to think of trying it.

The first of the above-named objections may be summarily disposed of, for it carries its own refutation along with it.

* A similar device has been practised for years past in the negro republic of Hayti, the constitution of which forbids the holding of land by a foreigner.

That the Jews, with the wealth and influence which they now possess, should consolidate themselves into a distinct community, is no more astounding or contrary to reason than that they should have been able to maintain their individuality during eighteen centuries in the face of the fiercest and most continuous persecution which the world has ever known. With equal justice might the most enlightened thinker of the first century of our era have laughed to scorn the suggestion that a handful of obscure and illiterate field-preachers, whose very name of "Christians" was a term of reproach, would one day extend their religion over the whole civilized world. A hundred years ago, the wisest Englishmen of the day were indignant at the folly of those who dared to hint that a scanty population, scattered over a vast extent of almost unreclaimed country, could successfully withstand the whole might of Great Britain, much less grow into the greatest republic upon the face of the earth. History, however, has recorded the complete accomplishment of both these "impossibilities," and of not a few others equally apparent. Nor does the predicted Hebrew avatar itself, when dispassionately examined, appear so very impossible after all. The chief, if not the sole, obstacle to its realization is the fanatical despotism of Turkey, which English reforms on the one hand and Russian conquests on the other have recently shaken to such a degree that many men now living may fairly hope to witness its final extinction. Even under the existing *régime*, so many of the banished race have returned to their ancient possessions that the population of Jerusalem alone has risen, since the close of the Crimean war, from 12,000 to upwards of 30,000, while that of other Syrian towns has increased in proportion.

But the fact just stated, while completely demolishing the first of the three specified objections, seems to lend additional weight to the second. "Who are the majority of these returned exiles"? ask the objectors; "they are mere resourceless laborers, earning a precarious subsistence from day to day, and crowding into the towns because the open country can afford them no means of living. How is a band of poverty-stricken workmen, glad to serve even their Turkish tyrants for a morsel

of bread, to form the nucleus of a Hebrew empire? or how is a region which cannot even support ten or twelve thousand frugal immigrants for a few years together, to become the permanent abode of millions?"

Similar and even more cogent arguments are adduced by other reasoners of the same school. "How can any one hope to thrive," they urge, "under a system of graduated robbery such as that which the Turks humorously call 'administration?' The grand-vizier levies toll upon the governor-general, the governor-general taxes the pashas, the pashas fleece their subordinates, the subordinates plunder the people; and the mere existence of the latter is little short of a miracle, ground down as they are not only by the government impost of ten per cent., but by the countless other exactions for the benefit of the local officials. And even were this obstacle removed, another not less formidable would still remain, in the physical character of the country itself. What are the leading characteristics of the Holy Land, in its present state? Ruin, barrenness, solitude, barbarism, desolation. Between Beyrout and Damascus, the traveller, rolling along a well-beaten high-road in a neat French stage-coach, under the wires of a telegraph, may perhaps dream of civilization; but the divergence of a single mile from the track, will show him, unchanged and unchangeable, all the features of an age when Abraham was still a roving sheikh on the Chaldean steppes—the veiled woman coming from the well with her earthern pitcher upon her head, the laden camel striding through the sand, the gaunt, half-clad herdsman tending his black, dwarfish goats, the wild-eyed Bedouin rushing at full galop along the brink of a precipice, with his striped mantle streaming banner-like from his shoulders and his sixteen-foot lance of cane quivering in his hand. Ruins everywhere—the ruins of Canaanite cities, of Roman aqueducts, of Byzantine monasteries, of Arab villages, of Christian chapels; splendid monuments half-buried in sand, filthy savages burrowing in the sepulchres of ancient monarchs, spots of world-wide renown sunk in dirt and rubbish: nothing of the present, everything of the past. Centuries would be needed to turn such a desert into a garden;

and even granting that this change could be effected, the making a sterile soil capable of affording a bare subsistence to its population, is hardly tantamount to erecting it into a powerful and self-dependent State."

At the first glance, these arguments are undeniably plausible; but on a closer inspection, they will be found to amount to little or nothing. No one can well assert that centuries have been needed to change the barren tract around Salt Lake City into a populous and flourishing settlement, or to establish more than one thriving Russian colony amid the terrific deserts of Central Asia. Moreover, it must be remembered that the problem as regards Palestine is not to turn a desert into a garden, but simply to restore the productiveness of a garden which neglect has turned into a desert.

This is no figure of speech. Proofs neither few nor slight still remain to show that the glowing descriptions given by her Hebrew prophet-poets of the ancient fertility of Palestine are anything but the fable which so many unhesitatingly pronounce them. Even those who reject Scripture and question history, must believe the testimony of their own eyes; and a single ride across the forty-two miles of country lying between Jaffa and Jerusalem would be more than sufficient to convince the most skeptical. On the plain of Sharon, after ages of wasteful havoc and still more wasteful neglect, the standing corn still reaches, and in many places overtops, the saddle-bow of a horseman as he rides through it. Farther on, along the hillsides above the pass of Abu-Gosh, the vineyards line both sides of the road, for hundreds of yards together, with grapes surpassing the finest clusters of Anatolia. Amid the ruins of three successive cities, the olives of Gethsemane still grow thick and strong as when their leaves trembled at the consummation of the darkest tragedy on record, eighteen hundred years ago. It is not easy for even a well-mounted Arab to force his way through the belt of luxuriant vegetation that stretches for miles along both banks of the Jordan. The noble cedars of Lebanon have indeed perished generations ago beneath the destroying hand of the

Turks, but many charming little oases of verdure still nestle in the hollows of the famous mountain range; and even the fierce Syrian sun can barely penetrate the great mass of dark, glossy foliage, amid which rise the white houses and tall tapering minarets of imperial Damascus.

The fact is, that here, as in Central Asia, all that is needed to repair the havoc of the past is a little care and irrigation. The native proverb that "wherever water runs, wood grows," is amply born out by the unsurpassed richness of the vegetation which clusters along even such tiny streams as the Kidron and the Abana. The prime cause of the desolation which has overwhelmed these once fruitful regions, is to be found in the wasteful barbarity of the old Mohammedan conquerors,* who by burning or cutting away the sheltering trees, left the soil unshielded from the scorching sun which speedily dried up its moisture. That moisture restored, and those trees replanted, the gorgeous imagery which depicted the wilderness as "blossoming like the rose," would be realized to the letter.

In a word, what is wanting to the Palestine of the present day is not capability of improvement, but security of life and property to the improvers. No one can reasonably expect that a man should devote himself, heart and soul, to a labor the fruits of which, as he well knows, he will never be permitted to enjoy; or that a population whose one absorbing thought is to escape starvation on the one hand, and scourge or scimitar on the other, should have much attention to spare for projects of culture and improvement. When some well-constituted government shall have superseded the organized brigandage of Turkey—when the native peasant can hope to reap the harvest which he has sown, and the native workman ply his trade unhaunted by the ever-present dread of plunder and outrage—then, and not till then, will the resources of that wonderful region, which seems endowed with a vitality as inextinguishable as that of its ancient possessors, be made fully manifest.

* This innate destructiveness of the Saracenic races is aptly expressed in the terse proverb, quoted to me by a French missionary amid the ruins of Carthage: "Arab H'arab" (the Arab is destruction).

We have still to consider the last and most frequently urged of our three objections, viz: that the difficulty of the scheme lies not so much in the character of the territory to be occupied, as in that of the men who are to occupy it. This assertion, bearing as it does more directly upon the subject in hand, merits a more detailed examination than its predecessors.

The arguments usually brought forward in support of the theory in question may be briefly stated as follows: It is a well-established fact that the wealthiest and most influential Jews—those, in short, by whose coöperation alone such a colossal enterprise could be achieved—are proverbial for the hard practicality of their disposition, and for a habit of looking at everything exclusively from a business point of view, and estimating all undertakings by the amount of personal advantage to be expected from them. The present position of the Jewish race is such as to give full scope for tastes and qualities of this kind. Hebrew capitalists stand at the head of national commerce in every country of Europe. More than 60,000 of them are established in New York alone. The growing wealth and population of Australia and the South American republics are offering fresh fields to their commercial enterprise, while the concession of political equality by the governments of Europe has opened to them such chances of power and profit as their forefathers never dreamed of. And now, it would seem, they are expected to abandon all this for the barren glory of repossessing a small tract of half-savage country in the far East, in compliance with a prophecy which most of them hold to be an absolute fiction, invented to flatter the national vanity of the race to which it was first promulgated. In other words, these shrewd, hard-headed men of business (most of whom are so prosperously established in the land of their adoption as to be Jews only in the name, and to care as little for Palestine and its Hebraic apotheosis as any Christian stock-broker with whom they deal) are to barter substance for shadow, solid advantages for intangible promises, a real and lucrative present for a distant and visionary future. Is such a thing reasonable? Is it probable? Is it even possible?

Here, fortunately, we are able to meet the objectors upon their own ground. According to them, the Jews embark in none but "paying" enterprises; the repeopling of Palestine is not a "paying" enterprise, therefore they will not embark in it. The major premise of this syllogism may be correct enough, but the minor is as flagrantly erroneous as any statement can well be. The fact is that the project in question, however closely interwoven with national poetry and prophecy, holds out, in addition, as fair and full a promise of solid commercial gain as the most brilliant speculation in Wall Street—a fact which no one has recognized more thoroughly than the Jews themselves. This, it may be said, is mere assertion; but the proof is not far to seek. The "wealthiest and most influential" capitalist among the Jews of the last generation was the elder Rothschild, a man whom his bitterest enemy would not have dared to accuse of either patriotism or religion, and whose creed (so far as he can be said to have had any) might be summed up in a travesty of the old Mussulman formula: "There is no God but Mammon, and cent. per cent. is his profit." This man, such as we describe him, is well known to have made the most strenuous efforts to pursuade the Turkish Government into concluding a bargain with him, by which the whole of Palestine would have become a *bonâ fide* estate of his own, to be managed, altered, and generally improved, as he might think fit. Tradition adds that the Sultan himself was quite willing to assent to the arrangement, though deterred from actually ratifying it by dread of the furious opposition which such a step would be certain to encounter at the hands of his bigoted subjects; but the events which have occurred since that offer was made will probaby render the latter more compliant when it shall be repeated. In any case, a speculation upon which the keenest and hardest business man of the age was willing and even eager to hazard millions, can scarcely be pronounced altogether visionary and unprofitable.

Nor, indeed, is it so. It would be difficult to name any essential of commercial prosperity which Palestine does not possess. A central position, an ample seaboard, great natural resources, an eminently productive soil, the command of

several important commercial highways, a compact territory, a fine climate, an abundant supply of water-power—all are there. People such a region with the proverbial wealth and energy of the Jewish race, and its resurrection will be as sudden and astounding as that of the dry bones in the vision of Ezekiel.

To a certain extent, the experiment has already been tried with perfect success. In the early days of the Hebrew occupation, Palestine was very much what it is now—a scene of violence and misrule, where, in the words of the Jewish historians themselves, "every man did that which was right in his own eyes." A few generations sufficed to change this lawless region into a well-ordered and flourishing State, which (lying between the Mediterranean and the valley of the Euphrates, and thus uniting in itself both the sea and land traffic of the East) became, under the peaceful rule of Solomon, the recognized centre of the world's carrying trade. So manifest, indeed, was its fitness for this purpose, that Alexander the Great himself, with the ruthless foresight which characterized him, thought it necessary to supplement the utter destruction of Tyre by creating a new Tyre in Alexandria, and thus changing the whole current of Eastern commerce.

The ages which have elapsed since that time have increased rather than diminished the natural advantages of Palestine, the value of its geographical position having been enhanced by events of which neither Solomon nor Alexander ever dreamed. The Euphrates Valley, which borders it on the east, is about to become once more a great highway of the nations. The Mediterranean, which flanks it on the west, is furrowed in every direction by the steam-driven merchant navies of five great States, whose very names were unknown when Alexandria was founded. The Red Sea, which lies within easy reach of it to the south, is now (thanks to the genius of M. de Lesseps) the most important part of a continuous ocean-highway, linking the far East to the far West. On the north-west, again, lies England's latest acquisition, the island of Cyprus, the annexation of which, if report speak truly, is shortly to be supplemented by that of one of the

nearest Levantine seaports (probably either Mersina or Alexandretta) and a construction of a railway thence, *viâ* Diarbekir and the head waters of the Euphrates, to the great emporium of Mosul on the Upper Tigris.

The small size of Palestine is frequently and most inconsistently dwelt upon by many objectors, who seem to forget that not a few of the smallest States in the world—Athens, for example, Holland, Venice, Switzerland, Great Britain—have proved themselves far superior, in all the arts both of peace and war, to the huge, unwieldy bulk of Persia, Russia, Austria, and sixteenth century Spain. In reality, these scanty limits, so far from being a drawback to the merits of Palestine, are one of its strongest recommendations. In this compact little country, with a mean breadth of sixty miles and an extreme length of four hundred, there are none of those vast distances to be traversed which impede the internal development of Russia. Two rides carry the traveller from the seaboard to the banks of the Jordan. The Russian and Austrian steamers which ply weekly between Constantinople and Alexandria, run the whole length of the Syrian coast in less than two days. A French diligence, crossing both ridges of the Lebanon, reaches Damascus daily from Beyrout in thirteen and a-half hours. To seam the entire surface of such a territory with railways and telegraphs * would be child's play for a generation which has bridged the whole American continent from sea to sea, cut through the Isthmus of Suez, and tunnelled Mont Cenis and the St. Gothard; and the railways of Palestine, when connected with the long-deferred Euphrates Valley line on one side, and that from the Tigris to Alexandretta on the other, would form a very important link in the ever-growing chain of Asiatic communications.

Not less palpable are the advantages conferred upon Palestine by the unusual length of her coast-line, which forms a full third of her entire circumference, and contains a proportionate number of available harbors. The great marts of Tyre and Sidon, indeed, have long since dwindled down to miserable

* Two telegraph lines are already in operation; the one from the port of Beyrout to Damascus, the other from that of Jaffa to Jerusalem.

fisher-hamlets; but their place is amply supplied by Latakia, Tripoli, Beyrout, Acre, Caiffa and Jaffa. Five of these six ports require nothing farther to fit them for all purposes of traffic; and although Jaffa labors under the double disadvantage of being an open roadstead and having its approach perilously obstructed by a sunken reef, its transformation into a safe and commodious harbor would be a light task compared with the blowing up of Hell-Gate, or the construction of the Port Said breakwater. All the above places are visited every week by French, Russian and Austrian steamers; and the establishment of direct communication with Cyprus (which is at present dependent upon the passing visits of the "Austrian Lloyd") may be expected to follow before long.

Nor would freight be wanting to these vessels, however numerous they might be, were Palestine once in the hands of able and enlightened men of business, instead of in those of brutal and ignorant robbers. With proper care and irrigation, the splendid though now neglected corn-lands of Judea, which in ancient times exported grain to every part of the Mediterranean seaboard, would do so once more. The annual yield of fruit would probably equal, if not actually surpass, that of either Sicily, Rhodes or Scio. The once famous manufacture of fine cloths and carpets, which formerly made the "Sidonian fabrics" a household word from Syria to Spain, would revive upon its own ground. The tanneries of Joppa, some remains of which still linger in the very street where Simon Peter once lodged with his namesake of the guild, would speedily regain their ancient prosperity; and modern enterprise would quarry from the rocky hills of the interior the valuable materials which have lain concealed for ages. All that is needed to realize these great possibilities is capital in the first place, and labor in the second. The former, as we have seen, has already been offered; the latter has for years past been flowing into the country of its own accord, and will flow into it yet more rapidly in proportion to the measure of success and security which it may find there.

So much for the commercial resources of Palestine. With regard to her strategic capabilities, and her power of self-

defence in case of need, there can be still less question, or rather there can be none whatever. The country which, garrisoned by the same race that is one day to repossess it, more than once stood its ground for a considerable time against the whole strength of the Roman Empire, is no less defensible now than it was in the days of Josephus or of Bar-Cochba.* Both nature and art seem to have done their utmost to favor that stubborn tenacity of resistance against all odds, which made the sieges of Jotapata, Masada, and Jerusalem, a world-wonder eighteen centuries ago. Every town, every village, every hill-top, we might almost say every house, is a fortress in itself. Those who have seen the grim peak of Nebi Samuel, the terraced precipices that wall in the gorge of Abu-Gosh, or the tremendous cliffs which flank the narrow, tortuous bridle-path that leads downward from Jerusalem to the basin of the Dead Sea, can judge for themselves how formidably the strength of such positions might be increased by the resources of scientific fortification. Moreover, the limited area of the country would of itself enable its occupants, were their internal communications once complete, to transfer their troops from one frontier to the other, or to concentrate a preponderating force upon any important point, with a rapidity which no invader could hope to rival.

Nor is this Asiatic Switzerland less fully protected against an attack by sea, than against one by land. Its entire coast-line is one chain of natural redoubts, almost as formidable as the grim fortresses of human workmanship which alternate with them every here and there. A few heavy guns planted upon the bold headland of Mount Carmel, and upon the other rocky heights that sentinel the coast, would work terrible havoc in a hostile fleet approaching from the west. Nor would the chances of a descent upon the seaboard be much more hopeful. Jaffa, with its narrow, breakneck streets rising

* This impostor (whose name signifies "Son of the Star") headed a formidable insurrection against the Emperor Adrian in the second century A. D., giving himself out as the Messiah. After a desperate and prolonged struggle, in which more than six hundred thousand men are said to have perished, the *soi-disant* Messiah fell at the storming of Bither, and his audacious scheme died within him.

one above the other along the steep rocky hill-side, has more than once offered a formidable resistance, even after its outer defences had been stormed; and the stern, gray, low-browed ramparts of Acre are still as ready to foil the efforts of any invader,* as when they foiled those of Napoleon himself, eighty-two years ago. Indeed, the great conqueror's persistent attempts to secure Palestine as a base of operations for his Oriental campaign in 1798, and his reiterated assertion that Sir Sidney Smith's repulse of his attack upon Acre was the stroke of ill-luck that made him "miss his destiny," are in themselves the strongest of all possible testimonies to the military value of the country. Such a region, manned by a race whose fighting power, at least, the most superficial reader of history can hardly venture to gainsay, would have little cause to fear any assailant upon earth.

It would be easy to multiply *ad infinitum* similar and even stronger evidences. But our *résumé* of the subject has already extended sufficiently far; and enough has been said, we trust, to make it clear that the confident belief of the outlawed race in their ultimate restoration to the land of their fathers, rests upon more durable grounds than the visions of fanatical zeal or of patriotic enthusiasm, and that modern facts and ancient prophecies alike point to the coming of a time when "Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely."

DAVID KER.

* Acre was captured by the English, however, during the war of 1840 with Mehemet Ali, a panic caused by the explosion of a great magazine having demoralized the Egyptian garrison.

ART. VIII.—THE INTELLECTUAL POSITION OF THE NEGRO.

1. *De la littérature des Nègres*, ou Recherches sur leurs facultés intellectuelles, leurs qualités morales et leur littérature; suivies de Notices sur la vie et les ouvrages des Nègres qui se sont distingués dans les Sciences, les Lettres et les Arts. Par H. GRÉGOIRE, ancien Evêque de Blois, membre du Sénat conservateur, de l'Institut national, de la Société royale des Sciences de Göttingue, etc., etc. Paris: MDCCCVIII.
2. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* By THOS. JEFFERSON.
3. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited by H. A. WASHINGTON. Washington: 1853.
4. *Antipathy to the Negro.* By JAMES PARTON, in *North American Review.* Nov.—Dec. 1878.

WHENEVER a dominant class seeks to justify by argument the persecution and ostracism which keep races in degradation and subjection, we invariably find a remarkable similarity in the methods of reasoning. The arguments by means of which a supposed antipathy against Negro, Irish or Israelite is supported all show the brand of the same manufactory. We find the inevitable *non sequitur*, special pleading; the same infelicity of illustration, unfair construction, disregard of reasons from the opponent's point of view, and a perversity of ideas joined to a persistence in statement which would seem effectually to obscure any attempt at illumination. Every species of fallacy seems instinctively sought after. Sophistries exploded so often as to appear ridiculous are summoned with unconscious gravity and paraded as new, valuable or irrefutable. It becomes quite an art, with defamers of race, as with those who despise a difference of creed or political opinion, to deduce conclusions from very scant data and point them with

an epigram. Rhetorical finish is exhibited where foundation is lacking, and damaging assertions are promulgated, not only without verification, but so easily controvertible by the mere novice that it would seem a waste of time to prove their untenable nature. *Ab uno disce omnes* is conclusive, and they carry around, like the heathen of old, a specimen brick of the house they wish to sell, the party they would destroy, the creed they would obliterate, or the race they would oppress. The sting is extracted, in a degree, from the attacks of these virulent partisans, by the fact, very significant to an impartial observer, that these writers and orators for the most part are not blest with cleverness either in correct statement or legitimate inference; and hence the value of their conclusions is not equal to the caustic grip of their pens or the intensity of their prejudices.

Writers of this class might as well at once plead guilty of hatred for an entire race, creed or party, as to profess partial sympathy, or discourage one phase of illiberality while opening wide the door for complete and utter disparagement.

It would be amusing, where it not painful, to observe how little even educated Americans, judging from articles in current literature, know of the capacity, disposition, achievements, services, or sacrifices of the Negro in general and the Negro-American in particular. At the outbreak of the war, Wendell Phillips outraged public sentiment by placing Toussaint L'Ouverture above Cromwell and Washington. The learned and philanthropic Mr. Livermore shocked still further people of tender sensibilities on the Negro question by elaborately proving* that we had taken part in every war, had furnished one of the earliest martyrs of the Revolution, and had our heroes at Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and Yorktown.

The majority of American citizens were in like manner astounded in 1865, when Congressmen were idly discussing the right and propriety of giving the Negro the ballot, to find, through Judge Kelley's research, that not only negro men but negro women had voted in some of the original thirteen States on a property qualification; and had thus formed a part of

* *Negroes as Citizens and Soldiers.*

"We the People" who had made "a more perfect Union," and attempted "to secure the blessings of liberty" to themselves and their "posterity." There are, doubtless, many today who believe the Negro's valor and patriotism dates merely from the hour when he followed his fair-haired leader to the ramparts of Battery Wagner, or died with his face to the foe amid the merciless slaughter of Milliken's Bend, Fort Pillow and Port Hudson.

Mr. James Parton has written in the *North American Review* on *Antipathy to the Negro*, in a manner which illustrates in a marked degree most of the idiosyncracies of race criticism above referred to. The article was conceived, doubtless, with the kindliest feelings toward our race. It shows traces of a practised hand, and is indeed much fairer in spirit than some others which have appeared in the same *Review* within two years on the Negro in politics, and displays more kindly consideration (did we need kindliness so much as justice) than most Americans are inclined to accord to us. And yet Mr. Parton's treatment of this theme is so glaring an example of the prevalent inaccurate and hasty way of disposing of matters pertaining to the Negro and his interests in this country, that we shall venture to criticise him where he is at fault, analyze some of his general statements, and reply to certain deductions and conclusions apparently hastily drawn or erroneously applied.

It would be a difficult task, we apprehend, before an impartial tribunal, to assign a legitimate reason for the existence of the article under discussion.

The writer himself appears not to feel such an antipathy to us that it must need find expression; for his liberality is well known to those who have read his writings for the past fifteen years. Nor is there any apparent ground for its appearance because of any new or startling exhibitions of *antipathia* against us noticeable at the present time. No argument was needed to prove that there has been an unreasonable and unreasoning prejudice against negroes as a class, a long-existing antipathy, seemingly ineradicable, sometimes dying out it would appear, and then bursting forth afresh from no apparent

cause. If Mr. Parton means to assert that such prejudice is ineradicable, or is increasing, or is even rapidly passing away, then is his venture insufficient, because it fails to support either of these views. It does not even attempt to show that the supposed antipathy is general, for the author expressly, and, we think, very properly, relegates its exercise to those whom he calls the most ignorant,—the "meanest" of mankind.

If his intention was to attack a senseless antipathy, hold it up to ridicule, show its absurdity, analyze its constituent parts and suggest some easy and safe way for Americans to rid themselves of unchristian and un-American prejudices, then has he again conspicuously failed to carry out such purpose. He asserts the existence of antipathies, but only by inference does he discourage their maintenance, although on other topics he is rather outspoken whenever he cares to express his own convictions.

On this question Mr. Parton is, to say the least, vacillating, because he fails to exhibit any platform upon which we may combat those who support early prejudices and justify their continuance from the mere fact of their existence. We never expect Mr. Gayarré and Mr. Henry Watterson to look calmly and dispassionately at these questions from the Negro's point of view. The one gives us the old arguments of De Bow's *Review*, and the other deals out the *ex parte* views of the present leaders at the South.* The one line of argument has been answered over and over again by the old anti-slavery leaders; the pungent generalizations of the latter, the present generation of negroes can answer whenever the opportunity is afforded them.

But Mr. Parton was born in a cooler and calmer atmosphere,

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*Ne jugeons pas une cause sur l'audition d'une seule partie. Un jour peut-être les Nègres écriront, imprimeront à leur tour, ou l'impartialité guidera la plume de quelque Blanc.—H. Grégoire. *Histoire de la Littérature des Nègres*, p. 74.

On a calomnié les Nègres, d'abord pour avoir droit de les asservir, ensuite pour se justifier de les avoir asservis, et parce qu'on était coupable envers eux. Les accusateurs, et simultanément juges et exécuteurs, et ils se disent chrétiens! *Id.*, p. 104. [The notes throughout this article are literally quoted in their awkward and bad French.—ED.]

where men are accustomed to give a reason for the faith that is in them, and hence it is necessary, in opening any discussion such as he has provoked, that he should assign some ground of opposition or support—Christian, Pagan, utilitarian, constitutional, optimist, or pessimist.

The very apparent friendliness of his intentions makes even a legitimate conclusion from him seem mere conjecture, likely to be sucessfully controverted by any subtle thinker and opponent. No definite conclusion is, indeed, reached with regard to the first query (Jefferson's fourteenth) with which Mr. Parton opens his article: Whether the white and black races can live together on this continent as equals. He lets us see at the close, incidentally only, what his opinion is, and it inclines to the negative. But throughout the article he is in the anomalous and dubious position of one who opens a discussion which he cannot end, and the logical result of whose own opinion he dares not boldly state. The illustrations of the early opinions of Madison and Jefferson only show how permanent a factor the Negro is in American history and polity, and how utterly futile are all attempts at his expatriation. Following Mr. Parton's advice, the Negro has always prudently abstained from pitting "himself against inexorable facts." He is careful, however, to make sure of two things,—that the alleged facts are verities and that they are inexorable. Prejudice we acknowledge as a fact; but we know that it is neither an ineradicable nor an inexorable one. We find fault with Mr. Parton because he starts a trail on antipathy, evidently purposeless, and fails to track it down either systematically or persistently, but branches off, *desipere in loco*, to talk loosely of "physical antipathy," meaning what we usually term natural antipathy; and at last, emerging from the "brush" where he has been hopelessly beating about from Pliny to Mrs. Kemble, he gains a partial "open" once more by asserting a truism—that it is the "ignorance of a despised class" (the lack of knowledge we have of them) which nourishes "these insensate antipathies." Here we are at one with Mr. Parton. Those who know us most intimately, who have associated with us in the nursery, at school, in college, in

trade, in the tenderer and confidential relations of life, in health, in sickness and in death, as trusted guides, as brave soldiers, as magnanimous enemies, as educated and respected men and women, give up all senseless antipathies, and feel ashamed to confess they ever cherished any prejudice against a race whose record is as unsullied as that of any in the land.

The weightiest argument with southern men, says Mr. Parton, against the two races living together as equals is the mental inferiority of the Negro.* Mr. Jefferson's opinion is cited as conclusive; and Mr. Parton adds the sanction of his calm judgment as to the fact, and, we assume, by consequence, to the conclusion.

Negroes and whites have lived together upon this continent for three hundred years as unequals. No insuperable antipathy has prevented a crossing of types and mingling of blood until a pure negro can scarcely be found except in the interior of Louisiana, South Carolina or Mississippi. As slaves we held the nearest and tenderest relations to the dominant class without any visible detriment on our part as yet observable, although pronounced "mentally inferior," until the dark current flows today strongly in many a cheek unconscious of its origin, and has aroused intellects which knew too well the secret of their imperious and uncontrollable power.† The moment, however, we are raised to the dignity of freemen, where manhood and intellectual worth, according to all ethics, political science and economy, are supposed to be enhanced, then we must be separated from those with whom we have lived so closely related, and with such assumed benefit, as slaves! These objections, whether coming from southern statesmen or northern casuists, would seem to warrant the suspicion that it is not so much the innate mental inferiority of the Negro

* "When the strong man has resolved to oppress the weak, it is easy to find a cause for his oppression, and give it an appearance of Justice."—Abbé MacGeoghegan. *History of Ireland.*

† "Tu t'asseyais sur le seuil de ta grotte resplendissante, les manches retroussées, la poitrine à l'air, le visage souriant; tu t'essuyais le front; tu regardais les calmes étoiles en respirant la fraîcheur de la nuit; ou bien, tu te lançais sur la première porte venue, tu t'évadais comme un prisonnier; tu parcourais l'Océan, tu gravissais le Caucase, tu escaladais l'Etna, toujours quelque chose de colossal, et, les poumons remplis à nouveau, tu rentrais dans ta caverne."—*Dumas fils à Dumas père.*

which is dreaded, as a lurking thought that his present condition is after all merely the result of his circumstances and that, *ceteris paribus*, there is much cause to fear that the Negro may disprove many learned disquisitions, eloquent speeches and able reviews, if given equal opportunities, inspired by the air of freedom, and exalted to the complete dignity of an American citizen.

Few passages of any book have been more widely commented upon or used more extensively as texts for pro-slavery sermons and anti-abolition harangues than portions of the *Notes on Virginia*. As happens frequently with scriptural texts, the expounders have at times abridged or enlarged the text, sometimes consciously but quite as often through downright ignorance of what Mr. Jefferson did write. The same excited declaimers against negro equality have been heard to praise the Kentucky resolutions, which they had never read, speak approvingly of Jefferson's writing the phrase "All men are born free and equal," as if he did use such an untruth, and reach the climax of absurdity by showing what the author of the *Notes* thought of the Negro.

At the first appearance of Mr. Jefferson's book it became the target for hostile criticism, especially in France, where the author was so favorably known. The main line of objection was that the excerpts would be taken apart from the context and used to strengthen the arguments of those who upheld chattel slavery and were opposed to the "rights of man," and, indeed, would be carried farther than the author intended in denying the manhood and brotherhood of the Negro. The event proved the justness of the criticism. Even Mr. Jefferson was flattered by the attacks, and, with the pardonable pride of authorship, he assumed that the labors of the famous *Société Amis des Noirs* and particularly Abbé Grégoire's book were intended as replies to his strictures upon the Negro.

A writer in *Lippincott's Magazine* for November, 1878, in a rambling talk on the Negro, unconsciously repeats the dilutions of Mr. Jefferson's *Notes*. Prof. Winchell, in his recent work on *Preadamites*, raises Mr. Parton's deductions from Jefferson to the dignity of authority in matters of ethnological science!

Is it strange that we negroes are tempted to believe there are differences in intellects as well as differences in craniological development, when seven-storied skulls are satisfied with such arguments?

Mr. Parton will find that, as far back as 1829, the negro patriot, Walker, dared to reply to Mr. Jefferson and other contemners of our race, in an *Appeal to the Colored People* of the world and particularly to those of the United States. It is the best anti-slavery book published in America, with all its imperfections. Full of argument and quaint illustrations, it exhibits the negro character in a favorable light. Indignation, humor, sarcasm, intrepidity and keen argument abound in it, and Mr. Jefferson is so well answered that Walker needed not to call on the next generation for replies.* Walker was the precursor of William Lloyd Garrison, and the single volume of his *Appeal* anticipates every phillippic from the file of the *Liberator*. But Walker is not the only negro who has paid his respects to Mr. Jefferson, as Mr. Parton may discover by turning to the single volume of the *Anglo-African Magazine*, published in New York in 1859, by Dr. James McCune Smith, a graduate of Glasgow University, Scotland. In an article, scholarly, judicious and fair, he shows conclusively that a negro can reply to the strictures of the *Notes*, and do it in a gentlemanly manner.† Neither of the authors mentioned had probably ever seen a rare book‡ published in 1793 by

* "Mr. Jefferson's very severe remarks upon us have been so extensively argued upon by men whose attainments in literature I shall never be able to reach, that I would not have meddled with it, were it not to solicit each of my brethren, who has the spirit of a man, to buy a copy of Mr. Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, and put it into the hands of his son. For let no one of us suppose that the refutations which have been written by our white friends are enough—they are *whites*—we are *blacks*. We and the world wish to see the charges of Mr. Jefferson refuted by the blacks *themselves*, according to their chance; for we must remember that what the whites have written respecting this subject is other men's labours, and did not emanate from the black."—*Appeal to the Colored People*, Walker. Boston, September 28, 1829.

† "The question asked by Mr. Jefferson in his fourteenth query, would never have been propounded had he been acquainted with the philosophy of human progress. Instead of asking: How shall we get rid of them? Instead of affirming that they could never be safely incorporated in the state—had he possessed the insight or sagacity for which he is so celebrated, he would have welcomed their presence as one of the positive elements of natural progress."—Dr. James McCune Smith in *Anglo-African Magazine*, Vol. I. p. 237.

‡ *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America.*

"George Imlay, Captain in the American Army during the late war, and Commissioner for laying out land in the back settlements."

In a series of letters written to a friend in England, one would scarcely expect to find an answer to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Parton. For fear we may be accused of making a special plea, if we cite further the arguments of Walker and Smith, we shall venture to quote Captain Imlay, a contemporary of Mr. Jefferson, an officer possessed of facilities for observation in the field by no means inferior to those possessed by Jefferson at Monticello.

Mr. Jefferson says in the *Notes:*

"Comparing them (the blacks) by their faculties of memory, reason and imagination, it appears to me that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this investigation. We will consider them here, on the same stage with the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be found. It will be right to make great allowance for the influence of condition, education, of conversation, of the sphere in which they move. * * * Some have been liberally educated, and all have lived in countries where the arts and sciences are cultivated to a considerable degree, and have had before their eyes samples of the best works abroad. * * * But never yet could I find a black that had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never see even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture. In music they are more generally gifted than the whites with accurate ears for tune and time, and they have been found capable of imagining a small catch. * * * Religion indeed has produced a Phillis Whately [Wheatley]; but it could not produce a poet. The compositions published under her name are below the dignity of criticism.* The heroes of the *Dunciad* are to her as Hercules to the author of that poem."—Vol. I, pp. 206 *et seq.*

In reply to this and other passages, too long for quotation, Captain Imlay rejoins:

"I have been ashamed in reading Mr. Jefferson's book to see from one of the most enlightened and benevolent of my country-

* An ungenerous insinuation, from one usually fair; but a favorite sneer still kept up by those who doubt the Negro's capacity. It is so much easier to discredit originality than to prove it.

men, the disgraceful prejudices he entertains against the unfortunate negroes. But if he has given Europeans a flagrant proof of his prejudices, he has afforded common-sense an opportunity of judging from his paradoxes, that such cannot be the general sentiment of the people of America. * * * Can any position be more puerile and inconsistent? 'We will consider them on the same stage with the whites, and a comparison is not apocryphal.' Now I beg to know what can be more uncertain and false than estimating or comparing the intellect or talents of two descriptions of men; one *enslaved, degraded and fettered in all their acts of volition without a vista through which the rays of light and science could be shot to illumine their ignorant minds.* The other free, independent, and with the advantages of appropriating the reason and science which have been the result of the study and labours of the philosophers and sensible men for centuries back. If there have been some solitary instances where negroes have had the advantages of education, they have shown that they are in no degree inferior to whites, though they have always had in this country the very great disadvantage of associating only with their ignorant countrymen, which not only prevents that polish so essential to arrest admiration, but which imperceptibly leads to servility from the prevalence of manners. * * * But it is only necessary to prove the nullity of Mr. Jefferson's argument to copy his own reflection. He asks 'if the world has produced more than two poets acknowledged to be such by all nations? How many mathematicians, how many great inventors in arts and sciences had Europe, north of the Alps when the Romans crossed those mountains?' And then he says 'it was sixteen centuries before a Newton could be found.' And after asking these questions, he absurdly expects that black poets and mathematicians are to spring up like mushrooms. * * * 'Religion has produced a Phillis Whateley, but it could not produce a poet,' is another of Mr. Jefferson's dogmata. Phillis was brought from Africa to America, between seven and eight years of age, and without any assistance from school education, and before she was fifteen years old, wrote many of her poems. * * * I will transcribe a part of her poem on *Imagination*, and leave you to judge whether it is poetical or not. It will afford you an opportunity, if you have never met with it, *of estimating her genius and Mr. Jefferson's judgment;* and I think, without any disparagement to him, that by comparison Phillis appears much the superior. Indeed, I should be glad to be informed what white upon this continent has written more beautiful lines:

> 'Imagination! who can sing thy force?
> Or, who describe the swiftness of thy course?
> Soaring through air to find the bright abode,
> Th' imperial palace of the thund'ring God,
> We on thy pinions can surpass the wind,
> And leave the rolling universe behind:

From star to star the mental optics rove,
Measure the sky and range the realms above;
There in one view we grasp the mighty whole,
Or with new worlds amaze th' unbounded soul.
Though winter frowns, to fancy's raptured eyes
The fields may flourish and gay scenes arise;
The frozen deeps may burst their iron bands,
And bid their waters murmur o'er their sands.
Fair Flora may resume her fragrant reign,
And with her flow'ry riches deck the plain;
Sylvanus may diffuse his honors round,
And all the forest may with leaves be crown'd;
Show'rs may descend, and dews their gems disclose,
And nectar sparkle on the blooming rose.'

"Mr. Jefferson has been equally severe upon Ignatius Sancho. But as I have not the honor to be acquainted with Mr. Sancho's writings, I shall conclude that the criticism is equally marked with prejudice. * * * But to complete his paradoxes, Mr. Jefferson has remarked, 'That the Indian, with no advantage of education, is eloquent and ingenious,' without recollecting that the savage is free, while the poor African is enslaved; though he allows that servitude destroys half the worth of the human soul." —Vol. I, pp. 182 *et seq.*

Neither this extract from Imlay, nor Mr. Parton's paraphrase of Jefferson's views gives, however, a perfectly impartial impression of that curious mind. Jefferson, judged by all he has said, is much more catholic and far less dogmatic than one would infer, judging merely from Captain Imlay's indignant rebuke or Mr. Parton's exceedingly scant interpretation. The Negro can afford to be just to a man of preëminent political shrewdness, of broad culture and an ardent appreciation of human liberty in the abstract, although the pernicious system which surrounded him and under which he was trained is responsible for much that is contradictory and erroneous in his writings. Let us hear what he has said before we hastily conclude that he despised the Negro, or despaired of his improvement. We may appeal from Jefferson as quoted by Mr. Parton, to Jefferson as pictured by himself. We shall see that he scarcely believed in the permanent inferiority of the Negro:

"Whether further observations will or will not verify the conjecture, that nature has been less bountiful to them in the endowments of the head, I believe that in those of the heart, she will be found to have done them justice.

"That disposition to theft with which they have been branded, must be ascribed to their situation, and not to any depravity of

the moral sense. The man, in whose favor no laws of property exist, probably feels himself less bound to respect those made in favor of others. When arguing for ourselves, we lay down as a fundamental principle, that laws, to be just, must give a reciprocation of right; that, without this, they are mere arbitrary rules of conduct, founded in force and not in conscience; and it is a problem which I give to the master to solve, whether the religious precepts against the violation of property were not framed for him as well as his slave; and whether the slave may not as justifiably take a little from one, who has taken all from him, as he may slay one who would slay him? That a change in the relations in which a man is placed should change his ideas of moral right and wrong, is neither new nor peculiar to the color of the blacks. * * * Notwithstanding these considerations, which must weaken their respect for the laws of property, we find among them numerous instances of the most rigid integrity, and as many as among their better instructed masters, of benevolence, gratitude, and unshaken fidelity.

"*The opinion, that they are inferior in faculties of reason and imagination must be hazarded with great diffidence. To justify a general conclusion requires many observations, even where the subject may be submitted to the anatomical knife, to optical classes* [glasses?], *to analysis by fire, or by solvents. How much more then where it is a faculty, not a substance, we are examining; where it eludes the research of all the senses; where the conditions of its existence are various and variously combined; where the effects of those which are present or absent, bid defiance to calculation; let me add too, as a circumstance of great tenderness, where our conclusion would degrade a whole race of men from the rank in the scale of beings which their Creator may perhaps have given them.* * * * I advance it, therefore, as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind." —*Notes*, pp. 211 *et seq.*

Mr. Parton, overlooking these views we must charitably suppose, assumes that there is "an inherent mental inferiority," and that "a fatal facility of imitation stands in the way" of our "interesting race." In nine lines he disposes of the Negro for ninety years, a decade to a line, and rashly says, "we cannot name one negro of pure blood who has taken the first, the second, the third, or the tenth rank in business, politics, art, literature, scholarship, science, or philosophy. To the present hour the negro has contributed nothing to the intellectual resources of man." In this short extract one may see the *rationale* of all attacks upon the Negro.

We shall endeavor to show that here are sweeping assertions, dubious or arbitrary standards of comparison, and an absolute ignorance of what the Negro has done, not creditable to an author of Mr. Parton's pretensions.

Mr. Jefferson invariably in the *Notes* uses the term "blacks" in a generic sense, just as the French abolitionists called themselves "Amis des Noirs," and as Walker, in his *Appeal*, speaks of "we the blacks." Mr. Jefferson never uses the word as distinguished from mulattoes or mixed bloods, and in the passage quoted, where he says that he never found "a black" who had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration, he referred to any descendant of the negro race. The caution of Mr. Parton, however, when about to apply Mr. Jefferson's remark and pronounce a confirmation of it, is especially worthy of notice. He is at pains to restrict the instances of capacity which might be adduced to those examples which he is pleased to term "pure blood," whatever that phrase may mean when applied to human beings. Not content with this unfair and doubtful restriction, he sets up an arbitrary standard of rank, *ipso judice*, and applies his ten-foot pole to the various departments of human activity, and then, probably feeling that he has well intrenched himself, challenges us to produce "one negro of pure blood" who has even reached the tenth rank in his self-graduated scale!

Before taking up this hasty challenge, some notice of Mr. Parton's estimate of Abbé Grégoire's book is necessary. We shall find here also typical treatment. He summarily disposes of the work: "Unfortunately, the bishop's book possessed no value, because he omitted to ascertain whether his literary negroes were of pure or mixed blood; and his desire to make out a case for the negro made him blindly credulous." He also assures us that he has "carefully looked over" Phillis Wheatley's poetry, and ranks it with Blind Tom's antics. He disparages Toussaint and Christophe. They are mere imitators of Napoleon. Assertions so direct and dogmatic would ordinarily appear authoritative, and one would be disposed to accept them as facts, did not Mr. Parton's "short method" with Jefferson incline us to examine a trifle closer the weight

of these assertions, to see what real value they may have in a calm, dispassionate discussion. The book is the test. It will show us whether Mr. Parton's sentence accords with the law and the evidence. If we shall find him at fault here, we may reasonably conclude that he is equally in error with regard to the position of the Negro for the last ninety years in America.

Fortunately there is before us, as we write, a copy of the original edition of the book. Its very title should have prevented Mr. Parton from treating it so cavalierly. A translation appeared in 1810, by D. B. Warden, Secretary of the American Legation at Paris. Mr. Warden was even more explicit in his title,* clearly stating what the abbé essayed to show. Whichever edition Mr. Parton examined before pronouncing his *dictum*, he is clearly at fault in imputing to the author any neglect to distinguish between pure negroes and mixed bloods. Mr. Jefferson was more careful. After reading the book, he contented himself with frankly acknowledging that a superiority of understanding did not justify slavery.

The copy before us has an additional and a peculiar value, because it is the gift of the abbé himself to President Jefferson. On the fly leaf are the compliments of the author: "*A Mr. Jefferson, Président des Etats-Unis, de la part de l'auteur.*"

The titles, then, of the original work and the translation show that the author carefully distinguished between blacks and mixed bloods, in making up his judgment. If any more complete statement from him were necessary, it can be found on page 190 of the French edition:

"Les écrivains nègres sont en plus grand nombre que les Mulâtres, et ils ont en général montré plus de zèle pour venger leurs compatriotes africains; on en verra des preuves dans les articles d'Amo, Othello, Sancho, Vassa, Cugoano, Phillis-Wheatley. Mes recherches m'ont mis à portée de faire connoître d'autres Nègres, dont quelques-uns n'ont pas écrit, mais à qui la supériorité de leurs talens et l'étendue de leurs connoissances ont acquis de la renommée; dans le nombre on trouvera seulement un ou deux Mulâtres."

* *An Enquiry concerning the intellectual and Moral Faculties and Literature of Negroes:* followed with an Account of the Life and Works of Fifteen Negroes and Mulattoes, distinguished in Science, Literature, and the Arts. By H. Grégoire, etc. Brooklyn, printed by Thomas Kirk, Main Street, 1810.

The dedication itself might have prevented Mr. Parton from so widely mistaking the purpose and scope of the book: —"To all the brave men, who have pleaded the cause of the unfortunate Blacks and Mixed-bloods, either by writing or speech, in political assemblies, in societies established for the suppression of the slave-trade, the relief and emancipation of the slave."*

Grégoire guards himself particularly against exaggeration, while speaking in behalf of the Negro. Although he appears as the special advocate of the oppressed, he never allows sympathy, facts, or authorities to warp his judgment or sense of fairness:

"Gardons-nous cependant d'une exagération insensée qui chez les Noirs voudroit ne trouver que des qualités estimables; mais nous autres Blancs, avons-nous droit d'être leurs dénonciateurs? Persuadé qu'il faut très-rarement compter sur la vertu et la loyauté des hommes, quelle que soit leur couleur, j'ai voulu prouver que les uns ne sont pas originairement pires que les autres."—p. 127.

He does not fail to notice Mr. Jefferson's views in the *Notes*, and we negroes may be pardoned for thinking that he turns the argument quite skilfully against one whom he evidently regards with esteem.† His researches are naturally

* By a strange oversight, several eminent names of persons to whom the book is dedicated are omitted in the American translation. Among others we notice Jefferson, William Pinkney, Fernando Fairfax, Alexander McLeod, Magaw, Mifflin, Mitchell, and Vining.

† "Il est fâcheux de trouver le même préjugé chez un homme dont le nom ne se prononce parmi nous qu'avec une estime profonde, et un respect mérité; c'est Jefferson dans ses *Observations sur la Virginie*. Pour étayer son opinion, il ne suffisoit pas de ravaler le talent de deux écrivains nègres; il falloit établir par les raisonnemens et des faits multipliés, que, dans des circonstances données, et les mêmes pour des Blancs et des Noirs, ceux-ci ne pourroient jamais rivaliser avec ceux-là. . . . . Au reste, Jefferson lui-même fournit des armes pour le combattre dans sa réponse à Raynal, qui reprochoit à l'Amérique de n'avoir pas encore produit des hommes célèbres. Quand nous aurons existé, dit le savant Américain, en corps de nation aussi long-temps que les Grecs, avant d'avoir un Homère, les Romains un Virgile, les Français un Racine, on sera en droit de montrer de l'étonnement: de même pouvons-nous dire, quand les Nègres auront existé dans l'état de civilisation aussi long-temps que les habitans des Etats-Unis, avant de produire des hommes tels que Franklin, Rittenhouse, Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Monroe, Warren, Rush, Barlow, Mitchel, Rumford, Barton, le Virginien, qui fait l'*English* [British] *Spy*, l'auteur de l'adresse aux armées à la fin de la guerre de la révolution, qu'on a surnommé le *Junius* Américain, etc., etc., et trente autres que je pourrois citer, on aura quelque droit de croire qu'il y a chez les Nègres absence totale de génie."—*De la Lit. Nègres*, pp. 36-39.

prior to 1808. He confines himself to no one country, nor to any particular tribe or complexion of negroes. In every instance, he expressly states whether the individual was a pure black or of mixed blood. This is done, we suppose, out of deference to that assumption, still devoutly believed, that mixed bloods owe their asserted superiority to the predominance of intellect in the white parent. The ablest minds in France, Germany, and England aided him in compiling his work. By correspondence with scientists, philanthropists, educators, travellers, statesmen, and clergymen, he verified all his statements, and hence the book, so far from being valueless, is especially valuable, as showing from trustworthy data what the negroes have done in the past,—intellectual achievements which are not hidden in a corner, but known and appreciated at their full value by all fair, honest, and unprejudiced minds who desire to read them. For the purpose of showing that we have not overvalued the examples given, we shall condense a few instances, all pure blacks, from which any one may see how trustworthy a guide our good abbé is:

Higiemundo, an artist mentioned by Joachim de Sandrart, in *Academia nobilissimæ artis pictoriæ*, Norimbergæ, 1683, ch. xv, p. 34. In this work, Higiemundo is called *clarissimus* by Sandrart, who considers himself happy in having some good pictures of his, but we do not know at what time he lived.

Antony William Amo, born in Guinea, was brought to Amsterdam while very young, in 1707. He studied at Halle, in Saxony, and at Wittenberg. In the former university, under the Chancellor de Ludwig, he maintained a thesis and published a dissertation, *De Jure Maurorum*, 1729. Amo was skilled in astronomy, and spoke Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Dutch and German. In an announcement, published by the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty, this learned negro is said to be, *Excussis tam veterum quam novorum placitis, optima quaeque selegit, selecta enucleate ac dilucide interpretatus est.* Having taken his doctor's degree at Wittenberg, he maintained

* In Warden's translation, the life of Higiemundo is mistranslated, incorrectly punctuated, and an important part of it is omitted.

a thesis in 1744, which was published. * The president said of this that he could make no corrrection, it was so well done. He had a taste for metaphysics, and, when called to the professor's chair, he maintained another thesis † against all disputants. The Court of Berlin conferred on him the title of Counsellor of State.

Benoit de Palermo, sometimes named Saint Fratello, was the son of a negress, a slave, himself a negro. Roccho Pirro, author of *Sicilia Sacra*, speaks of him as *Nigro quidem corpore sed candore animi præclarissimus quem et miraculis Deus contestatum esse voluit.* He died at Palermo, 1589, where his body and memory are still held in reverence. By Pope Paul V in 1610, and in accordance with a further decree in 1743 of the Congregation of Rites, worship was authorized to be paid to him. Joseph Marie d'Ancona, the continuator of Wading, is authority for this statement. There has been talk of his canonization, but we are forced to confess our ignorance whether or not even the Roman Catholic Church has reached the liberality of beatifying or canonizing a black saint. In the history of Congo, we read of a black bishop, who studied at Rome. A prince and other blacks of rank, were sent to Portugal, during the reign of King Emanuel, and there completed the course of the universities with distinction. Several of these young noblemen were destined for the priesthood. The Portuguese Government has always insisted upon the regular and secular clergy in its possessions in Asia and Africa being blacks. ‡

Olaudah Equiano (Gustavus Vassa) was a negro stolen from Africa when young. His adventures on two continents, his voyages, travels, and accidents, form an interesting narrative, written and edited by himself, which reached a ninth edition

* *Dissertatio inauguralis philosophica de humanæ mentis ΑΠΑΘΕΙΑ, seu sensionis ac facultates sentiendi in mente humana absentia, et earum in corpore nostro organico ac vivo præsentia, quam præside, etc., publice defendit* autor Ant. Guil. Amo, *Guinea-afer, philosophiæ, etc. L. C. magister, etc.*

† *Disputatio philosophica continens ideam distinctam earum quæ competunt vel menti vel corpori nostro vivo et organico, quam consentiente amplissimorum philosophorum ordine præside M.* Ant. Guil. Amo, *Guinea-afer, defendit* Joa. Theod. Mainer, *philos. et* J. V. Cultor.

‡ *De la Littérature des Nègres*, pp. 83-84.

in 1794. The work is written with simplicity, and a crudeness of style similar to that of Daniel De Foe, in *Robinson Crusoe*. His son became assistant-librarian to Sir Joseph Banks and Secretary of the Vaccination Committee.

J. E. J. Capitein was born in Africa, an unmixed negro, and brought at the age of eight to Europe. Baptized and trained, he went to Holland, where he learned Dutch, and betook himself to painting, for which he appears to have had great talent. Mlle. Roscam taught him Latin and the rudiments of Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee. From the Hague he went to the University of Leyden, and studied theology, under skilful professors, intending to return to his own country to carry the true faith to his heathen brethren. He took his degree, and was sent as a missionary in 1742 to Elmina in Guinea. His first work was an elegy in Latin, on the occasion of the death of Manger, Minister at the Hague—his master and friend:

ELEGIA.

Invida mors totum vibrat sua tela per orbem:
Et gestit quemvis sucubuisse sibi.
Illa, metûs expers, penetrat conclavia regum:
Imperiique manu ponere sceptra jubet.
Non sinit illa diù partos spectare triumphos:
Linquere sed cogit, clara tropœa duces.
Divitis et gazas, aliis ut dividat, omnes,
Mendicique casam vindicat illa sibi.
Falce senes, juvenes, nullo discrimine, dura,
Instar aristarum, demittit illa simul.
Hic fuit illa audax, nigro velamine tecta,
Lamina Mangeri sollicitare dômus.
Hujus ut ante domum steterat funesta cypressus,
Luctisonos gemitus nobilis Haga dedit.
Hunc lacrymis tinxit gravibus carissima conjux,
Dum sua tundebat pectora sæpe manu.

When Capitein entered Leyden, he published a dissertation on the "Calling of the Gentiles" (*De vocatione Ethnicorum*). He also composed a politico-theological dissertation to show that slavery was not opposed to evangelical liberty. This brought down many anathemas upon his head, and was naturally looked upon as an extremely unorthodox proceeding

on the part of the negro. This dissertation in Latin* Grégoire thinks rich in erudition, but very poor in argument. It was translated into Dutch by Wilhelm, and reached a fourth edition. His sermons were thought worthy of publication.

Francis Williams, a Jamaica negro, was graduated from Cambridge University, England; he was a skilful maker of Latin verse, and distinguished himself in mathematics. Cutting loose from mere imitation, he dared to dub his muse, *Nigerrima.* Long, the historian of Jamaica, sneeringly calls Williams' muse "Madame Ethiopissa." Williams became a successful teacher among his race, and has left several specimens of Latin versification, among them an ode, addressed to George Haldane, Governor of Jamaica.†

Mmadi-Maké (Angelo Soliman), another native African, well known to Gall, the phrenologist, is an eminent example.‡ He learned to write German in seventeen days, and soon made rapid strides in all branches of study. He became, after many adventures which Grégoire relates, the tutor of the young Louis of Lichtenstein, where he lived in seclusion in the palace, coming occasionally into the society of his friends and learned men, and giving himself over to the pursuit of belles-lettres, which he assiduously cultivated. His favorite study was history. An excellent memory greatly aided him in this. He could quote names, dates, years of birth of distinguished men, and occurrence of principal events. He knew six languages, Italian, French, German, Latin, Bohemian, English, and he spoke with particulur purity the first three. His engraved portrait hangs in the gallery of Lichtenstein, at Ausburg.

It would seem almost a superfluous effort to reply at this late day, after Miss Martineau's novel and Wendell Phillips' masterly oration, to any criticism on the valor, statesmanship, clemency or virtues of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Men whom he

* Dissertatio politico-theologica de servitute libertati christianæ non contraria, quam sub praeside J. Van der Honert, publicæ disquisitioni subjicit, J. E. J. Capitein, *afer*, in 4°, Lugduni Batavorum; 1742.

† Rev. R. B. Nicols, Dean of Middleham, on hearing this ode read, said: "I have heard the colonists compare negroes to monkeys, but I never heard of an ourang-outang composing odes."

‡ We find no account of Soliman in Warden's translation.

conquered bear witness to his humanity, bravery, and prescience. He did intimate Napoleon, but not in his wicked ambition. This *First of the Blacks* sought freedom for his native land by the sword, because it was necessary, and he preserved that freedom when won, in a manner which compares favorably with any ruler of ancient or modern times. The only reproach heard in Hayti, today, against him, is that he trusted, fatally to himself, disastrously for his State, the honor of the white race.

Dessalines, the blood-thirsty Napoleon in fact, of Hayti, is the hero in that island whose lurid fame eclipses the milder light of the truer hero and martyr. The leader of the only race in history that, unaided and against triple odds, achieved and has thus far maintained its freedom and independence, deserves praise, rather than a sneer, from an impartial observer. Africans scarcely two generations removed from the jungle are poor material to withstand the armies of France, Spain, and England; but they did it, and their fame cannot be obscured by a sneer.

M. Grégoire amply meets such objectors, and, to prove himself no mere partisan, quotes from *Réflexions sur l'état actuel de la colonie de Saint-Domingue*, by Vincent.

"Toussaint, à la tête de son armée, se trouve l'homme le plus actif et le plus infatigable dont on puisse se faire une idée. L'on peut rigoureusement dire qu'il est partout où un jugement sain et le danger lui font croire que sa présence est nécessaire. Le soin particulier de toujours tromper sur sa marche les homme mêmes dont il a besoin, et auxquels on croit qu'il accorde une confiance qui n'est cependant à personne, fait qu'il est également attendu tous les jours dans les chefs-lieux de la colonie. Sa grande sobriété, la faculté donnée à lui seul de ne jamais se reposer, l'avantage qu'il a de reprendre le travail du cabinet après de pénibles voyages, de répondre à cent lettres par jour, et de lasser habituellement cinq secrétaires, en font un homme tellement supérieur à tout ce qui l'entoure, que le respect, la soumission pour lui vont jusqu'au fanatisme dans le très-grand nombre de têtes. L'on peut même assurer, qu'aucun individu aujourd'hui n'a pris sur une masse d'hommes ignorans le pouvoir qu'a pris le général Toussaint sur ses frères."—pp. 102-104.

This portrait, drawn by a hostile hand, may serve to depict the lineaments of an Alexander, a Hannibal, or a Cæsar, as well

as the French despot who imitated these ancients. From Vincent we learn that Toussaint had a wonderful memory, that he was a good father and husband, and that his civic qualities were as pronounced as his political life was wise and blameless. So much could not be said truthfully of Napoleon.

Jasmin Thoumazeau, an African, born in 1714, was sold to Saint Domingo, 1736. He obtained his freedom in 1756. He established a hospital on the Gold-Coast with his own wealth, and became a philanthropist among his race. For forty years he and his wife maintained this charity for unfortunate negroes and mulattoes. Medals were decreed him by the Philadelphia Society at the Cape, and from the Agricultural Society at Paris.*

Don Juan Latino, who lived to be 117 years old, a negro, taught the Latin language at Seville in 1717.†

Ignatius Sancho, a native of Guinea, had a romantic career. The story of his life demonstrates the Negro's claim to humanity, and evinces rare capacity. He loved study, the theatre and women, and was, like many geniuses, addicted to gambling, until he fell into the hands of an Israelite sharper who won all his clothes. He tells quaintly how he spent his last shilling to hear Garrick, at Drury Lane. He afterwards became a friend of that actor. Fired with the desire to shine on the stage, he was ambitious to play the part of Othello and Oronoko; but a faulty articulation prevented his success. His letters abound in witty and moral reflections, and there is at times a peculiar sense of humor in them. Gainsborough painted his portrait and Bartolozzi engraved it. He was an earnest advocate of the freedom of his race, imitated the poets, wrote two plays and a poem, and discussed theories of music in a pamphlet dedicated to the Princess Royal. Mortimer thought him worthy to be consulted in art matters, and his vivacity, good taste and fund of information made him an agreeable companion. Grégoire defends him from the reproach of Jefferson, of giving too loose a rein to an imagination whose course is eccentric, like a meteor's flight through the firmament. Even Jefferson accords to him an easy style and thinks his writings contain

* *De la Littérature des Nègres*, p. 124. † *Ib.*, p. 179.

tender sentiments. Grégoire defends Sancho, comparing him with Madame de Sévigné, and asserting that such letters as theirs cannot be analyzed.

Sancho's epistolary style is said to resemble that of Sterne, with whom he corresponded.* Writing to the latter, he tells him, "How very much, good sir, am I (amongst millions) indebted to you for the character of your amiable Uncle Toby; I declare, I would walk ten miles in dog-days to shake hands with the honest corporal." Sterne's reply, sentimental as usual, may be found in the third volume of his published correspondence.†

"Young's *Night Thoughts*, Milton, and Thomson's *Seasons*," writes Sancho, "were my Summer companions for nearly twenty years; they mended my heart, improved my veneration to the Deity, and increased my love to my neighbour." Again: "I say nothing upon the score of religion; for I am clear, every good affection, every sweet sensibility, every heart-felt joy, humanity, politeness, charity—all, all are streams from that sacred spring; so that to say you are good-tempered, honest, social, etc., etc., is only in fact saying you live according to your divine Master's rules." Amid deep religious reflections he is sometimes very droll: "Glancing over these past years, I near the close of my career. Have I not the gout, six children and a wife? O, reason, where art thou? Thou seest how easier it is to preach than to act: but since we are able to distinguish good from evil, let us arm ourselves against vice."

While Mr. Jefferson was writing his *Notes* and propounding his "Queries", the fame of a negro of Alexandria had crossed the sea and was elaborately commented upon in the salons of Paris, the sage of Monticello being ignorant of his existence. Thomas Fuller was born in Africa, and brought a slave to Alexandria in Virginia, where he is still remembered as a mathematical prodigy. He could neither read nor write, but easily performed the most abstruse mathematical calculations.

* *Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, an African, etc., to which are prefixed Memoirs of his life.* 2 vols., 8vo., London, 1782.

† *Letters of the Rev. Laurence Sterne.* 3 vols., 8vo., London, 1775.

tions. He was asked, as a test, how many seconds a man had lived who was seventy years, seven months and seven days old. He gave the correct answer in a minute and a half. One of his interlocutors, taking a pen, pretended to go through the operation, and after a long calculation asserted that Fuller's answer was wrong, being too great a number. "No," said the black, "the error is on your side, because you have forgotten the leap years." Dr. Rush gives an account of Fuller in the fifth volume of the *American Museum*. Brissot met him while travelling in Virginia, and testifies to his ability.*

These are a few examples of pure negroes treated of in the book which possess "no value" in the judgment of Mr. Parton, on account of its lack of discrimination. It was strong enough, however, to silence, if it failed to convince, Mr. Jefferson. Nearly all of the names cited are fortified by the authorities from which the abbé has derived his facts. Books, laws, acts, histories, names are quoted in detail, so that no phase of the intellectual, physical and moral condition of the negro is left without suitable treatment.†

It is true, all the examples mentioned are cases of imitation. They have imitated the manifestations of intellect observable in Germany, England, Holland, France, Spain, wherever they have been placed. But they have only imitated the imitators, those who have patterned after the incomparable models handed down to us from the earliest epochs of Greece and Rome. The Negro, moreover, has a share in the inheritance, for he remembers that Athens and Rome borrowed what they did not steal from Egypt, where Pythagoras and Plato and Herodotus went for wisdom, and that Egypt, renowned still though dead, obtained the genius of her philosophy, her religion and art from Nubia and Abyssinia. They tread on dangerous ground, in the light of the revelations of modern eth-

* Brissot. *Voyages*, Tome II, p. 2.

† "I have had an opportunity of conversing on the subject with Bonn of Amsterdam, who has the finest collection of human skulls known; with Blumenbach, who has, perhaps, the richest collection of human skulls; with Gall, Meiners, Osiander, Cuvier, Lacépède; and I take this occasion to thank those learned men. All, with a single exception who dared not to decide, all, like Buffon, Camper, Stanhope-Smith, Zimmerman and Somering, admit the unity of the primitive type in the human race."—p. 33.

nology and archæological science, who trace back too confidently to their honored ancestors, and display too conspicuously treasures from the ancestral chests. * We have Herodotus † for our authority that some of the Egyptians and Colchians were black of skin and of woolly hair.

If Mr. Parton and those who think with him doubt the fact of the Negro's claim to antiquity and intellectuality, let them read the simple story as told ‡ by the present Liberian Minister at the Court of Saint James, Edward W. Blyden, probably the ablest negro writer and most critical philologian in the world, a skilled diplomat and a deeply-read Sanskrit scholar. If additional proof be required, it may be found by Mr. Gayarré, Mr. Watterson and Mr. Parton, in the recent masterly essay of Canon Rawlinson, § and also in that significant passage in the *Five Great Monarchies:* "For the last three thousand years the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races; but it was otherwise in the first ages. Egypt and Babylon, Mizraim and Nimrod, both descendants of Ham, led the way, and acted as pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature and science. Alphabet, writing, astronomy, history, chemistry, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, textile industry, seem all of them to have had their origin in one or other of those two countries. * * * The inventors of any art are among the greatest benefactors of their race, and mankind at the present day lies under infinite obligations to the genius of these early ages."

Hence, we are not inclined to accept it as a truism, though coming from so high an authority as Mr. Parton, that "a facility of imitation" is fatal to our race. Keener students of metaphysics and closer observers of the processes of mental development in the infancy and childhood of nations have led us to believe that, next to memory, the power of imitation is

* "We owe our arts and sciences and even the very use of speech, to the race of Negroes."—Volney. *Voyages en Syrie et en Egypte*, Tome I.

† Herodotus, Lib. II.

‡ "The Negro in Ancient History." *Methodist Quarterly Review*, January, 1869.

§ *Princeton Review*, December, 1878.

almost the *sine quâ non* of permanent intellectual success. To an enslaved or proscribed race, cut off from all its own traditions, imitation becomes what judgments are in processes of reasoning, the conditions precedent from which and through which the third thing—knowledge, invention, thought—whatever we may term it, must be evolved.

Mr. Jefferson's fame will rest long on the sublime truism which illumines and interprets the Declaration,—that "All men are created equal." But Helvetius put this phrase into the mouths of the French revolutionists from whom Jefferson clearly borrowed it. Helvetius drew it forth from that inexhaustible armory of human wisdom and political rights, the *Civil Law*, * and Ulpian, doubtless, cribbed it from Zeno. †

Shall we mention Virgil's imitation of Homer, Dante of Virgil, and Milton of all three; Tennyson of Theocritus, the French dramatists of Plautus and Terence, modern orators of the ancients? Serious mention would be too trite for readers who are already familiar with the readiness with which want of originality, imitation and plagiarism may be charged, especially by those in whom originality and invention have never been particularly noticeable.

If, indeed, there be anything new in mind, morals or human activity, uncompounded from the old material, to which races high or low in the scale of human improvement are not equally entitled, then is the inspired Preacher a false guide, who assures us that "The thing that hath been, it is the thing which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new? it hath been already of old time which was before us."

Under such view the entire experience of modern thought and science is completely in error, and Mr. Parton must evolve a new theory of development. Abbé Grégoire's book contains no special or distorted plea. He is far more accurate, discriminating and judicious than his accuser. With the enthusiasm of an advocate who believes he is arguing a righteous cause, he blends the calmness and impartiality of the judge who aims solely at the truth:

* Ulpian's *Digest*. Lib. II, 1-4. † Diogenes Laertius. *Zeno*.

"I took upon myself," he says, "the duty of proving that negroes are capable of virtues and have talent. I have established this by argument; still further by facts; these facts do not proclaim sublime discoveries; these works are not master-pieces; but they are arguments to which the traducers of the negro cannot reply. I shall not say with Helvetius, all are born equal, and that man is only the result of education; but this assertion, false in its generalization, is true in many respects. A conjunction of fortunate circumstances developed the genius of Copernicus, of Galileo, of Liebnitz and of Newton. Unfortunate chances have, perhaps, taken away the light from geniuses who had surpassed these. Each State has its Bœotia, but in general it may be said that vice and virtue, intelligence and ignorance, genius and dullness pertain to every country, nation, cranium and complexion. In order to compare races they should be placed in similar conditions. What equality of condition can be established between the white people, illuminated by the light of Christianity which brings almost all others in its train, enriched by discoveries, environed by the learning of ages, stimulated by every means of encouragement; and, on the other hand, the blacks, deprived of all these advantages, devoted to oppression and misery? If no one of them had proved his capacity, there ought to be no astonishment at it: it is worthy of note that so great a number have displayed any. What indeed would they be if, exalted to the dignity of free men, they occupied the position nature assigned them and tyranny refuses them. * * * May European nations at last atone for their crimes against the African! May the Africans, raising their humiliated brows, put spur to every faculty, to rival the whites only in ability and virtue, forgetting the crimes of their persecutors, avenge themselves only by kindly deeds, and, in the outbursts of brotherly kindness, taste at last liberty and happiness—although here below one can only dream of those things for himself—it is, at least, consoling to carry to the grave the assurance that he has labored with all his strength to procure them for others."—pp. 279-281; 284-285.

Having shown that Mr. Parton must not be too implicitly followed when he quotes from others, and that his judgment on books should be received with much reservation, in a subsequent article we shall endeavor to prove that he is not a very trustworthy authority as to what the Negro has done during the *past ninety years;* and that a number of Negro-Americans have attained considerable reputation even in America, on account of their talents, virtues, services and abilities, notwithstanding the illiberal prejudice, the prevailing ostracism and the lack of opportunity afforded us to demonstrate our claim to humanity.

R. T. GREENER.

ART. IX.—WILLIAM BLACK'S NOVELS.

1. *A Daughter of Heth.* By WILLIAM BLACK. New York: 1871.
2. *A Princess of Thule.* By WILLIAM BLACK. New York: 1874.
3. *Madcap Violet.* By WILLIAM BLACK. New York: 1877.
4. *Macleod of Dare.* By WILLIAM BLACK. New York: 1878.

"THAT any human being after having made such a joke," says Macaulay with characteristic energy, in commenting upon Southey's attempts at humor, "should write it down, and copy it out, and transmit it to the printer, and correct the proof sheets, and send it forth into the world, is enough to make us ashamed of our species." *Mutatis mutandis*, to how many modern novelists is not this strictly applicable! And yet there are legions of our fellow-creatures to be found at present engaged in this curious employment, and, stranger still, myriads of sadly patient readers plunge blindly after them into these cheerless bogs of folly, complaining bitterly of their self-appointed task, yawning over it, sighing at it, yet nevertheless, more resolute than the Italian criminal, who after a fair trial preferred the galleys to Guicciardini, plodding drearily on to the end. And this too, when, in default of better, fairy tales and nursery legends, not at all less possible and far more entertaining, are within their reach.

Indeed, in glancing over the work of these writers, there is a constantly recurring wonder at the consummate skill with which they contrive to unite so much dulness with so much extravagance. Since they are controlled neither by the laws of nature nor of art and restrained within the limits neither of what is conceivable morally nor of what is possible physically,

by what strange fatality is their uniform tediousness to be accounted for? One instinctively recalls the traveller in *Vivian Grey*, of whom it is so curtly said that "though a great liar he was a dull man."

Nevertheless, there is scarcely anything without its redeeming element, and we have it here in the well-known effect of contrast. If, in the midst of volume after volume of insipid commonplace or tame extravagance of descriptions that are like nothing in the "visible diurnal sphere," and characters that it would be a high compliment to liken to the nondescript monster of Horace's ideally bad poet, we light upon a work that contains faithful descriptions of scenery, life-like representations of human beings, artistic development of plot, or even an interesting story clearly and simply told, we are startled by the very completeness of our surprise into a more enthusiastic admiration, a keener relish than we would otherwise have felt.

If the relief, the contrast thus afforded by the presence of a single one of these merits is sufficient in the first moments of delighted astonishment to unsettle somewhat the balance of our judgment, it behooves us to be strictly on our guard against their continued effect as found in some of the novels which we owe to the writer whose name stands at the head of this article. We say "some" advisedly, because this high praise is, in our judgment, due to only a few among his works, the others descending through varying degrees of excellence almost to the level of the average novel of the day. It is to these few, as alone worthy of serious or minute examination, that we propose to devote the larger portion of our present space.

Indeed, one of the first reflections to occur in comparing this writer with himself is the singular disparity between his different productions. His best rank just below the masterpieces of English fiction; his worst are really not worth the trouble of ranking at all. In his happier moments, when he writes from genuine inspiration, he gives us gems of art; at other times he produces what are called by painters mere "pot-boilers," and if they have served their useful but homely purpose their success has been at least equal to their merits. This

strange inequality of performance is characteristic of genius of a certain kind, and in the best of Mr. Black's writings there are unmistakable traces of real genius. Writers of this class can not work well unless the fit is on them, and, strangely enough, they do not seem always to know themselves when the fit is on them.

It belongs also to this side of Mr. Black's intellect, that, namely, by which he claims kindred with genius, that his best work, whatever its faults or shortcomings, is eminently original. We never have, with regard to this, the feeling which is apt to mar our thorough enjoyment of even the finest pieces of imitative writing—the provoking consciousness of having gone over it all before, the sometimes actually painful effort to trace up and recollect where we last met these old friends whose new costumes and altered coloring, though they may puzzle for a time, can not long succeed in deceiving us as to their identity.

If, on the other hand, this original and peculiar vein induces a proneness to repetition, or rather to returning again and again to certain lines of thought, this very monotony possesses a charm of its own, acquires for sympathetic readers a kind of *pretium affectionis*, if we may borrow a term from grave legal phraseology. And then, the life, the heartiness, the flavor which accompany it are incomparable merits. The reader can not choose but fall to with a zest unconsciously caught from the writer's own *verve*, freshness and genuine interest in his work.

It is the *si vis me flere* of the actor transferred to the "teller," the old Greek "maker," whether his story be in prose or rhyme. When he wishes us to believe in and care for and feel with the characters to whom he introduces us, he believes in and cares for and feels with them himself. When he paints for us some lovely or terrific aspect of nature, and bids us admire it, nay, see it and feel it with him, it is first really and vividly present to his own eyes. He has not painfully wrought himself up to enthusiasm; his whole being is alive to, is thrilling with, the mystic influences of the Mighty Mother. By reason of this, Mr Black has produced some of the very finest pieces of prose description in the language, description

such as we are not surprised to be told has won delighted recognition from an artist like Swinburne. To find, indeed, anything very far superior to his best passages in this kind, we must leave prose altogether and go to Scott, or, still higher, to the greatest master of concise and powerful word-painting in English or perhaps in any literature, to Childe Harold himself.

This is Mr. Black at his best, but, doubtless in spite even of the *pretium affectionis*, there are times when he injures the impression by too frequently recurring to the same idea and even to the same form of words, until what we once admired ends at length by producing an almost ludicrous effect.

Yet, when full allowance has been made for all drawbacks, it is impossible to read one of these Hebridean sketches without the most vivid sense of having been transported into a new and strange world, full of life, freshness and vigor, irresistibly attractive to the imagination whether in its sombre grandeur, or in its clear, cold, glittering brightness. Henceforth this region belongs of right to him. Let no other presume to set foot upon the territory which he has so royally made his own, unless indeed he be a born poet, of the race of the Immortals, to whom no limits of time and space apply. And as of the country, so of the inhabitants. They are breathing human beings, original, far removed from the common track of life, strange in many ways to our experience, yet withal not unnatural, nor improbable. On the contrary, far as we are divided from them in surroundings, in modes of life and thought, in all that is accidental and unessential, an instinctive recognition of their common human nature with ourselves at once makes us feel akin to them. There is the strange something which any man can feel, which no man can define, that constitutes the difference between names and things, realities and shams, living men and women and the choicest of Mme. Tussaud's wax figures.

And herein may be found one of the most striking merits, as well as one of the healthiest influences of these novels. They introduce us into a fresh, unconventional, inartificial life, the furthest possible removed from that which prevails at the great centres of our modern civilization. It can hardly be

denied, that, whatever benefits may have accrued from our increased and increasing means of intercommunication, they have brought with them one great peril at least, in the monotony, the uniformity, the dead level of commonplace, resulting from a lack of striking contrast and opposition. There seems to be real danger that the world, that is, the civilized part of it, will come in process of time to present the aspect of a vast Russian steppe, without a single elevation or depression, a contrast of light and shade, a break in the dreary monotony of coloring to relieve the eye.

Now, however vast the sphere through which it extends, this is essentially narrow and narrowing, and all that tends to counteract it by introducing to us different modes of life and habits of thinking, new standards and ideals, is most valuable as a corrective. And where can this much-needed corrective be found in a shape more potent or more attractive than in those of our author's novels in which he transports us to the wild and desolate regions of the Scottish coast, as yet almost untouched by the hand of civilization?

This new and rich vein which was to prove gold of the purest standard, he first opened in *A Daughter of Heth*, which was published anonymously in 1871. And here, as it seems to us, after duly weighing the merits of its possible rivals, is the very gem of the whole collection, the finest piece of work Mr. Black has ever done. Coquette seems not to have been constructed, but to have grown up spontaneously out of her creator's own nature, as Goethe has told us was the case with his female characters. She combines two eminent merits, rare in themselves, rarer still in their union; she is at once life-like and original. She is as individual, as much herself, and no other, as any of our ordinary, every-day acquaintance, and yet she is not commonplace, but on the contrary, strikingly unlike the level of average humanity.

A single character of this sort would suffice to leaven a whole book, and to float the usual number of insipid accessories. But in *A Daughter of Heth*, the heroine, though the *chef-d'œuvre* of the work, is by no means the exclusive object of interest. The whole family into which she is introduced are admirably

sketched, while the Whaup and his father are portraits of peculiar merit. Such excellence may well obtain forgiveness for minor faults of execution, and even for some blemishes in the conduct of the story. Here, too, Mr. Black has given us, especially in the memorable yacht-voyage, not a few of those wonderfully glowing pictures of inland and water scenery which attest his genuine love of nature and his remarkable power of conveying to the mind, nay almost to the eye and ear, of others the impression stamped upon his own. Take the following as an example:

"All in the west—by the far shores of Knapdale and up the great stretch of Lochfyne—lay a dense gray fog, in which hills and islands lay like gloomy clouds; but out there at the eastern horizon there was a glow of rose-colored smoke, which as yet had no reflection on the sea. And while they looked on it—half forgetting the object of their quest in the splendor of this sight—the perpetual wonder and mystery of the dawn—the red mist parted, and broke into long parellel lines of cloud, which were touched with sharp, jewel-red lines of fire; and as the keenness of the crimson waxed stronger and stronger, there came over the sea a long and level flush of dull salmon-color, which bathed the waves in its light, leaving their shadows an intense and dark green. The glare and the majesty of this spectacle lasted but for a few minutes. The intensity of the colors subsided; the salmon-colored waves grew gray and green; a cold twilight spread over the sky; and with the stirring of the wind came in the new life of the day—the crowing of some grouse far up in the heather, the chirping of birds in the bushes, the calling of some solitary goat on the hill, and the slow flapping of a pair of herons coming landward from the sea."

In this delightful story Mr. Black, for the first time, passed the shadowy and impalpable line which divides talent even of a high order from actual genius. And in this too, as it seems to us (though the authority of others, including, we believe the author's own, is against us here), he touched a higher mark than he has ever since attained. Yet we would by no means underrate its successors, least of all its immediate successor. Sheila is a worthy companion-picture to Coquette, with a certain resemblance to her, yet far indeed from being a mere representment of the same figure with different surroundings, which is in general the besetting sin of young writers who have made what is called "a hit." She is a genuine sister of

the charming heroine of *A Daughter of Heth*, and only inferior, if inferior at all, in lacking something of the perfect spontaneity, the wild-flower freshness of the elder creation. The King of Borva is in his kind as fine as Sheila and superior, we are inclined to think, in the masterly etching of the lines, to any character in the earlier novel save the Daughter of Heth herself. But Lavender is a comparative failure, and there is an unsteadiness in the lines (of the drawing, not of the character itself, which is quite a different thing,) that might make one suspect the author of having wavered in his own conception and hence faltered in the execution of the portrait. By reason of this, Lavender even mars by his contact with her the admirable presentation of Sheila. In the estrangement between them, as it is actually represented, she appears in too hard and unforgiving a light, suggesting the suspicion that the writer in the course of the story had altered his own intention and founded the separation on a less serious ground than he had originally purposed. But this is merely speculation. For the other personages, Ingram is a failure also, and the American widow whom he marries a more decided failure still. Mr. Black's good genius leaves him when he leaves Borva. The Princess and her father with their dependants are the only real people in the book, but these with the animated and picturesque description of scenery in which it abounds are amply sufficient to secure for *A Princess of Thule* a high place among contemporary novels.

Madcap Violet, we have seen it somewhere stated, is a special favorite of its author, but to us it seems, notwithstanding the rare excellence of the hero's character, still more inferior to *A Princess of Thule* than the latter to *A Daughter of Heth*. The heroine, though fairly entitled to the very moderate praise of being superior in interest and attractiveness to most heroines, is of quite a different order from Coquette and Sheila, while the mad scene at the close is not sufficiently successful to justify the perilous comparison it suggests with Ophelia.

One of the very best things in the story is the perfectly unconscious and most life-like way in which Mrs. Warrener,

with the best intentions, produces all the mischief between Violet and Drummond. It is almost equal to the scene in *The Mill on the Floss* in which Mrs. Tulliver puts it into Wakem's head to buy Dorlcott Mill by her ill-timed entreaties to the contrary.

In this book it is noticeable that the interest which had been wont in Mr. Black's novels to centre principally in the heroine, is transferred in large measure to the hero, who is, on the whole, if we except the King of Borva, the best masculine figure the author has drawn. To carry out the conception of such a character as Drummond was a task of the highest difficulty. It required the subtlest insight, the most delicate handling to avoid failure. And there was no mean; if it had not been a success, it would have been a palpable, most probably a ludicrous failure. The execution is worthy of high praise for the rare skilfulness of the touch, the firm, yet delicate strokes, and the careful shading of the character.

Still more marked is this transfer of interest from the masculine to the feminine side in *Macleod of Dare*. Gertrude White, though not without some excellent touches, especially in the opening scenes and in her correspondence with Macleod during their quasi engagement, is distinctly a failure, which Violet North, notwithstanding her manifest inferiority to her two predecessors, is not. The interest attaching to Macleod himself is rather that of situation than of character. The mediæval man with modern surroundings, the "noble savage" in evening dress, *voilà tout!* Yet the innate, unconventional nobleness of the man, the passionate, undisciplined vehemence of his character, and its uneasy constraint within the trammels of civilization are well brought out. Herein, with the striking pictures of western Scotch scenery and the life-like representation of the kind of character developed by the semi-feudal society still existing in those remote regions, lies the real power of the book. Here, in the midst of the monotonous level of modern life, true poetic elements are still left ready for the fiction-writer's hand, and of these Mr. Black has shown that he knew how to avail himself skilfully.

Yet the closing scene is marred, as it seems to us, by a

striking error in art. Surely Macleod should at the last moment have relented and secured Gertrude's safety before perishing himself. As it is, unless the defence of emotional insanity be admitted, he cannot escape the stain of deliberate and remorseless cruelty to a woman helpless and at his mercy. The "noble savage" plea is of no avail here. That, being the man he is depicted, he should have conceived and even begun the execution of the design might perhaps have been imagined; but that he should have ruthlessly persevered in it to the fatal end is not to be endured. Who can conceive of Ravenswood as guilty of an act like this? On the whole, the last impression is one of disappointment. Our esteem and sympathy which had previously been strongly enlisted for the unfortunate lover, receive a fatal shock, and are thrown violently back on themselves, since the heroine, in spite of the dramatic interest attaching to her situation, is incapable of long sustaining them. She is far too feeble a pivot for the story to turn upon at a critical point; there is not enough of force, positiveness, fibre in her character. Indeed, she reminds us somewhat of Bonnie Lesley in *Kilmeny*, though to our thinking the earlier sketch is the better of the two.

To have given an adequate representation of the sort of character for which Gertrude was evidently intended, would have been an achievement of no common difficulty. It would have required a delicacy of touch scarcely inferior to that displayed in the portraiture of Drummond in *Madcap Violet*. The contrast between the two measures the distance from success to failure in such undertakings.

But if Mr. Black's ability to portray human beings with fidelity and force is not altogether so conspicuous in this as in some of his previous works, there is abundant proof in such passages as the following that his power of painting nature has suffered no diminution:

"Early in the morning he looked from the windows of his room, and he could have imagined he was not at Dare at all. All the familiar objects of sea and shore had disappeared; this was a new world—a world of fantastic shapes, all moving and unknown—a world of vague masses of gray, though here and there a gleam of lemon-color shining through the fog showed that the

dawn was reflected on a glassy sea. Then he began to make out the things around him. That great range of purple mountains was Ulva—Ulva transfigured and become Alpine! Then those wan gleams of yellow light on the sea?—he went to the other window, and behold! the heavy bands of cloud that lay across the unseen peaks of Ben-an-Sloich had parted, and there was a blaze of clear, metallic, green sky; and the clouds bordering on that gleam of light were touched with a smoky and stormy saffron-hue that flashed and changed amidst the seething and twisting shapes of the fog and the mist. He turned to the sea again—what phantom-ship was this that appeared in mid-air, and apparently moving when there was no wind? He heard the sound of oars; the huge vessel turned out to be only the boat of the Gometra men going out to the lobster-traps. The yellow light on the glassy plain waxes stronger; new objects appear through the shifting fog; until at last a sudden opening shows him a wonderful thing far away—apparently at the very confines of the world—and awful in its solitary splendor. For that is the distant island of Staffa, and it has caught the colors of the dawn; and amidst the cold grays of the sea it shines a pale, transparent rose."

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"Could anything have been more beautiful, he said to himself, than this magnificent scene that lay all around her when they reached a far point on the western shore?—in face of them the wildly rushing seas, coming thundering on to the rocks, and springing so high into the air that the snow-white foam showed black against the glare of the sky; the nearer islands gleaming with a touch of brown on their sunward side; the Dutchman's Cap, with its long brim and conical centre, and Lunga, also like a cap, but with a shorter brim and a high peak in front, becoming a trifle blue; then Coll and Tiree lying like a pale stripe on the horizon; while far away in the north the mountains of Rum and Skye were faint and spectral in the haze of the sunlight. Then the wild coast around them; with its splendid masses of granite; and its spare grass a brown-green in the warm sun; and its bays of silver sand; and its sea-birds whiter than the white clouds that came sailing over the blue."

We deem it unnecessary to enter farther into the merits and defects of particular works. Indeed, the examination of such a book as *The Monarch of Mincing Lane*, for example, could throw light upon little except the depth to which a writer of really high powers can upon occasion descend. Mr. Black is now in the zenith of an intellect quickened by extensive observation, and matured by a wide experience and a varied, if somewhat irregular, culture. He has been not only a

hard-working and successful journalist, but a student in his own way of many different branches, and a traveller in widely distant lands. With all this, though still a young man, he has written a number of novels, several of which stand deservedly high in the ranks of contemporary fiction. Having the prospect of many years of literary activity before him, his ultimate standing will probably in large measure depend upon the use which he may make of this period.

He has told us himself that he is not very amenable to criticism, being determined, it seems, "to do his own work in his own way, and to leave opinion about it to the various voices that first contradict themselves, and then fade into thin air." And in the main he is right. Yet, if we might, without incurring the charge of presumption, be allowed a suggestion to a writer who has so fully won the suffrages of the public, it would be that he should recall betimes the well-worn maxim *Festina lente*, that he should call in and concentrate his forces, and be solicitous rather to make his works the very best that his really rare powers enable him to produce than rapidly to increase their number. The "Author of Waverly" will of course be cited as an instance of the unquestionable merit of very rapid work, but the giants of literature are no safe guides in this respect for men even of undoubtedly high and original gifts, and it is sad to think of some of the results of too rapid and continuous labor even in Scott's own case.

Mr. Black, then, will do well to take heed of this, and, as he may fairly lay claims to some portion of the vatic inspiration, apply to himself the so frequently neglected warning, that

> "A bard may chant too often and too long."

WILLIAM BAIRD.

X.—Reviews and Criticisms.

Problems of Life and Mind. By George Henry Lewes. Third Series. *Continued.* 12° pp. 500. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

The five volumes of *Problems of Life and Mind*, of which this is the last, comprise a complete system of psychology, elaborated on the basis of the modern doctrine of evolution, and with full recognition of all the more important physiological and psychological discoveries of the present age.

The old school metaphysician will here miss many assumptions with which he has been all his lifetime familiar, and will perhaps be shocked at the havoc which is made with many ancient notions which have been current coin in psychology. To the physician, the physiologist, to the thoughtful student, who, imbued with the modern spirit, desires to approach the subject of mind from the physical side and ascertain what are the material laws and conditions of mental phenomena, these volumes will be eminently suggestive and helpful.

He who expects to find here a systematic exposition of mental philosophy will be disappointed; such a person will do better to turn to the bulky volumes of Bain, on the *Senses and Intellect*, and *Emotions and Will*, which, for synthetic completeness, lucidity and accuracy leave little to be desired. Moreover, he who would see mind treated analytically from the stand-point of evolution will have to study the *Principles of Psychology*, by Herbert Spencer. These volumes of Mr. Lewes take up a series of problems in psychology for the purpose of discovering the principles of certitude, the physical basis of mind, the object, scope and method of psychology, and similar profound questions on which thinkers of all ages have expended their noblest powers. A healthy constructive effort runs through the whole series; the author does not so much labor to pull down as to build on a sure foundation. If much in these writings seems to bear a materialistic stamp, it is well to remember that the author distinctly repudiates a materialistic belief, regarding mind, as well as matter, a symbol of wonderful but not unknowable reality, "interpretable in terms of feeling, which is essentially knowable, being indeed the source and content of

all knowledge."—(*The Foundation of a Creed*, Vol. II, p. 405.) Mr. Lewes has been wrongly styled an agnostic. He confesses himself to be a monist, though disclaiming all ability to explain how a physical process can be at the same time a psychical process Yet, while it is impossible, he says, "to imagine matter thinking, or ascribe thought to cerebral tissue as a property, we may penetrate beneath the terms which relate to aspects and recognize in the underlying reality not two existences but one."—(*The Physical Basis of Mind*, p. 412).

Mr. Lewes' monistic belief is well expressed in the closing chapter of *The Foundation of a Creed*, Vol. II, which also sums up his whole philosophy: "There is no real break in the continuity of existence; all its modes are but differentiations. We cannot suppose the physical organism and its function to be other than integrant parts of the cosmos from which it is formally differentiated; nor can we suppose the psychical organism and its functions to be other than integrant parts of the physical organism from which it is *ideally* [mark the word] separated.

'Out of the infinite modes of existence a group is segregated and a planet assumes individual form; out of the infinite modes of this planetary existence smaller groups are segregated in crystals, organisms, societies, nations. Each group is a special system having forces peculiar to it, although in unbroken continuity with the forces of all other systems. Out of the forces of the animal organism a special group is segregated in the nervous mechanism, which has its own laws. If ideally we contrast any two of these groups—a planet with an organism, or an organism with a nervous mechanism—their great unlikeness seems to forbid identification. They are indeed different, but only because they have been differentiated. Yet they are identical under a more general aspect. In like manner if we contrast the world of sensation and appetites with the world of conscience and its moral ideals, the unlikeness is striking. Yet we have every ground for believing that conscience is evolved from sensation, and that moral ideals are evolved from appetites; and thus we connect the highest mental phenomena with vital sensibility, sensibility with molecular changes in the organism, and this with changes in the cosmos."

Problem II treats of "Mind as a Function of the Organism," and comprises eleven chapters, the running idea of which is that there is a fundamental similarity and identity throughout the entire fabric of mind, from the simplest feelings to the most complex and intricate mental operations. All psychical phenomena are phenomena of the sentient organism, and feeling, thought, perception, etc., are modes of sentience. There is a regular gradation from the lowest to the highest organism, and this gradation is exemplified, and blended, in inextricable complexity in every organism. This gradation is represented by the terms sentience, consentience, and consciousness. Some have only sentience, some have sentience and consentience, and the high organisms

have consciousness superadded. In other words, sentience has various modes and degrees, such as perception, ideation, emotion and volition, which may be conscious, subconscious, or unconscious. All reflex actions are as truly psychical as is consciousness or volition: there is no introduction of a new agent within the organism, converting what was physical impression into mental reaction. Every excitation sends a thrill through the organism (compared in the modern language to neural tremors, pulsations, shocks), this affects the circulation, develops heat, modifies nutrition, arouses emotion and consciousness, or may be too faint and fugitive to awaken consciousness.

Mr. Lewes argues with great force that the law of similarity of property with similarity of structure forbids the supposition that central nerve tissue in one part of the system can suddenly assume a totally different property in another.—(*The Physical Basis of Mind*, p. 443). The spinal centres have sensibility of the same order as the cerebral centres, and this sensibility enters as a factor into the general consciousness.

We see no objection to this view if we may be allowed to use the terms sentience and sensibility without the usual connotation of *conscious feeling*. To speak of a living, though decapitated, frog as *sentient* because he manifests reaction under irritation, is, to say the least, an unusual use of the term.

The "Universality of Life and Mind" is treated in an interesting chapter. The author fights shy of panpsychism, which might seem to be a logical deduction from his theory of sentience. If, says Nagelli the botanist in an address published in *Nature*, we credit the lower animals as well as the higher with sensation, we have no reason to deny it to plants and inorganic bodies. The law of continuity seems to require it. It is well known that Häckel, in his address before the German Association, advocated this view, hypothecating "plastidule souls." The late W. K. Clifford, in a volume of essays published since his death, advocates the same notion: "Reasoning from the essential continuity in nature which the doctrine of evolution supposes, and recognizing the impossibility of deriving the psychical element from the physical, Clifford reaches the conclusion," says Prof. John Fiske, "that every motion of matter is simultaneous with some ejective fact or event which might be a part of a consciousness. This simple ejective fact or event may be regarded as a molecule, so to speak, of mind stuff, and we reach the startling conclusion that the universe consists entirely of mind stuff." Mr. Lewes is disposed to reject the "law of continuity" as applied to this seemingly *desperate* ascription of psychical qualities to inorganic things, although elsewhere he more than once calls in the aid of this law to help him out of a strait, as, for instance, where he argues respecting the grades of sentience. "What is this law of continuity, "he asks, "but an ideal construction, which finds no justification in fact? an abstract idea of existence irrespective of

all concrete modes?" Why not, with more reason, speak of a law of discontinuity, seeing the apparent breaks so common in nature?

Chapter V treats of the sensorium. Nowhere is the audacious character of the work more apparent. The common view ascribes feeling, thought, volition to the cerebrum, as the organ of mind. Especially in regard to the function of thinking, the cerebral hemispheres seem indispensable. Here, according to the common opinion (based as it seems to us, on an overwhelming array of facts), simple sensations are elaborated into perceptions, and consciousness and the whole ideal and voluntary life are carried on. As a common argument for this view, we have the fact that removal of the cerebral hemispheres in animals is attended with abolition of all intelligence and volition. All movements in such mutilated animals are—in the popular physiological language—"excito motor," or "sensori motor."

Mr. Lewes admits the force of the argument, and by no means asserts that the cerebrum is not a most important organ of mind; he denies, however, that it is the sole organ of feeling, willing, judging, consciousness. It is, in his view, the profound disturbance resulting from ablation of the hemispheres which prostrates and paralyzes the whole mechanism, and so destroys coöperation, coördination, and all the other conditions of the higher mentality.

We cannot follow Mr. Lewes, through several chapters, into the reasoning by which he supports this paradoxical position. Suffice it, that with him we grant to the organism the possession of that sort of sensibility which leads it to react under stimuli. The decapitated frog seems to manifest a kind of sentience when it withdraws itself from an irritant. Yet there is no reason to believe that this so-called sentience is accompanied by any conscious suffering. The facts are all to the contrary. Granting, then, to the decapitated animal spinal sentience or sensibility with motor reaction—the result of coördinated neuro-muscular groupings, intended to protect the animal from danger and destruction (and we cannot grant any higher mental manifestations); granting, moreover, to the pigeon from which the cerebral hemisperes have been removed, sensation as well, because the centres of sight, hearing, taste and smell are still intact,—we yet find ourselves justified in denying to them memory, judgment, desire, perception, volition —all these being conspicuously and permanently absent when the mutilation has been performed. Pathological facts have clearly indicated the almost exclusive share which the encephalic nervous centres have in the phenomena of mind. Severe injuries to the upper part of the spinal cord (sparing, however, the origin of the respiratory nerves) have often put the unfortunate patient in a similar condition to that of the decapitated frog; the whole of the body below the seat of injury is separated from the innervation of the cerebral segment. You have complete paralysis of sen-

sation and motion. The tickled foot is withdrawn, but the tickling is not felt. Yet the individual lives on for a while, with consciousness, sensation, memory, emotion, volition unimpaired, or but little impaired. Such cases it has been our lot to witness, and they clearly teach that the higher attributes of mind inhere in the cerebrum. That considerable injury, or even destruction of the convolutions may take place without serious impairment of the mental faculties, if true (which we very much doubt), may be explained by the fact that the cerebrum is a double organ, and that each hemisphere, presumably like its fellow in function, yet maintains a quasi indivisibility and independence; able on an emergency to do the whole work which ordinarily it shares with the other hemisphere. A man may have good vision with one eye, the other being destroyed; and a one-eyed man may see sufficiently to transact some kinds of business though a nebula of small dimension impair the corneal transparency of his eye. This analogy helps us to an understanding of the cerebral phenomena.

While, then, differing from Mr. Lewes in his views of the sensorium, which we locate in the cerebrum, we nevertheless agree with him that the brain "is simply one element in a complex mechanism, each element of which is a component of the sentient Ego. We may consider the several elements as forming a plexus of sensibilities, the solidarity of which is such that while each may separately be stimulated in a particular way, no one of them can be active without involving the activity of all the others."

In closing our desultory and incomplete review of a work which—spite of much repetition, and a want of elaboration and finish in the concluding volumes, necessitated by the depressed state of the author's health at the time (these books not having had the final revision he intended to give them)—is always fresh, always clear, thoughtful and instructive, we must express our dissent from the recent oracular decision of the "Boston Monday Lectureship," the purport of which was that posterity would know George Henry Lewes only as the husband of George Eliot. We would reverse the magisterial judgment and prophesy that two or three generations hence *Middlemarch*, *Adam Bede*, *Daniel Deronda*, etc., will be forgotten, while the *Life of Goethe*, and *Problems of Life and Mind* will be more highly esteemed than they are today.

The Refutation of Darwinism; and the Converse Theory of Development, based exclusively upon Darwin's Facts. By T. WARREN O'NEILL. 12° pp. 454. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

SINCE the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1860, very many of the best thinkers in all parts of the world have been persuaded of the fundamental truth of the theory set forth in that

work. Philosophical naturalists, with but few exceptions, have adopted the development doctrine of Darwin, as defined by him, or with various modifications, as expressing the widest generalization of the method of nature,—giving unity, harmony and completeness to nature's processes.

The ancient notion of the origin of species by special creation has been steadily giving place to that of creation by law, and naturalists, becoming better acquainted with the fundamental unity which pervades all living things, have looked and are looking to natural causes for an explanation of the manifold and marvellous diversity which everywhere exists. An ever-growing realization of the all-comprehensive scope of natural law has produced this result, and Mill and Lyell were the logical precursors of Darwin and Spencer. Mill, by positing the order and uniformity of nature as the basis of his system of logic, and by formulating with clearness and precision the canons of scientific induction, has undoubtedly given an immense impetus to healthy scientific thought and speculation ; and Lyell, by referring all past geologic phenomena to the slow action of the same forces which are still at work over the earth's surface and beneath its crust, paved the way for Darwin and Spencer to explain the evolution of higher from lower forms of life, by agencies which are still visibly in action. That the present is the child of the past, that all things now existing sprang from antecedent causes and conditions, properly called natural, and adequate to their production, seems a truism to believers in evolution.

The substance of Darwin's theory is briefly this: The environment of all animals and plants is continually changing; they must adapt themselves to these changes or perish. Those organisms that are best fitted to their conditions of life survive and multiply at the expense of the others ; this is "survival of the fittest," otherwise called natural selection. This process is known to be going on at the present time, and it is legitimate to believe that it has been going on in all past time. Important modifications of structure are thus often effected in the course of a few generations; these are propagated by heredity ; artificial selection can produce even greater structural modifications, as every gardener and stock-breeder knows. But this law of variation through adaptation to changing condition and survival of the fittest, operating through countless ages of past time, must have produced great unlikenesses, and the presumption is that the multitudinous differentiations of existing plants and animals known as genera, species, etc., so originated. In other words, this is assumed as the best explanation which science can at present offer of a problem which miracle has hitherto been invoked to solve. That all living beings descended from one or a few primordial forms, is also a tenet of Darwin.

It is needless to say that the main thesis of Darwinism is still nothing but an hypothesis, having indeed a high degree of proba-

bility, and supported by deductive evidence that is very strong. Thus the single line of argument by which Huxley connected the living one-toed genus *Equus* with a typically five-toed ancestor common to it and other ungulate animals, showing how by progressive modifications the development has taken place, and demonstrating the successive links in the chain, carries conviction to many minds that in at least one branch of the animal kingdom a definite pedigree in accordance with Darwinian principles has been established; and the inference is almost irresistible that such has been the general course of nature in respect to animals and plants. Men who have no strong prejudices or prepossessions—who are attentive students of nature, who are observant of the modifications now going on in living organisms in accordance with changed conditions, and who have mastered the anatomical peculiarities which constitute varieties, the more conspicuous shades of difference which constitute species, etc., and who have realized the impossibility of telling, in multitudes of instances, where varieties end and species begin—there being really no hard and fast line between them—who, moreover, feel their inability to form any conception of how species could have come into existence except as gradual or more or less abrupt modifications of preëxisting varieties—to whom, moreover, the notion of continued miracle supplementing the ordinary operations of nature is repugnant and shocking—such persons find Darwin's theory both reasonable and helpful. Yet they accept it *provisionally*, waiting for more light, and anxious for the truth and nothing but the truth.

It has fallen to the lot of a Philadelphia lawyer knowing nothing of science to show that the great body of philosophic naturalists are all wrong, and that Darwinism is a fraud and a failure. His book of four hundred and fifty pages is before us. Those who are not weary with the literature of Darwinism *pro and con* would do well to purchase this book, which is a fine example of special pleading, such as a skilful barrister can make, and as a readable presentation of the stale arguments of the past twenty years (with very little that is new or striking), it may be deemed worthy of a place on the book shelves of amateur scientists and evolutionists. Mr. O'Neill does not deny that there is a perpetual struggle for existence and a survival of the fittest: his experience when a youngster at home, hoeing weeds from corn on his father's farm, to say nothing of his own later competitive struggles as a barrister, has convinced him of the truth of that proposition. He does not dispute that modifications are now going on, and that there is a perpetual process of adaptation, and that artificial selection can produce varieties with differences as great as those which distinguish many acknowledged species. He, however, insists on what he calls the Law of Reversion, which is a theory of degeneration, and is deemed sufficient to cover every variation under domestication, or under nature; *i. e.*, the sole variation possible is

the "regain" (*sic*) of characters lost, and "when all of the characters which any species has lost have been recovered the limit of possible variation for that species is reached."

Mr. O'Neill's theory of degeneration will not commend itself to naturalists as probable or possible, and hardly needs a formal refutation in these pages.

We are by no means disposed to undervalue the objections which have been made to Darwin's theory; these have, however, been fairly met, and by no one better than by Darwin himself, the intelligent reading of whose works we deem the best answer to such books as this of Mr. Warren O'Neill.

Evolution and Progress: An Exposition and Defence. By REV. WM. J. GILL, A. M. 12° pp. 295. New York: The Author's Publishing Company. 1875.

IT is refreshing to read anything pertaining to the polemics of evolution that is not twaddle. In this little book there is a great deal of worth. The author is well versed in the literature of his subject, and he boldly plunges into the arena of combat with a keen blade, which cuts and slashes right and left. We do not hesitate to say that we have never seen the leading fallacies of the opponents of evolution more cleverly and logically dealt with.

Our principal fault with the book is that the writer does not sufficiently specify his own belief. In the *Preface* he claims to stand among the *orthodox*, but throughout the work he advocates principles of the most pronounced radical stripe. We have nowhere seen such bold statements of naturalism as in chap. III, pp. 89 *et seq*, in the last section of which he affirms the eternity and self-sufficingness of the universe. He seems throughout the work to identify God with natural forces and natural laws, and yet in the closing paragraph of his book he affirms his belief in a Personal God and immortality. He should not have left us with this simple declaration which is so contrary to the entire drift of his book, but should have appended another chapter, showing how this belief is reconcilable with all that has gone before.

Those who want to see the best defence of evolution (spite of its radicalism) that has yet emanated from the pen of a clergyman, should buy this book.

Old School and New School Therapeutics. An Essay read before the Cambridge Society for Medical Knowledge, Dec. 22, 1879. By FRED. F. MOORE, M. D. Boston. 1880.

THE questions at issue between the schools of medicine, more particularly between the new school and the old school, possess more than a professional interest. On their solution largely de-

pends the public weal—life and health for the million. It is incumbent on every individual, or at least every intelligent individual, therefore, to examine these questions for himself, in the light of such information as is accessible to him, guided by such reason as he may possess or is able to make himself master of.

Ignorance is the bulwark of error. So long as the multitude take no part in the discussion and settlement of questions of public interest, or, in other words, so long as the discussion of questions hat concern human welfare is confined to a class having a pecuniary or class interest in the solution of them, so long will the *status quo* of all such questions be maintained, and the multitude be debarred from realizing the advantage which they would obtain had they a voice in their solution. This observation is especially true of the problems involved in the theory and practice of medicine—problems the unsettled condition of which has kept and still keeps the science and art of medicine cursed with a variety of medical sects and schools. The law of self-preservation, be it observed, is as potent in respect of classes and institutions as it is in respect of the species and individuals. All instinctively wall themselves in against the disintegrating influence of time and circumstance. So likewise, the law governing the movement of matter is equally operative in the movement of ideas —to this extent, at least, that the impetus for changes, other than those in the line of their natural bent or polity, must come from without. In general, one does not find any sect or institution leading in a movement to revise its own errors, or to correct its own abuses. Nor does a different rule obtain with individuals. One does not find, for example, clergymen heading a movement to reduce their own salaries ; nor doctors insisting on smaller fees for medical services ; nor lawyers advising their clients to make amicable settlements of their disputes ; nor druggists recommending homœopathic physicians. As well might one expect to see millionaires regretting the rise of interest-rates, merchants grieving over the present extravagance in dress, or tailors advocating the propriety of wearing old clothes, as to expect any of the professions to underrate the value of its services, or lead in a movement the success of which would lessen its emoluments and impair its power and prestige in society. It is contrary to the natural course of things ; and if instances of its violation are observed now and then—if one is discovered who is inspired by a different motive—the effect is to shock our logical intuitions. The ruthful violator of the natural order of things, if a physician, is looked upon with suspicion by the wiseacres of the profession, dubbed irregular, or rated among that small, discontented class of people with pain in their bellies (the real seat of sympathy, as Thoreau well says), whom Coleridge has described as being "wrong in head or heart somewhere or other," and Hawthorne has denounced as "men not benevolent or beneficent to individuals,

but almost hostile to them; yet lavishing money and labor and time on the race, the abstract notion" — namely the philanthropists.

We fear this will be the fate—a fate which most people, certainly most students of medicine, stand in greater dread of than the itch or small-pox—of the brave author of the little *brochure* before us. Being disenchanted of the glories of martyrdom ourselves, we envy not the ignominy which awaits him. Should he escape the opprobrium of a philanthropist, he will certainly fall under the ban of being a lover of truth. If he be desirous of "success" in the profession, he could not have taken a more fatal step. The author presents the rare spectacle of a Harvard medical graduate, presumably young in years, impeaching the teachings—the precepts and principles—of his Alma Mater. Perceiving the futility of presenting the results of his medical observations to his medical brethren, he boldly steps out of the professional arena and addresses the laymen—the people. For this unprofessional act, we doubt not the Medical Society of Massachusetts will deal with the presumptuous author in due time, and in its own peculiar way: it is for us to deal with his essay.

In our view, the author argues his cause against old school therapeutics with the skill of a practised dialectician, bringing to his support the experience and confessions of old school physicians and authors of well-known ability and authority. Beginning with the notable "confessions," he cites from Dr. John Harley's Gulstonian Lectures (London, 1868) the following declaration:

"The study of therapeutics is in a deplorable condition. Expectancy and Homœopathy, the twin progeny of ignorance and deception, have grown from a comparatively innocent childhood to most mischievous proportions. But few of us believe in the beneficial action of medicine. Many treat the subject with contempt. Some of our grey-haired practitioners mislead us. We constantly hear them saying, 'The longer I have worked, and the larger my experience, the less do I rely upon drugs; and I find that I am losing confidence, year by year, in the action of medicines.'"

Declarations of similar import in respect of the impotency of old school therapeutics are cited from many standard medical authors, notably from Dr. H. C. Wood, Bichat, Prof. Stillè and Sir Henry Thompson. To the same end, for the same purpose, the author gives the recommendations of some of the best authorities of old school practice as regards the treatment of certain obstinate diseases. Those of Dr. Brown-Séquard are sufficiently apropos and significant to be given a place here:

"Small doses are useless; we ought, therefore, particularly in epilepsy, in tetanus, in neuralgia, in reflex paralysis, in angina pectoris, in whooping-cough, to give as large doses as can safely be borne. In affections like tetanus, in which there is an antagonism between the complaint and the remedy [and when is there not, in old school therapeutics, we would ask]

at the same time that we must be giving, every hour or half hour, a fresh dose of the remedy, we must be carefully watching for the disappearance of the symptoms of the nervous affection, and their replacement by the symptoms of poisoning by the drug. In a case of which I know the details, Dr. F. G. succeeded in obtaining the cessation of tetanic symptoms; but, unfortunately, new doses of opium were given after that cessation, and the patient died of poisoning by opium."

In other words, after the *tetanic* symptoms had subsided, under the massive doses of opium, the *satanic* (morphism) set in. But even if the poor patient—let us rather say, victim—had not succumbed to the treatment, one wonders if his last condition would not have been worse than the first.

The author discusses the claims of "Rational Medicine," of "Empirical Medicine," and of "Homœopathy," to be regarded as scientific. The conclusion to which he comes, in respect of the methods of the former two, may be briefly stated in his own words:

"The old school has not yet learned how to bring order out of chaos, how to render available the great mass of material it has so blindly gathered together. Possessed of many valuable truths, it has not yet seized upon the method by which they can be intelligently applied to the treatment of disease. The practice of the old school physician is still a mere educated guess-work; he goes to his Materia Medica as he would go to a lottery, with the desire to make the best selection possible, but with little idea of what that best is, or of the proper mode of selecting it."

The attentive reader of Dr. Moore's essay will find it difficult to escape the conclusion at which he arrives. The author does indeed show by abundant evidence, drawn from trustworthy sources, and from logic which one's reason approves, that old school medicine has "thus far been barren of results" at the bedside, "and must necessarily continue to be so in the future." The reason of the failure of old school therapeutics he rightly finds to be its fallacious method of studying the materia medica, which keeps its practitioners, however able, industrious and learned, in ignorance of the specific virtues of drugs. He therefore commends the method of Hahnemann to his colleagues, pointing out to them the well-known fact that many physicians of the past, illustrious in the annals of medical literature, formulated the same therapeutic doctrine laid down by Hahnemann, and recommended the same method of studying the action of remedies, viz: on the healthy. We especially commend this part of the author's essay to the unprejudiced attention of our old school *confrères*. And we would also express the hope that they may soon be brought to a sense of duty, if not of justice, to accept in good faith the author's closing advice: "Let us, then, extend to our homœopathic brethren the right hand of fellowship, that the reproach of bigotry and intolerance may be removed from us, that the truth may be advanced, and the day hastened when medicine will know no schools, but be represented by one body, working with renewed

strength and vigor, and with the one aim of advancing medical science and the best interests of humanity."

Materia Medica and Therapeutics. By CHARLES J. HEMPEL, M. D., 2 vols. 8°. Third edition. Revised by the Author. Greatly enlarged by the addition of many new and valuable remedies, personal observations and numerous clinical contributions from public and private sources. By H. R. ARNDT, M. D. Chicago: W. A. Chatterton. New York: A. L. Chatterton Publishing Co. 1880.

Homœopathic Materia Medicas are multiplying in such profusion now-a-days that one wonders that a publisher can be found willing to take the risk of a new work, or a new edition of an old work, on this much overdone subject. In the publication before us, the first volume of which has just appeared, the enterprising publisher has, evidently, exercised the business sagacity peculiar to his class, and shifted the pecuniary responsibility to other shoulders. Be that as it may, he has not failed in presenting the volume in a manner that does credit to the typographical art. This volume presents a cleanly page, open it where one may, showing a degree of diligence with the proof-sheets on the part of the editor which cannot be too highly commended.

Of the work itself we must speak in terms of less admiration. We do not see its *raison d'être* at all as a distinct treatise on homœopathic materia medica, except, perhaps, as a monument to its indefatigable author. Let no one infer from this remark, which is made in sincerity, and without malice prepense, that Dr. Hempel's *Materia Medica* is devoid of merit. It has merit, indeed, of no mean quality, but unhappily, it is not such as to give the work a distinctively homœopathic character, or to render it indispensable to the homœopathic physician, or in fact to any class of physicians or school of practice, the aid it gives in practice being supplied the profession, for the most part, by eclectic and old school materia medicas. It must be said, however, to the author's credit, that he has been consistent with his purpose in the arrangement of the work, as he professes to give merely a rude outline of the voluminous subject, from a physiological and pathological point of view, leaving the symptomatological details to be supplied by other hands.

We commend the author's plan of giving the natural history of the remedies of which he treats; also the method of their preparation. His rejection of isopathic remedies is likewise to be commended. They have long been mostly discarded by the old

school therapeutics; their resurrection by the new school has been a shame and a reproach from the first.

Passing over the distinguishing features of the work, which are too well known to require special mention, we have to animadvert on the introductory chapter—or lecture, for the volumes consist of a series of lectures—in terms by no means complimentary. That lecture ought never to have been written, or if written, it ought never to have been published, or if published, it should never have found place in a work on materia medica. In this chapter the author goes out of his course to express views in respect of final causes which we doubt not are original, but which are puerile to the last degree. His moral cosmogony has certainly no admixture of science to redeem it from childishness. Let us cite a few lines:

"The moral transgression [the fall of man] tainted the physical creation, and the forces of disease were the inevitable result. But God could not permit these morbific forces to pervade creation like wild and lawless furies seeking whom they might destroy. He subjected them to the laws of order, by compelling them to fix themselves in definite, concrete forms. Thus it is that medicinal agents embody or materialize, so to say, morbific forces, themselves resulting from man's original transgression, and perpetuating themselves, with the hereditary consequences of this transgression in man, from age to age and generation to generation, etc. * * * Who can foretell whether it will ever be given unto us to know the essences that perpetuate woe and pain among us? * * * Diseases are adventitious principles of forces, superinduced or eliminated in the surrounding spheres by man's deviations from the laws of divine harmony," etc.

Such a philosophy of health and disease—of life and the divine order—leaving out of the category the fanciful conception of the genesis of drugs, is extremely repugnant to the scientific sense. The fallacies embodied in these brief extracts are of too flagrant a character to be permitted to pass unchallenged in a modern medical work. In the first place, if there is any truth in modern science, man never met with that terrible accident known as the "Fall," to which the author refers, and of which no one speaks today except to smile. In the next place, the Divine purpose has never been thwarted or set aside, for we know nothing of that purpose except as it is revealed in the course of things—the laws of nature. In the next place, the laws of nature cannot be transgressed. It is quite common to hear the ignorant or thoughtless speak of one's violating the laws of health, or acting contrary to the laws of one's being or violating God's law. It is a grave abuse of language to use it thus, nevertheless, and involves a misconception of the idea of "law." One may not choose the best conditions of life and sanity; but one can no more violate a law of one's existence than one can lift one's self into one's carriage by the straps of one's boots, or into one's saddle by the seat of one's breeches.

"To bid people conform," says John Stuart Mill, "to the laws of nature when they have no power but what the laws of nature give them—when it is a physical impossibility for them to do the smallest thing otherwise than through some law of nature, is an absurdity. The thing they need to be told is, what particular law of nature they should make use of in a particular case."—*Essays on Religion, p. 16.*

Finally, disease is not an entity, essence or principle. Such a doctrine of etiology is allied to that of "possession," which has long been set at rest by the advance of physiological knowledge. The science of physiology shows that health is normal functional activity, due to normal or sanitary conditions and environments; and that disease is abnormal functional activity, due to abnormal or unsanitary environments or conditions. One condition is as natural as the other. Nor is there necessarily any impenetrable secret as to the essential causes of morbific phenomena—disease. On the contrary, it may be laid down as a truism, that all acute diseases have for their exciting cause the absorption, or generation within the organism, of peccant or extraneous substances or elements. It is true one does not always know the precise nature of such morbific or extraneous substances. Nor does one know, for that matter, the precise nature of one's food—that vast variety of things that affect the economy normally or physiologically. Nor is such knowledge possessed of much practical importance. In respect of the essential nature of morbific causes, enough is already certainly known to show the fallacy of the doctrine maintained by many medical theorists of the day, among whom is the author of this work, that there exist remedies whose province it is to wipe out all the disorders to which flesh is heir. That fallacy is the will-o'-the-wisp of medical philosophy. We should rejoice to see it abandoned and a more rational conception of the nature of disease and the province of therapeutics substituted in its place. When a specific is found to supplement the lack of pure air in the economy, or that of proper food, ventilated abodes, or personal cleanliness, then will it be time to return to the mediæval doctrines of life and sanity and to seek relief from moral and physical disorders exclusively in prayer and the exhibition of medicine.

Suum cuique—It must be conceded that the work has been greatly improved in this last (third) edition. The remedies are arranged alphabetically, instead of in lectures, as of old. "The old remedies have been thoroughly revised by both authors; many of them—aconite, arsenicum, etc.—have been materially condensed; others—apis, lachesis, etc.—have been wholly rewritten." The work has also been enlarged by a considerable addition of new remedies—remedies which have been proved and received into the materia medica since the publication of the first edition. To these merits must be added a "double index, general and clinical" to each volume, which must greatly facilitate the use of the works. The second volume is promised for October, 1880.

The Philosophy of Music. By WILLIAM POLE. 12° pp. 316. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1879.

THE love of music, in some form and quality of expression, is wellnigh coextensive with human existence. So undoubted is this, that the person, of whatever race or tastes or condition, is regarded at least curiously, who finds no pleasure in melodious utterances. The familiar aphorism of Shakespeare, concerning the one who has "no music in his soul," has passed into a current maxim of our language, by virtue of the incisive truth that gleams through it, like the flash of a cimeter. Those most unskilled in practice, totally powerless to produce anything like a musical sound, unable, as they assure us, even to "tell one note from another," will often listen with delight to the rudest performances, whether of voice or of instrument. And their souls are affected with genuine if not over-refined thrills of emotion. Music, of whatsoever grade or quality, will command an audience, where oratory, from the lowest to the highest degree, will only go begging for hearers. Some even declare that the elements of such a taste are inseparable from the human nature. Music, they urge, is the universal language of the emotions, their truest and best interpreter; therefore, as no one can be wholly destitute of emotion, a sympathetic chord must of necessity lie somewhere hidden in every soul, which only waits for the proper touch, to give a sure response.

A natural liking so undeniably strong and prevalent, might rationally imply a corresponding familiarity with the underlying principles of music. The exact opposite, however, is the truth. The popular ignorance touching many of the simplest rudiments of musical science, is something marvellous. And unfortunately it is not confined to even that vast majority of mankind which is content with simply listening, more or less delightedly, to the performances of others, having never sought to acquire any skill of its own. Hundreds of excellent musicians are today equally in the dark. Persons of decided and often commanding ability, singers and players of reputation, competent band and choir leaders, successful organizers and directors of orchestral and of choral unions, conductors of concerts, music teachers of life-long experience, are sharers of the same unenviable distinction. Their tastes may be pure, their judgment of proper combinations, renderings and effects, sound and reliable, their knowledge of the technicalities of the mechanical details appertaining to correct musical performance, second to none. They may have the whole vocabulary of scales and chromatics and slurs and syncopations and runs and arpeggios and trills and staccatos and symphonies, at their tongues' end. Yet a very simple question, as to the general phenomena of sound, the characteristic properties of musical sounds, the nature and the relative magnitudes of musical

intervals, the origin and the principle of the diatonic scale, the natural imperfections of the scale, the laws of harmony, the theory of instrumental music, and fifty other points, equally germane to the subject, will precipitate a crisis like that mentioned in the eighth chapter of *Revelation*, when "there was *silence* in heaven about the space of half an hour." Not one in a hundred could answer a word. And it is equally a fact, that in the ordinary course of musical instruction, where even the customary hour of drill is professedly given to the exclusive benefit of a single person, it is wholly exceptional that the attention of a pupil is directed to anything of the kind.

These things have no moral right to be true. It is out of all reason, that so powerful an agent for the promotion of wholesome enjoyment upon the earth, whose highest refinements of pleasure are also connected in every devout mind with the fruitions of the heavenly state, should be chiefly known to men as a mechanical process alone. The science of music, the principles which govern its composition, the philosophy to which all its just arrangements and effects are accountable, should be as familiar to every person of average musical taste, as the prismatic colors in the composition of light, or the laws of reflection, of refraction and of gravitation, are to the scholars of average capacity; and so long as the present ratio of difference shall continue, or anything approaching it, the musical profession, as a whole, can, strictly speaking, lay no just claim to rank as a "learned" department.

The author of the elegant volume before us has fully considered this grave subject. Deeply regretting the prevalent ignorance of fundamental principles in music, and rightly ascribing it to the indifference of most "musical performers, both amateur and professional," he has undertaken the serious task of correcting the tone of public sentiment, in this particular. The plan of his work originated, as so many great reforms do, in a single circumstance. Himself a doctor of music, and one of the examiners in that department at the University of London, he had been invited to deliver, before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, a series of lectures upon the Theory of Music. The decided approval which attended this effort encouraged him to embody the substance of the lectures in a form adapted to general circulation. His treatment on the subject is practical, sufficiently popularized to interest the reader of average intelligence. His style is dignified, yet easy and lucid, singularly free from the dryness and the scientific difficulties so common to treatises of this character, with as few professional technicalities as the proper handling of such a theme would permit. The subject is conveniently presented in three general divisions: first, the material of music; second, its elementary arrangement; third, its proper structure. The first division treats of musical sounds, their production, their transmission, their perception; also their pitch, their strength and their character, with a very full and interesting

chapter upon the scientific principles of the different musical instruments. In the second are explained the "steps" or degrees in music, the intervals, the scale, time or rhythm and kindred matters, with the addition of a valuable sketch of the ancient modes, their origin and their relation to those in modern use. The third division is assigned to melody, harmony and counterpoint, as the three great elements essential to the proper structure of all musical composition. Those but slightly initiated will readily perceive, from this brief glimpse of the author's plan, how natural and logical is the order in which he has pursued it. Neither the practical musician nor the thoughtful, though unmusical reader, can fail of great interest and profit, who shall give to this notable work a thorough perusal.

The Telephone, the Microphone and Phonograph. By COUNT DU MONCEL, Member of the French Institute. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

IN a marvellously short space of time the telephone has developed into an apparatus of great practical importance. From an almost childish toy—a simple amusement of two persons at the end of a string—it has become, by successive improvements and modifications, one of the wonders of the world, rivalling even the telegraph, hitherto justly considered the greatest scientific achievement of the age.

The book of Du Moncel gives us a very complete history of the telephone from its first conception by Robert Hooke in 1667 to the year 1874, and its present perfect condition to which the labors of Gray, Bell, Edison and the practical scientists have contributed.

All the various forms of telephones are described, and clearly shown by fine illustrations, together with explanations of their principles of construction, etc. In short, this seems to us to be a most complete and lucid treatise, possessing great historical and scientific merit.

A chapter is devoted to telephone stations, and to call-bells, or alarms.

With the same care and completeness the microphone is treated; —that marvellous little instrument which almost magnifies the stepping of a fly to the tramp of a steed; also the phonograph, which records and reproduces not only the speech of a person but the voice, articulation and inflections. Finally, in an appendix, we have an account of Faber's speaking machine, and other interesting matter about telephonic acoustics.

The book is published in the Harpers' best style, and will be found exceedingly valuable not only to the man of science, but to every intelligent reader.

Health and Health Resorts. By JOHN WILSON, M. D. 12° pp. 288. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. 1880.

THIS volume by Dr. Wilson is full of valuable hints to invalids seeking a change of climate. The author's late position as medical inspector of the camps and hospitals of the U. S. army, his evident acquaintance with the Continent, and experience at the various health resorts, eminently fit him for his task.

His object in writing this book, the author remarks in his introduction, is to offer such practical suggestions regarding the subject of health and health resorts as shall aid the curable invalid to reach a just appreciation of the natural resources of which he may avail himself, and deter the fatally sick from aggravating his sufferings, thereby shortening his life, by injudicious and unavailing experiments. In the first chapter, he gives us some idea of the nature of health and disease, the influence of surroundings and associations, in health or sickness, their effect on physical and emotional states, the advisability of change in certain cases of illness, and of the suitability of the different kinds of change made necessary by the exigency of the case.

Concerning the sanitary resorts of the United States, Dr. Wilson considers no other country more highly favored, in variety of climate, mineral springs, and sea-shore. "In no foreign land can there be found such an assemblage of intelligent appliances for the alleviation of suffering, nor in any other is there such ample provision made for the comfort of the travelling invalids. Our hotels, rail-road cars, steam-boats, and other accommodations for the travelling public, are unequalled anywhere; and, therefore, as far as these elements contribute to the comfort of the invalid, the odds are largely in favor of the United States. Then, again, it may be fairly questioned whether our mineral springs and sanitary resorts do not possess elements as well adapted to the treatment of the various forms of disease as any of the most famous baths or springs of Europe. Certain it is, that our sea-shore resorts, in all that can contribute to the comfort of both sick and well will compare favorably with the most celebrated of these places abroad." —p. 25. He alludes, also, to the variety of climate within our territorial limits, probably embracing that of every country in Europe; also to the material comforts to be enjoyed at much less expense in the modest farm-houses throughout the country than at the expensive sanitariums of Europe. Dr. Wilson considers, moreover, in many cases the means of recreation at such places too artificial and exciting, tending to draw the invalid's attention from his malady for a time, only to aggravate it in the end.

For those invalids, however, who are convinced that the sanitary resources of a foreign country are superior to our own, and who do not suffer from advanced organic disease of any of the principal vital centres, which have already produced extreme mental and physical debility, Dr. Wilson offers valuable sug-

gestions as to place, time, and regimen. The use of stimulants is discussed in a sensible manner. He writes: "The climatic and other physical influences affecting all races and conditions of men, play so important a part in creating a desire and determining the necessity for adventitious stimulants, that the subject of daily beverages for invalids travelling for health, becomes one of the first importance. That, under some circumstances, moderately stimulating drinks may be daily indulged in, not only without detriment to the constitution, but with positively fortifying effect, which under others would induce habits of drunkenness and a rapid decline of vital force, is a fact of which I have the strongest conviction." He then proceeds to say that he is well aware that exception will be taken to the use of stimulants at any time, and of the counter-arguments of cold water advocates, and continues: "These opinions whether founded on fact or not, have at least the merit of inculcating the doctrine of sobriety, and, were it possible to persuade the world to act on them, would doubtless save it from much demoralization and suffering; but unfortunately the teachers of both morality and science have to deal with the world as they find it, and hence the true province of the moralist and scientist is, not to evade the investigation of phenomena that appear to militate against their theories, but to attempt rationally to explain them and, if possible, to make this explanation contribute to the general good."—p. 49 *et seq.*

The author devotes one chapter to the therapeutic influence of mineral waters. While it is an undisputed fact that they are often beneficial, their improper use produces most disastrous results. He gives some good advice as to the methods of using these waters.

Pulmonary consumption, also, receives careful and elaborate attention, especially as to the effect and advisability of travel, and the desirability of different resorts in different cases of that disease, and in different seasons, with a description of the health stations, their climate, facilities of access, etc.

The mineral springs of Germany, Switzerland, and France, receive due attention, making altogether a very readable volume of timely importance to all health seekers.

Camps in the Caribees; The Adventures of a Naturalist in the Lesser Antilles. By FREDERICK A. OBER. 12° pp. 366. Boston: Lee and Shepard. New York: Chas. T. Dillingham. 1880.

MR. FRED. A. OBER has abandoned the beaten track confined within the boundaries of civilization and led us directly into the forest for a glimpse of its primitive simplicity, and for the actual possession of birds comparatively unknown which inhabit the

Lesser Antilles. His exploration of those of the West India islands with which we are the least familiar, was undertaken for the Smithsonian Institute, and his collection of birds not only included every species heretofore contributed but many new ones, with a most interesting account of their haunts, habits and plumage.

The book he has so modestly presented is written in a sketchy style and shows the author familiarly fond of that of which he writes. His days, spent in the gloom and grandeur of the mountains, were enlivened by raccoons and snakes, and the companionship of tarantulas, land snails, lizards and boa-constrictors, while his nights in the wilderness were no less startling. His descriptions of the soft, mysterious song of the *Soufrière* bird, whose ventriloquial notes baffled the naturalist; the sudden darkness following daylight, signalled by the mournful sunset bird; the vivid pictures of cloud-capped mountains, viewed from the cave or camp in the crater of St. Vincent as he rested in his hammock among the cocoa palms and tree-ferns, are the delicate pencillings of an artist. One can almost see the slumbering lake, asleep in the "bowels of the crater," which he so forcibly yet daintily describes, and the opalescent hue with tinge of faintest aqua-marine against gray cliffs, dark gorges and green moss.

One of the amusing chapters is that devoted to a monkey hunt, among the banana swamps, the monkey's highway, and of an attack, while in ambush, of golden-throated humming birds.

Mr. Ober has entertained us greatly with his freshness and originality, and, as his wanderings have furnished a valuable addition to the department of ornithology, so has the record thereof proved an acceptable after-thought.

A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia). Its Symptoms, Nature, Sequences, Treatment. By GEORGE M. BEARD, A. M., M. D. 8° pp. 198. New York: William Wood & Company. 1880.

DR. BEARD, who has a growing reputation as a popular scientific writer and investigator, has attempted in this work to fill a place which medical literature for the most part has left untouched. It is a brief and intelligent monograph, in fact, on the numerous but obscure "family of nervous disorders," of a functional character, which have almost arisen within the past century, and which in the last half of it have become increasingly frequent, especially in the United States. Though the sufferers from them here are to be found everywhere, and are not simply brain-workers, but are muscle-workers quite as often, the thickest field for them is in the northern and eastern States. The country which stands next in the number of them is England, while

France is third; and "they appear to be least numerous in Germany and Russia, Italy and Spain."

These disorders are quite often inherited, and cling with tenacity to certain families. They occur "under similar conditions and in similar temperaments." They are essentially the product of our nineteenth century civilization; and, as the most active and restless development of this is to be found in our country and climate, the high neurasthenic tendency here is what would be expected

It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Beard, whose industry and faithfulness in observation are well known, has done his work well. He has put his descriptions and comment in so readable a style, that even the popular reader will find it interesting; while to the physician, who wishes to see a vague tract of pathology more accurately defined, it must be considered indispensable.

The Farmer's Friend and Guide. For 1880. Pp. 500. New York: Frank Harrison & Co.

THIS publication, which is issued in paper covers, is the initial copy of an annual serial devoted to every variety of agriculture, but made up entirely of selections from the agricultural press. Stock-breeding, the apiary, poultry-raising, the garden, and the various departments are all allotted separate space, under a general title, but the contents of the whole are to be considered only as a careful compilation. It has the merit it claims; but we hardly think the strict classification referred to quite atones for the lack of an index, which ought not to have added essentially to its expense.

Dwelling Houses; Their Sanitary Construction and Arrangements. By W. H. CORFIELD. 12° pp. 156. D. Van Nostrand & Co.

THIS is No. 50 of "Van Nostrand's Science Series," a class of publications which would be regarded as heavy by the general reader, but which the general reader, nevertheless, would do well carefully to consult. Corfield's book tells all about the best modes of constructing dwelling-houses, to ensure the health and comfort of their occupants; and gives valuable hints concerning the ventilation, lighting and warming of houses, as also about sewerage and drainage.

The Constitutional and Political History of the United States. By DR. H. VON HOLST. Translated from the German by JOHN J. LALOR and ALFRED B. MASON. 1750–1833. State Sovereignty and Slavery. 8° pp. 505. Chicago: Callaghan and Company. 1877.

THE first chapter of this work is a rapid sketch of the events from 1750 to the adoption of the Constitution of 1789, and justly ridicules the idea that the union of States under the Constitution was a "divine inspiration" or the result of a sentimental patriotism. It states very truly that the Union was not merely the child of pressing commercial necessity as Mr. Webster averred, but that "it was a struggle for existence, a struggle for the existence of the United States;" and moreover, although "the Constitution had been extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people," even this necessity did not disentitle the event to be regarded in the language of Washington as "little short of a miracle." It would have enhanced the value of the work to the younger readers, had there been some space devoted at the outset to an examination of the compromises which lie at the base of the Constitution, for it is too often stated as a reproach to our fathers that they made a fatal compromise on the subject of slavery, when in reality they did nothing of the kind, because the States were independent and sovereign, and the Constitution could not give them what they already possessed. The truth is that the slave States conceded the abolition of the slave trade after 1808, the navigation laws to the New England and Middle States, and in other respects surrendered attributes of their own sovereignty for the sake of the Union, as indeed did all the States: that in truth the adoption of the Constitution was a practical instance of the fact that all government, indeed, every relation in human life, is founded on compromise and barter, on the principle of give and take which pervades even the material universe.

The second chapter, while it accuses the anti-federalists of hostility to the Constitution, fails to notice the fact that in the establishment of the United States Bank the Constitution was violated by the Federalists themselves, almost as soon as it was put in operation; accuses the American people of an idolatrous worship of the Constitution to which it was not entitled, speaking of the instrument as a "national fetish;" and goes on to say that "the origin of the Constitution and the first years in which it did so much for the good of the people by producing a radical change in the unhappy situation of affairs after the war, were contemporaneous with the adoption or invention of political or party principles. The political reasoning of the school which gave tone to the time started out with the assumption that the individual was a monad floating through the universe and governed by independent

laws inherent in himself, not a member of a given society into which he was born. The consequence was, that certain principles resulting from this mode of reasoning were substituted for actual facts, as a foundation for the social and economic condition which it was sought to bring about. As the basis of these principles was discovered in human nature, they were necessarily declared to be unchangeable and applicable to all times and to every people. Their tendency therefore was, on the one hand, to destroy the existing state of things; for any title not in harmony with these principles was a fraud and usurpation and was denounced as a weak and damnable species of commerce with the injustice of a thousand years. But on the other hand, to adopt this philosophy would be to declare stagnation the natural condition of all social and political order. If the principles were to be unchangeable, incapable of refinement and progress, there would be no possibility of development, for principles are only the quintessence of the aggregate intellectual and moral knowledge of a people or of the age, reduced to the simplest formula."

We submit that the whole of the foregoing extract is extravagantly false and theoretically wrong. It is not true that the statesmen who framed the Constitution considered the individual as a "monad floating through the universe," etc.; and it is theoretically false to say that the principles underlying the science of government are not unchangeable, for principles are eternal. It is the violation of the unchangeable principles of human nature which lie at the base of human society that has caused the failure of human government everywhere. It was the violations of the Constitution of 1789 that caused the civil war in this country; and it is conclusive testimony to the merit and efficacy of the Constitution that it was thoroughly equal to the great emergency.

In the third chapter the author reveals his own political instincts and exhibits himself as hostile to republicanism and in favor of centralism, and an imperialist at heart. He speaks of the establishment of the United States Bank, ridicules the anti-federalists, chief among whom was Madison (Jefferson was in France at this time), for their opposition to the measure because they thought it unconstitutional, and finally gives away the whole case by saying: "The Constitution did not expressly authorize the establisment of a bank; and the anti-federalists now endeavored to prove that it was not necessary to the exercise of the powers expressly given." The author fails to note that if the anti-federalists did not succeed in proving that the bank was not "necessary," subsequent events did, and it is preposterous to set up the assumption that it is "necessary" to the administration of a government that it should go into what Adam Smith calls "the trade of banking." The alliance of a government with a single bank or any number of banks is simply a scheme on the part of politicians to obtain the assistance of the money power in controlling the people, and is eminently hostile to liberty. The author

speaks of "the intellectual and moral drunkenness" of the anti-federalists, classifies Jefferson as a demagogue (p. 108), stigmatizes the political philosophy of the anti-federalists as "blind doctrinarianism" (p. 109), and says, "although the Americans are certainly republican in more than the name, they have always been, as much as the French, and more than any other European people, subject to the *vertigo of republicanism*" (p. 130). Toward the close of the chapter the author animadverts upon the disposition of the American statesmen of that day for seeking to cultivate and cement friendly relations with France, and characterizes the prevalent feeling of the time as Francomania (p. 124).

The fourth chapter is devoted to a dicussion of State and federal sovereignty, which is carried on with skill: the Virginia resolutions of 1798 and the Kentucky resolutions of 1799 that were intended to guard the rights of the States are examined in a spirit of violent animosity toward Jefferson, whose mode of thought is described as "a mixture of about equal parts of dialectical acuteness and of the fanaticism of superficiality" (p. 160); and we are told that "not the slightest weight should be attached *a priori* to his interpretation of the Constitution." The author speaks disparagingly of Madison for the same reason, apparently, as of Jefferson, namely, that they were both democrats in the philosophic sense of the word, and therefore both guilty of an offence which the ingrained hatred of republican government in the mind of the author prevents him from tolerating.

Toward the close of this chapter, the mind of the reader is relieved by the following gleam of judicial sense: "The forcible resistance of the States to the general government might be as justifiable as the forcible resistance of the Colonies to England; but in law, it would be, in this case as in that, a revolution and not a mode of procedure warranted by the Constitution."

Chapter V is more strictly historical, less colored by the political philosophy of the author, not wholly free from prejudice against Jefferson, but very interesting, especially that portion relating to the purchase of Louisiana, a territory which under that name "stretched from the mouth of the Mississippi over Iowa, Minnesota, Dakota and Kansas, and reached westward to the Rocky Mountains." It is noticeable that while Hamilton, the political enemy of Jefferson, favored the purchase, "Jefferson himself unconditionally granted that the Constitution did not warrant the acquisition of foreign territory, still less its incorporation into the Union. And even the objections of some of his friends could not change his view of the constitutional question." The great political and strategical value of this acquisition in removing the control of the mouths of the Mississippi from foreign power, and the immense territorial wealth obtained thereby from France for the sum of $15,000,000, could not persuade Jefferson by broad construction to justify himself on constitutional grounds. "I confess then," he said, "I think it important in the present case to

set an example against broad construction by appealing for new power to the people" (p. 192). And in a letter to Mr. Breckenridge, which our author does not quote, he said, "I pretend to no right to bind you, I thought it my duty to risk myself for you." This great statesman well knew the necessity of a strict construction of the Constitution in order to guard the rights of the minority, and to protect them from the tyranny of the majority. The necessity of strict construction impresses itself on all philosophical minds, and De Tocqueville observes, "I am not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country, as at the inadequate securities which one finds there against tyranny." (*Democracy in America*, Vol. I, chap. xv.) Dr. von Holst does not omit to notice the narrow and selfish view of the purchase of Louisiana that was taken by the New England States, and the disunion and sectional feeling evoked by the act.

The sixth chapter is devoted to a long and minute discussion of the Embargo period, ending with the war of 1812 and the unsavory Hartford Convention, treasonable in design but abortive in result. The young reader who has been accustomed or taught to believe that the ideas of secession, nullification and armed resistance to the Federal Government are or were confined to the southern section of the country, or even originated there, will find much profitable reading throughout this chapter. It may be proper to state here that the Embargo, and war of 1812, by diverting capital from maritime pursuits to manufacturing industry, planted the seeds of that opulence which the New England States now possess.

The work has been examined thus far with great care, so that its scope and character can be understood. The author has exhibited immense research, and the historical portion is of great interest and value. But the hostility and rancor exhibited towards the illustrious Jefferson, whose name is rarely mentioned except in contemptuous terms, the spirit of ill-concealed hate of our system of government which pervades the whole work, qualify, if they do not destroy, the favorable regard of the intelligent American reader, and give rise to serious doubt as to whether it is a suitable book for the present time, when a wholesome reaction from party tyranny and "imperialism" seems to be setting in. The very last words of this first volume are a quotation of a didactic sentiment of Bismarck: "Sovereignty can only be a unit and it must remain a unit,—the sovereignty of law." Between German imperialism and American republicanism we prefer the latter with all its imperfections, and we are of opinion that between Bismarck and Jefferson humanity will know which to choose.

The Science of English Verse. By SIDNEY LANIER. Cr. 8° pp. 315. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

IT is doubtful if any book on the subject of poetry has appeared at any time with a sincerer or fresher purpose than that

titled above, which one of our most cultured younger poets has recently produced. It is doubtful, too, if it could have been written by any one except an author whose experience in the arts of music and poetry is, in each direction, equally thorough, and at ready command. The intention of it is to point out, with full and elaborate discussion and examples, how absolutely the qualities which constitute verse are made up of sound. "If the least doubt upon this point should be entertained," says the author, "it may be dispelled by observing that all ideas may be abolished out of a poem without disturbing its effect upon the ear as verse." This may be tested by the reader, by matching any well known and excellent piece of poetry by other words "which convey no ideas to the mind," but which exactly "preserve the accentuation, alliteration and rhyme." The conclusion is, that, "if we can now ascertain all the possible relations between sounds we will have discovered all the possible determinants of verse," technically so called, "and will have secured principles for the classification of all verse-effects from which there can be no appeal."

This synopsis gives, of course, but a slight insight into Mr. Lanier' argument, and no clue at all to the variety of facts and illustrations with which he has striven to fortify it. It may be that he carries the doctrine a little too far, in some particulars, but he has said enough on firm ground to give his book the hearty respect which a careful, painstaking and accurate scholarship should command. Some of his analyses of the familiar lines and melodies of our most famous poets will have interest for a wide circle, but the book, from its very nature, will not tempt the ordinary reader. What Mr. Lanier has offered he submits simply as suggestions, not as rigid laws, and he wisely says: "For the artist in verse there is no law: the perception and love of beauty constitute the whole outfit." He merely wishes to enlarge that perception and exalt that love.

The Younger Edda: Also called Snorre's Edda, or the Prose Edda, etc., etc. By RASMUS B. ANDERSON. 12° pp. 302. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

THAT beautiful world into which the Scandinavian mythology takes us, can never cease to hold the mind, which delights in primitive thoughts and poetry, with powerful fascination. If it does not come to us robed in the pure forms which clothe Greek art and culture, it is surpassed by nothing known to the mind of man in strength and sweep of poetic conception. It is within a comparatively recent period that the ordinary reader has had much access to the Edda literature; but he has for some years now seen it tinge a body of English poetry whose eminence has sprung

almost as much from its fresh and peculiar—though ancient—topics, as from their striking treatment. Now that this enchanting glimpse has been given into fields so old, and yet so new, it is a pleasure to find one of the chief original works itself produced by a scholar whose tender love for the task, and faithful acquirements, make it probable that we have before us the best and most satisfactory English translation.

The date of the Younger Edda is put as far back as 1250 certainly; and perhaps it may claim, in part, to have been written a century earlier. "The mythological material of it," says Prof. Anderson, "is as old as the Teutonic race." To continue his words: "It contains the systematized theogony and cosmogony of our forefathers, while the Elder Edda presents the Odinic faith in a series of lays or rhapsodies." In many particulars, as the author shows—the elder book being poetry while the latter one is prose; the former enigmatic, while the latter is explanatory—they fill out the parallel which can be drawn between the Jewish Scriptures and the New Testament.

When we remember that it is in the Norse language and literature that we find the earliest record of our customs, laws and institutions—"that Iceland is for the Teutons what Greece and Rome are for the south of Europe"—there is a motive additional to the impulse given by a rare structure of poetry to make us recur to a work which comes freighted with such tender and sacred traditions.

This volume is not only printed in type which is pleasant to tired eyes, and in comely, substantial form, but it is supplied also with an introduction, notes, vocabulary and index.

Principles and Portraits. By C. A. BARTOL. 12° pp. 460. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

DR. BARTOL must be a preacher who could not ever be dull, if his spoken efforts are at all reflected by his printed page. The present volume, like the previous ones on *Radical Problems* and *The Rising Faith*, is something more than merely interesting; for it deals with great themes, and treats them in a bright, lofty and incisive way. The author is first of all a poet, and sees everything through a deep spiritual sense. He is the prisoner of no dogma; he will go to the root of things, though the heavens fall; but instead of falling, they seem to be propped up and buttressed stronger than ever, after he has laid vigorous blows upon the temporary, the transient, or the merely phenomenal.

Science, art, love, business, education, politics, and persons—these are among the topics which are discussed in this new volume, which shows the mark of "sweetness and light" in every page and paragraph. It is not the author's aim so much to settle

and conclude questions, as to irradiate light upon them, in all frankness and charity; and so leave the reader to pick up the threads of his own argument, and follow them out as he will. There are writers who will criticise his style, as failing in distinctness and coherence; and, in fact, he seems—not by imitation, but by nature and individual affinity—to remind you of a somewhat more diffuse and exuberant Emerson. His method is, at least, of the transcendental kind, and he talks, of course, to a chosen class. What he says of Shakespeare, Channing, Bushnell, Weiss, Garrison, and Hunt the artist, takes him over a most delightful field, and illustrates well the spirit in which he habitually dwells.

In this era of vapid sea-side and Summer reading, he is to be envied who puts so true a volume as this into his carpet-bag or satchel. The background of mountains, or the foreground of sea, will form a not altogether unsuitable frame to it.

Great Authors of all Ages. With Indexes. By S. AUSTIN ALLIBONE. 8° pp. 555. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

A GLANCE at the superb mechanical execution of this book would dispose even an obdurate critic to speak well of its contents. A glance at its contents would effectually forbid him to speak otherwise, though the exterior showed only naked pasteboard. It is one of those rare works that in the nature of the case defy all unfavorable judgment. Its value is three-fold. First, it presents a carefully selected list of those authors, from Pericles to George Eliot, whom the world has united in pronouncing great; the names being arranged, so far as the facts are attainable, in the order of birth. Second, immediately following each name is a condensed record of the leading events that marked the life of the individual. Third, a choice selection or two is appended, from the most celebrated production of each author, thus affording a fair sample of his usual style of composition.

These selections also, are generally prefaced by a very discriminating estimate of the general literary character of the author. As a simple guide in the proper selection of books for a library, this work is worth many times its price. With any just attention to the hints it proffers, a wrong choice is wellnigh impossible. Then, the person who should simply read with care the several extracts alluded to, would acquire a more just and comprehensive knowledge of general literature than one in a thousand possesses, while the various data respecting the lives of the authors furnish a most convenient body of references. Mr. Allibone deserves to live in history for this work alone, irrespective of the other splendid productions which bear his name.

Miscellanies. By JOHN DEAN CATON, LL.D. 8° pp. 366. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

IT is unusual for a person, who devotes himself to the legal profession with sufficient assiduity to gain an eminent position therein, to find the time or to feel the inclination for a great deal of general literary work. The engrossing duties commonly arising in connection with that pursuit, are so fatal to the requisite leisure, that only extraordinary energy and patience can overcome the hindrance. Also the tendency to drop irrecoverably into the ruts of professional thought, as well as form and phrase and technicality, is so strong that a literary taste has hardly a better chance of surviving the trial than a flowering plant in a gravel-pit. Rufus Choate used to say that his law studies "*dried his mind*" to such an extent that he felt obliged to do a great deal of special literary reading, in order to keep his taste fresh and unimpaired. Judge Caton, an ex-Chief of the Illinois Supreme Bench, has evidently acted with like wisdom. In his interesting volume he has shown us how a mind, capable of formulating principles and decisions in State jurisprudence, can also indite a grave scientific treatise, a racy bit of local history, a relishable chapter of aboriginal lore, a string of gossipy letters from lands visited, and other things in even greater variety. There is a letter upon the interests of the democratic party, which ought to rejoice every heart in that "unterrified" body. The articles upon the American deer family and the wild turkey, are worthy of a professional naturalist. The legal habit of the author is apparent in the conciseness of his style, and in the absence of anything said for mere effect. The book is enjoyable and instructive throughout, and it is a pity that more men of talent and position do not improve the *otium cum dignitate* of their retirement from business life, to the like pleasure and profit of their fellow men.

The Iliad of Homer. Books I, II, III. By ARTHUR SIDGWICK and ROBERT P. KEEP. 16° pp. 203. Boston: John Allyn. 1879.

THE day is past for the need of any critical estimate of the works of Homer. Their place in the world's opinion is like that of the Alps or of the Rocky Mountains in nature, whether it concerns their prominence or their apparent permanency. Yet so long as editorial agency shall be needful to their requisite preparation for ordinary use, there is likely to be a decided preference in regard to the different forms and methods. The present edition starts with the great advantage of a text printed in very clear and beautiful type. This in turn, is conveniently broken into

paragraphs, according to the succession of ideas, to each of which is prefixed a brief heading, concisely stating the substance of what follows. This in no way relieves the effort of careful study in the work of translation; but it is very useful in presenting an outline of the poem, which tends to interest the student, as he begins a paragraph, and essentially to aid him in finding any passage desired for reference. Another feature is a careful sketch of the Homeric dialect, giving a tabulated statement of the various forms, as they occur in connection with the different parts of speech. This will save much time, usually spent in rummaging grammars and lexicons in quest of the desired information. A compact body of notes at the end of the book has the excellence of mainly *suggesting* the proper way out of a difficulty, rather than to foster the indolence of the student by directly informing him. The book is a credit to both the editors and the publisher.

Realities of Irish Life. By W. STEUART TRENCH. 16° pp. 297. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

THIS is a narrative of facts that happened in the experience or under the personal observation of the writer. It dates from about the year 1821, and therefore covers a somewhat eventful period. The main portion of the book is devoted to occurrences in relation to the Land Rent system in Ireland, for which the author's life-long position, as a general agent of estates, peculiarly qualified him. He was a well-educated native Irishman of the better class, a near relative of the eminent Archbishop Trench, and, from the spirit of the story, evidently a just and warm-hearted man, who strove to improve the condition of the tenantry, whilst mildly exacting all just dues. The book will richly repay perusal.

American College Fraternities. By W. RAIMOND BAIRD. 12° pp. 212. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

WHETHER the American College Fraternity system, as now existing, is the more a curse or a blessing, is subject to a great diversity of opinions. Yet the author of this volume has done a positive service in so compactly and clearly presenting all the attainable information respecting the general, the local, the class, the ladies' and the defunct fraternities. It is a valuable work of reference.

Ruskin's Letters to Workingmen and Laborers: Fors Clavigera. Complete in two parts. Part I and II. New York: I. K. Funk & Co.

PERHAPS none of Mr. Ruskin's various writings so thoroughly justifies the expectation of piquancy and surprise, of oddity and charm, as do his *Fors Clavigera* papers, which have been widely quoted from, and are familiar without being easy to procure. Their grotesque wit and sense, their bits of real wisdom and poetic significance, combined with whimsies that have grown upon the author in later years, make them not only an object of curiosity, but also a desirable possession. Of course, not one in a thousand of those to whom Mr. Ruskin's present letters are addressed will understand the meaning of their fantastic title, even after he has so diffusely explained it; some of their suggestions will seem either frivolous or ridiculous to the average mind, and yet there is so much salt and savor in the feast set forth as to make them of quite peculiar value.

For this reason we must heartily welcome their reproduction. Their cheapness is unquestioned; but, as no amount of this quality will be likely to make them much called for by their professed constituency, one could almost wish they were not quite so cheap, and were somewhat more shapely and *bindable*. A quarter of the size in length and breadth, with four times the thickness, would have made it possible for each purchaser to put them in hard covers and presentable book form, without, we should suppose, adding materially to their expense. We do not dispute their serviceableness in the present shape; but, when so little more would do so much, we regret that an edition of the sort we have indicated did not seem, to the publishers also, desirable. Perhaps it will on further reflection.

The Poetical Works of Jean Ingelow. 18° pp. 272. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

A NEW edition of Jean Ingelow's poetic works in rather cheap attire; compact, convenient, and perhaps popular in size, but unworthy the fact, the fancy and passion existing within its envelope. Lovers of Jean Ingelow's poems will, however, overlook the outside dress, and turn again to the sweet songs with utterance wise, grave prophecies, and glad voices, fresh as the breath of May, and, like her own "world of meadows" blossoming with dainty and familiar flowerets. These poems are too familiar to need detailed mention, since every household has felt their influence; but there is a new pleasure to be derived from a perusal of *The Dreams that Came True*, *The Story of Doom*, and *Glady's Island*. In the latter, the girl represents fancy; the woman,

imagination; poetry and history are embodied in the purple mountain peaks. The poems are pictures fair to see, which we may both touch and love. They are womanly and worthy. From the opening lines of the volume which sketch

> "An empty sky, a world of heather,
> Purple of fox-glove. yellow of broom,
> We too, among them, wading together,
> Shaking out honey, treading perfume,"

to the closing stanzas of *The Two Margarets*, which, like a vesper hymn, leaves the very atmosphere pure and peaceful, we find a peerless snowy fancy. The sweet singer may be likened to the flower of her own chosing:

> " A white river-lily: a lily awake and aware,
> For she set her face upward,"

upward,

> " To the enrichment of mankind,
> And the laying up of light
> In men's houses."

Among the Thorns. A Novel. By MARY LOWE DICKINSON. 12° pp. 430. New York: G. W. Carleton & Company. 1880.

MRS. MARY LOWE DICKINSON'S novel, *Among the Thorns*, is a very strong narrative of the fortunes of a family who do a great deal of good and a great deal of harm, in ways common to the divinity and frailty of human nature. Part of the scene is laid in the North, among people of strong anti-slavery sentiments; part upon a southern plantation, where we have a glimpse behind the same veil lifted in that noteworthy book, *The Fools' Errand*; part on English soil, and part under Italian skies. It is always picturesque, the movement even too crowded, the author being apparently embarassed by the bounty of her materials.

We do not remember to have read in a long time, if ever, anything so strong as the tragic story of the slave Marah, whose mind, unhinged by the death of her own little baby, conceives the idea that the little daughter of Robert Thorn, whom she is hired to nurse, is really her own baby, and lavishes upon it the most passionate, self-sacrificing love. Though showing a lack of literary training, the book gives evidence of unusual dramatic power, is instinct with the most carnest human sympathy, and practically inculcates the noblest and firmest principles, in the admirable representation of their working in the conduct of life through the development of her story.

Hal: The Story of a Clodhopper. By W. M. F. ROUND. 12° pp. 263. Boston: Lee and Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1880.

MR. ROUND offers us a small volume entitled *Hal*, which comes bound in the fashionable dress of cardinal silk, and is quite as bright within as without. The story is simple, humorous, and consistent, though one is not a little surprised to find a young lad, born and "brought up" after the Topsy standard, rising from the atmosphere of Silas Poadvine (which, interpreted, means infidelity —miserly and miserable; depravity, wholly and entire), to become that worthy and worshipful personage—a poet, lecturer and a diver into, around and about all things. This boy is a Sabbath School hero, while the grandfather Silas is the embodiment of wrinkles and defiance. The snobbish aristocrat of the book—the Honorable John Jenkinson, is a graphic picture of other Honorable Johns of the monetary system who sit upon the pinnacle of Creation, and languidly pronounce it good. "Good!" since they, the Honorable Johns and the Jenkinsons generally, are planted in the centre. "He looked upon the government of the country as an institution especially devised for furnishing soft places for the Jenkinson family. He had a vague idea that if the Jenkinsons were to die out the government might stop short. It was a very vague idea, because no Jenkinson mind could fully comprehend the awful possibility of such an event."

A pretty niece, a little love, a convenient cousin and an orthodox attachment glide smoothly into the matrimonial harbor. The story has, however, its accommodating circumstances, since events are dovetailed in the most satisfactory manner. The lover appears at the precise moment that he is desired, and Hortense, the heroine, is discovered at the most opportune instant with a background of foliage to enhance the effect. In another moment she disappears, melts into thin air, or dissolves at the left centre of a forest of underbrush. These sudden situations are confined entirely to print and cardinal bindings, since in real life one is generally sailing out of town when one's lover is striking his most effective attitude in the garden. Mr. Round has, however, made all these vexatious things smooth and harmonious, and the pages of the book are bright with humorous allusion.

Kings in Exile. By ALPHONSE DAUDET. Translated by VIRGINIA CHAMPLIN. 12° pp. 362. Boston: Lee and Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1880.

Kings in Exile relates the overthrow of the House of Illyria, and the subsequent exile of the queen with her husband and

child, in consequence of one of those revolutions which dethrone monarchs and establish republics. Paris, the Bohemia of exiles, shelters the royal pair. Then follows for the volatile young king a round of fashion and frivolity; for the saddened queen, endurance and despair. The novel is not without interest, but, like all French works, should be read in the original to be fully appreciated; for, while the substance is preserved the fine flavor is lost. The sparkling, challenging, piquant expressions of the French cannot be translated, and it is scarcely possible always to render the original idea in appropriate English. Especially is this true of Daudet's French. We make this observation on general principles, without any intention of reflecting on this particular translation, which is very creditably done.

The Secret of the Andes. By F. HASSAUREK. 12° pp. 466. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Co. 1879.

THE city of Quito, in the year 1592, has contributed subject-matter for a romance by the author of *Four Years among Spanish Americans.* The scene of the story lies within the viceroyalty of Peru, where a crushing tax was imposed by the home government, from which, by express stipulation of the royal grant, Quito was to be exempt. The city had been founded for the purpose of discovering the hidden treasure of Atahualpa, which had been placed in a subterranean cave or vault; and in the fruitless search thousands of Indians were sacrificed. The Indian queen who presides over this treasure, and who wields great influence over her faithful people, is ready to suffer, or die, if need be, for the dignity and glory of her race. The blind devotion of these slaves to their queen, and her fixed purpose to elevate her people, form the framework on which this book is built.

Vivid pictures follow in quick succession under the titles: "State-craft of Murder," "The Hidden Treasure," and the "Curse of Mama Ruca"—showing an intimate personal acquaintance with the spirit and history of the time. The opening chapter, entitled "Dreams," is introduced by a quotation from Calderon de La Bruce, the literal translation of which is an index or classification of the chapters that follow:

> "What is life? A frenzy.
> What is life? An illusion.
> A shadow, a fiction,
> And the greatest benefit is small;
> That all life is a dream
> And that dreams are sleep."

"Realities," "The Revolution," "The Reaction," "The Value of Life," and "The Worthlessness of Life," are the stern titles of chapters which are written in a bold, stately and majestic style,

yet graceful and fascinating in the extreme. The description of the cave to which the young cavalier Don Julio de Carrara is led blindfold, with his friend Bellido, that he may behold the great treasure at his command if he will use it for the liberation of the starving subjects of the Shyri Queen, is a startling and tragic one. A golden throne is presented with a background of horrifying skeletons. The peculiar interest awakened at the opening of the book is maintained to the end. Shyri Toa, the beautiful queen of the Indian tribes at war with the Spanish dominions, places her confidence and favor in the keeping of Don Julio, who has earned her regard. He swears to defend the cause of her oppressed people; but the dark eyes of another woman sway him from his allegiance. Though he returns her great love and though she would bestow upon him her queenly hand, thereby uniting the opposing factions, he is persuaded to betray her. War follows.

The climax of the book is an artistic effect,—the queen leading her savage army against the Spanish forces which are under the command of the faithless Don Julio. Regret, remorse and death are foreshadowed. The Spanish commander is captured with his men, and is to be slowly put to death. The revenge of the queen is now complete, but the love of the woman is still supreme. Ere her Indians can tear their prisoner to pieces with their knives, she calls aloud his name in farewell, and mercifully points her arrow at his heart, sending it with unerring aim as he lifts his arms in gratitude to receive it.

To the lovers of romance this book will be welcome. It is semi-legendary, semi-historical, full of fine situations and effects.

Confidence. By HENRY JAMES, JR. 12° pp. 347. Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

Confidence will disappoint many admirers of Mr. James' writings, notwithstanding the evident *savoir faire* displayed by the author, which serves to convince one that he has not done his best. The tale proceeds simply and naturally, a little too much so for a book intended merely for recreation, as the interest, which is never very absorbing, fails to carry the reader to the end. Mr. James' delineation of character is excellent and his descriptions of scenes and places are unusually good. The volume before us shows no lack of the author's ability to say excellent things on the right occasions, but some of the conversation is exceedingly commonplace. The plot is not particularly ingenious, although Mr. James did well in representing this confidence as existing between two friends of the masculine gender. No woman would be foolish enough to insist upon a lady friend of superior beauty and powers of attraction engaging to study and draw

out, by means of rendering herself as charming as possible, the man—who is possessed of attractions to an unusual degree—whom she hoped to make the partner of her joys and sorrows for life. Such touching confidence—or sublime egotism—must have been wholly exhausted in the composition of man. *Confidence*, however, is possessed of many excellent points, and we are inclined to believe that its shortcomings result chiefly from too much haste in putting the book before the public.

The Second Coming of the Lord; Its Cause, Signs, and Effects. By CHAUNCEY GILES. 12° pp. 264. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

MR. GILES in this volume endeavors to show that the Second Advent is near at hand, and that "the principles formulated in the doctrines of the New Church and contained in the writings of Swedenborg give us a rational and practical solution of the Second Coming, which is in entire accordance with the whole of Scripture, correctly understood; with the purposes of the Lord in the creation of man, so far as they can be known from reason and revelation; and with the nature of man and of his relations to the Source of his life, and the conditions on which alone he can work out his destiny."

The author disclaims any interest whatever in "any theory of the Second Coming, as such. He only desires to know the truth about it, and to watch, as we are commanded to do, that he may recognize and welcome the Lord in whatever guise and manner He may come. Believing most heartily that He is coming in the power and glory of spiritual truth to institute a New Age, in which all the promises of prophecy and the purposes of infinite love will be carried into effect, he desires to give to others as far as possible the ground of his belief, and the joy of his hope."

Mr. Giles does not believe, however, that Christ will again descend to earth clothed with flesh and blood; he considers that the prophecies in the New Testament refer no more to the material reappearance of Christ on earth, than that those of the Old Testament concerning His first advent referred to a spiritual king. Those mighty convulsions of nature that were to have preceded the Second Advent, the author places in the spiritual world and not in the material; neither does he consider the end of the world, spoken of, as meaning the destruction of the material earth, but the end of an age of human thoughts and life, and that this end was completed a century ago. "No distinct step in intellectual or spiritual progress is possible while men form their doctrines and theories from the letter of nature or of Scripture. That age must therefore complete its cycle, as the Jewish age had done,

and pass away. As we have seen, its simplicity and childlike faith could not be preserved when the men of the time began to reason. In such conditions error is inevitable, and error leads to sin, and sin in turn blinds the understanding, dulls the perceptions, and begets more fatal errors. As the leaf and blossom of the plant contain in their own forms and nature the causes of their decay, so do all ages of human progress, whose central principle is implicit obedience, or a knowledge of truth based upon appearances only, or a belief founded upon the testimony of others.

"These, as we have seen, were the fundamental principles of the first Christian age. They were the root from which it sprung; they gave to it its form and character, and they were the elements of its power and weakness. The end of that world, therefore, was inevitable and it has come" (p. 105). Christ will again come to earth when man is ready to receive him, and then "society will be intelligent, pure, and lovely. * * * The great increase in knowledge on all subjects—natural, spiritual and divine; the civil, intellectual, and spiritual freedom into which men have come and are coming, and the general direction of human strength, knowledge, and purpose to human good, are clear signs that the Son of Man is coming, in the power and glory of His truth to reign upon earth, and to subdue all things and all minds unto Himself" (p. 264).

Mr. Giles accepts the Swedenborgian doctrine of the resurrection and of the spiritual world. In its general features the spiritual world resembles this, though it "immeasurably surpasses this in the number, variety, beauty, grandeur, and excellence of the forms which compose it." Mr. Giles reasons ably, and in a style at once simple, clear, and forcible. Although many dissent from his opinions, we do not see how any one who accepts his premises can reject his conclusions.

The Second Coming of the Lord would have been much more readable if presented in the form of a comprehensive essay, whereby the repetition necessary in a series of lectures might have been avoided.

Who Is Your Wife? A complex Conundrum colloquially considered. By WALDORF H. PHILLIPS, LL.B. 16° pp. 126. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1880.

ONE of the most disgraceful features of American legislation is the inextricable complexity and contradictoriness of our divorce laws. If there is a "burning question" in the country, it is surely this. A brilliant young lawyer of New York City has undertaken to show the absurdity—nay, more, the criminality—of the present state of the question, and when we say that he has fully succeeded, we still fall short of bestowing upon his attempt the praise it

deserves. Realizing that satire is far more influential with the average mind than the most powerful reasoning, the author has set forth the case in a book that is mainly satirical, and, at times, burlesque. Yet, beneath all there is an undercurrent of intense indignation, and the light, playful tone in which the story is told but serves as lightning flashes to display more blindly the dark, tragic nature of the whole. The wit is often very keen, and the occasional touches which reveal the social relations between the sexes in America are skilfully bestowed,—as when, in the breach of promise suit, on page 76, the fact that the defendant gave the woman his seat in the horse-car is considered conclusive evidence of his intention to marry her. In fact, the pleas in the various trials in the various States to determine who was the hero's legal wife are so ably argued,—on the basis of the present laws, of course,—that they are, most unfortunately, true to the very life.

The importance of Mr. Phillips' attempt is such that we would gladly give space for a detailed account of it, but must content ourselves with recommending it "to those about marry," to legislators, and to all who have a voice in electing the legislators.

RECEIVED.

The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature: With special Reference to certain recondite, neglected, or disputed Passages. In Twelve Lectures, delivered on the Southworth Foundation in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1876–1879. With a Bibliographical Appendix. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. Large 8° pp. 1082. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

History of the Administration of John De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland. By JAMES GEDDES. Vol. I. 1623–1654. 8° pp. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg. By ANNE AYRES. 8° pp. 524. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell. 8° pp. 579. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Sketches and Studies in Southern Europe. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 2 vols. post 8° pp. 394; 388. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

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Life of Mozart. By LOUIS NOHL. Translated from the German by JOHN J. LALOR. 12° pp. 236. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. 1880.

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History of the Campaign of Gen. T. J. (Stonewall) Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. By WILLIAM ALLAN. With Full Maps of the Region and of the Battle-Fields by JED. HOTCHKISS. 8° pp. 175. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

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The Fabulous Gods Denounced in the Bible. Translated from Selden's *Syrian Deities.* By W. A. HAUSER. 12° pp. 178. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

New England Bygones. By E. H. ARR. 12° pp. 214. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

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The Ode of Life. By the Author of *The Epic of Hades* and *Gwen.* 12° pp. 152. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

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The Reminiscences of an Idler. By HENRY WIKOFF. 12° pp. 596. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1880.

Homo Sum. A Novel. By GEORG EBERS. From the German by CLARA BELL. 16° pp. 299. New York: William S. Gottsberger. 1880.

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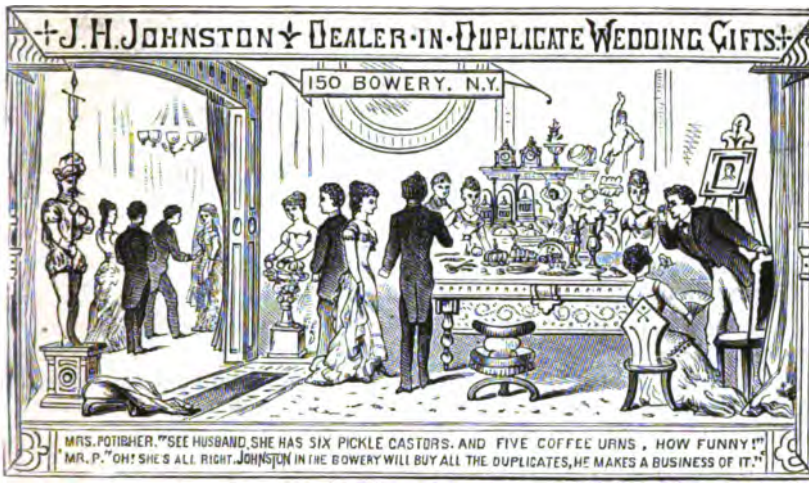
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The Bibliotheca Sacra.

VOLUME XXXVII. 1880.

The first Prospectus of the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA set forth its objects in the following language:

"It will embrace the subjects which are included under Theology in the wider acception of that term, namely, Biblical Literature, Doctrinal Theology, and the History of the Church, including that of the principal doctrines of Christianity. Particular prominence will be given to Biblical Literature, in respect to which there is a large and constantly increasing amount of valuable materials. Certain collateral subjects will receive a share of attention, particularly classical philology and mental science. . . . It will endeavor to consult the needs of theological students and clergymen. With this view articles will be sought of permanent value, instead of those which are fitted to produce a popular and immediate effect."

The plan of the Review here sketched was in some of its features entirely orginal. The BIBLIOTHECA SACRA first introduced the plan of publishing entire theological treatises in successive Articles, of condensing and transfusing instead of translating Essays and books from foreign languages, of describing original explorations in biblical geography, of presenting denominational differences in a series of Articles by representative writers, etc.

Under the administration of Professor Park, one of its founders, this plan of the work has been, in the main, steadily adhered to. The exceptions are such as were naturally developed in the progress of the active inquiries of the past thirty or forty years; such in particular as have grown out of the researches in the natural sciences, especially geology, in relation to the Bible; the illustration of certain passages of Scripture from travels and new discoveries in Oriental lands; and the state and progress of education in the higher seminaries of Europe and America. Investigations in natural theology, philology, archæology, textual criticisms, and the explanation of difficult passages of the Bible, homiletics, etc., have not been neglected; and in some of these departments the REVIEW has had many original papers by original explorers. These carefully-wrought papers have often been the result of long-continued study—months and even years of labor and investigation have produced them; and they have been, and still are, quoted as authorities.

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P22

THE NATIONAL Quarterly Review

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam loqui haud absurdum est

CHARLES H. WOODMAN

EDITOR

Contents of Number for October, 1880.—No. LXXXII.

I. *The Chinese and the Chinese Question.* James A. Whitney, LL. D.
II. *Philosophy of the Civil War in the United States.* George A. Potter.
III. *The Poverty of the People.* Charles Frederic Adams.
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VII. *Codification of the Common-Law.* William M. Ivins, LL. B.
VIII. *Reviews and Criticisms.*

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TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

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down the dykes that hold the impending waves. And f it shall seem that I lay too much stress upon the historical development of China, her laws, her customs, and the character of her people, remember that in a subject so wide and so deep, we shall be most content with our conclusions if we deduce them, not from merely proximate data, but from those that are original and undeniable, even if remote.

For it is only through the study of the past of China that one may form a clear conception of the present character and tendencies of her people. And this conception, when gained, must constitute the basis of all accurate perception of her future relations with the outside world. A population comprising one third of the human race, of a mental, moral and physical type indigenous to the soil, unmodified by external influences and intensified by isolation and successive repetition through tens of centuries, must, in the nature of things, possess an inertia peculiarly its own. The future direction of this can only be foreseen from a knowledge of its line of movement in former times. The slow but progressive development of China has produced a civilization in which the low level of moral and physical life incident to debased and enslaved races is strangely combined with an intellectual vigor that, in all the requirements and vicissitudes of a complex social and political system, has proved itself equal to the promotion of learning and the extension of arts, and to the elaboration of methods and traditions of state-craft not inferior to those that have controlled the policy of European countries and of our own. To understand this, and the logical outcome thereof, is manifestly the first step to a proper appreciation of the conditions of the conflict, peaceful or otherwise, impending between the Turanian and the Aryan races. And such an understanding is best gained by the laborious but fruitful process of tracing the development of China through its salient causes and more noticeable results from the time when offshoots of unlettered tribes crept downward from the Altaic mountains to find homes on the marshy borders of the Hoang-Ho.

China is, for the most part, a fertile plain or basin, bounded

on the east by the Pacific, on all other sides by elevated and comparatively barren plateaus and ranges of lofty mountains. It is watered by two great rivers, the Yellow or Hoang-Ho, and the Blue or Yang-ste-Kiang, and their tributaries. It was upon the banks of these rivers that the Scythian progenitors of the present population formed their earliest settlements. The date is lost in the mists of legendary and mythical traditions, but it is known that nearly twenty-three centuries before the Christian era the Chinese possessed a written language; and as this was original and not derived from any external source, there must have been many ages before this stage of comparative progress was attained. The Yellow River is dyked along its length to prevent its floods from overwhelming the adjoining lands, and its bed is thirty feet above the level of the surrounding country—this elevation having been caused by the gradual deposition of earthy material from the heavily-laden waters. Assuming, although in the nature of things it can be only an assumption, that this deposit is in the same ratio as that laid upon the valley of Egypt by the inundations of the Nile—four inches in a century—it is easy to infer how long a period may have elapsed since the artificial banks were first raised by a sedentary people to protect their fields from injurious overflow. It is, however, sufficient to accept the usually acknowledged date of the beginning of letters as the period in which the character of the race began to harden into permanent form, and the institutions which illustrate if they have not caused its permanence, began to have the force of organic laws. This was but two hundred years later than the historical inception of Babylonian power as unfolded from the study of the cuneiform inscriptions. At that day the Shepherd Kings had not yet entered Egypt. It was nine hundred years before the appearance of the Hellenes in Thessaly; it was more than eleven centuries earlier than the siege of Troy. Since then, Babylon and Assyria and the later Egypt, the great empire of the Medes and Persians, the nations of Macedon and Rome and Byzantium have risen, and ruled, and passed away. Race has followed race and new languages have chased away the old in every land but one,

that between the Himalayas and the Yellow Sea. In that country there has been no change save by the normal development of native faculties and the progress of original tendencies acted upon by the unchanging agencies of soil and climate, and fixed by the utter absence of fusion or admixture with races of different mould.

If there had existed, from the beginning of time, no other people on the face of the earth, the character of the Chinese would scarcely have been different from what it is. They separated from the world in an infancy whose speech was in monosyllables, and which, as we shall see, had not yet learned the use of some of the crudest of the implements of human toil. They spread in scattered settlements that gradually broadened and touched and coalesced. They repelled the Tartar to the north; they drove the aborigines southward and westward from the irrigable lands. Slow, laborious and patient, obedient with a superstitious obedience to the elders whose age gave them experience and made them conservative, they invented for each difficulty only a remedy that met its sharpest detriment and rested content without thought or care for more. In arts, in letters, in customs, every advance from the very outset was self-evolved, sprang from some cause ingrained and inherent in the race itself and its conditions of existence; and each, in its time and place, instead of revolutionizing, intensified and perpetuated the character that gave it birth. It is not without utility that we may trace the development of this peculiar race and note the fixedness of the mental, moral and physical type, the fixedness of social and political institutions due to a strong but coarse racial individuality at the outset, and an environment that, supplying all physical needs, left that individuality to work out its tendencies without hindrance or modification.

Nothing affords more facile proof of the common origin of races, now remote from each other, than does the identity of terms applied to the necessaries of life, and the similarity of the rude implements by which the simple operations of industry are performed. The former has shown the primal unity of Sanscrit and Zend, and traced to its farthest source the

origin of the Aryan peoples; the latter shows that the arts of craftsmen had reached a certain excellence before the European parted company with the natives of India. But by neither of these clues can any connection be traced between China and other lands. The language, even in its simplest roots, has no analogue; and the implements of industry have characteristic forms that demonstrate their origin to be distinct. The anvil of the Chinese smith is not flat like the anvils of other countries, but convex on its face or working surface, and the bellows of a Chinese forge, instead of moving vertically, has a horizontal stroke. The paper of the Chinese is thin and weak, is printed on one side only, but doubled to present a folded edge at the rim of the leaf, and a printed surface on each side. The chain-pump of China has a square barrel, that of other lands is cylindric. Brass is made elsewhere by melting together copper and zinc in a crucible; in China by suspending thin sheets of copper, heated almost to melting, in the vapor of molten zinc. The German-silver of Europe is made by combining the materials in their metallic condition; its Chinese equivalent by mingling the ores of the metals and reducing them together to produce the alloy. Spangles are made, not by cutting or stamping from sheet metal, but by flattening wire first bent into annular form. Pewter vessels are not cast, but are shaped by hammering upon a block. The primitive mill used in many countries—in Normandy for crushing apples for cider, in South America for pulverizing ores, in our own country for powdering the scoria of assaying pots, and composed of a wheel travelling in a groove or channel, has, among western nations, its wheel running continuously in a circular track around a vertical axis; in China its wheel working to and fro in a semicircular track, and around a horizontal centre of movement. Chinese lanterns are not made of horn, like those used by the Romans, or of perforated metal as long since in our own country, or of glass, as is now universal, but are of varnished paper stretched on bamboo frames, sometimes of little cost for the multitude, sometimes of great intrinsic worth and blazoned with titles, for the mandarins. The domestic industry of other lands has

obtained the healthful acid of vinegar from the acetic fermentation of the sweet juices of fruits; the Chinese by placing in water the sea polypus found along the coasts. Fish culture, now a matter of government solicitude in our own and other countries, is old in China; but the Chinese fish culturist puts the spawn in an egg-shell and places it under a sitting fowl, and after due delay breaks the shell into water warmed by the sun. These are not trifles. They show that in the earliest period of her existence, China drew nothing from other lands. In what she required she originated all, she imitated nothing.

And even in the things that for ages have been common in other countries, we find that in unnumbered instances their parallelism with those of China is of but modern date; that they, too, at former periods have shown by their use in China and nowhere else that they were but further proofs of the self-sufficing and self-supplying character of the Chinese mind. It was this that discovered the polarity of the magnetic needle and applied it to use in the compass, and obviated its dip by the simple device of placing its weight below the point of suspension; and it was this, too, that first perceived and made allowance for the variation of the needle from the true pole. It was to this that was due the invention of printing and its perfection to the highest degree permitted by the language, for with the Chinese alphabet there is no advantage in interchangeable types. It was from this that arose the invention of paper in the first century of our era, the production of inks having a carbon base, as with the printer's-ink of to-day, and the manufacture of lamp-black from the burning of oils. It was this that devised the drilling of grain as distinguished from broadcast sowing, a method that saves in the annual seedtime of China as much as would feed the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland. The primitive Chinese mill for the hulling of rice is substantially the same as the modern mill for decorticating wheat; and another apparatus for the same purpose, a lever armed with a stone at its outer end and actuated at the other by arms radiating from the shaft of a water-wheel, differs in no essential respect from the principle of the trip-hammer.

What in our day is known as the Belgian system of canal propulsion, and now on trial on the Erie Canal, was derived from the Chinese method of crossing rivers. The plan by which life-boats are worked to and fro for the relief of stranded vessels is the same as that by which the ships of mandarins were drawn against the current of the Yellow River centuries ago. The paddle-wheel was used for purposes of propulsion in China long ages before it revolved in western waters. It was the structure of the Chinese junk that afforded the prototype of the water-tight bulkheads used in our modern steam-ships. Upon rafts or hurdles of bamboo the Chinese spread layers of earth which they cultivated like garden soil, and thus anticipated by ages the floating gardens of Mexico. In our own country a factory system of making cheese and butter was initiated about thirty years ago; the like was done by Chinese sugar-makers generations before the existence of our continent was known to the eastern world; and the same workers of the cane first used the waste bagasse for heating the evaporating pans. Within the past sixty years the division of labor has become the distinguishing feature of the industrial systems of Europe and America: the potteries of King-te-Chin have practised the same for many ages, the consecutive labor of fifty different workmen being necessary to the production of a piece of the finest ware. They terraced the slopes of the mountains with walls of stone for the growth of vegetables, as the shores of Lake Leman are terraced today for the cultivation of the vine. Mindful of the chemistry of the soil, they early learned to temper sandy lands with clay, and clay lands with sand; and they carefully gathered and applied all manner of fertilizers at a time when the wealth of the Roman plains was passing through the great *cloaca* to the Tiber and the sea. They were the first to unwind the cocoon of the silk-worm and weave fabrics from its threads. They were the originators of porcelain, and *Kao-lin*, the name for the clay of which it is made, has passed into the industrial nomenclature of Europe. They invented gunpowder, not only for fireworks and for explosive mines in war, but for fire-arms, for the embrasures of the Great Wall are fitted for

the reception of the swivels of wall-pieces; and more than six centuries before the Christian era their cannon bore the inscription: "I hurl death to the traitor and extermination to the rebel." They discovered, too, in remote times, that the best charcoal is made from willow, a fact recognized to this day by manufacturers of gunpowder in all parts of the world. They burned petroleum in lamps long before such use was dreamed of among the western peoples; they sunk salt-wells hundreds of feet through varying strata and, finding that inflammable vapors arose in large volumes, they led them to the furnaces for use as fuel in heating the furnaces. They rendered potable the muddy waters of their rivers by treatment with alum—a process employed in Europe with effect for removing clay and other earths from water intended for use in various branches of manufacture.

But these are far from all. They adopted the decimal system for measures of quantity and weight and value, centuries before French legislators recognized its utility or French scientists formulated its application to the traffic of Europe; and now, as in the days of the first coinage of copper, the *lee* or *cash*, a disk with a square hole in the centre to permit it to be placed on a string, is the tenth of a *fen*, and the *fen* is the tenth of a *chen*, and a *chen* the tenth of the value of an ounce of silver. Their units of volume and length were literally native to the soil, for the one is the cubic contents of a hundred of the grains of the *Kow-leang* or high millet, the *Holcus sorghum* of the botanists, and the latter the linear space occupied by a certain number of the same grains, which also afforded a standard of weight.

In minor industries the Chinese long ago saved the culm and dust of coal and mixed it with clay and soft earth from the marshes, to form an artificial fuel, an invention currently believed in other countries to be of recent years. They were the first to make spectacle glasses from sections cut from rock crystal. They made cloth from the bark of the nettle, a project revived in Germany as new within the past five years; and they applied to the extraction of color from a native plant the processes by which indigo is extracted from the *Indigofera*.

They hatched the eggs of fowls by artificial heat, the method by which ostriches are incubated on the ostrich plantations of South Africa. They found food in the roots and the seeds of the lily growing in reedy ponds, and purified the nauseous oil of the *Palma-Christi* until it became edible and sweet. They trained the sheep to carry burdens through the highest defiles of neighboring mountains, and taught the brown cormorant to fish in behalf of his owner in the dun canals.

Such were the manifestations of the Chinese intellect as applied to the useful arts. Such were the implements and methods by which the genius of China manifested itself in originating the industries by which her constantly increasing population has been sustained, and which through almost unnumbered ages have formed the basis of her power and the foundations of her home and foreign policy. But it is to be remarked, and the fact illustrates not only the nature of the people but the policy of the government, that every art, every implement or method related only to the furtherance of manual operations. Nowhere is there the slightest evidence of intent to encourage labor-saving machinery which, by dispensing with the labor of some, lessens the cost of the products of labor to all; but everywhere the ready devising and adoption of whatever furnished employment for human hands or opened new sources from which the individual could derive food and raiment by personal labor. Within these limits all was devised that was required for use in the agriculture or manufactures of the country. But the limit was early reached. Hence the lack through many ages past of industrial advancement which has given to the arts of China the almost stereotyped character manifest in her social and political institutions. Arts and industries thus restricted could only attain excellence through the highest development of mechanical skill; and their rewards could only be obtained through the cultivation of certain faculties and these not separately but together, which may be briefly enumerated as accuracy of perception, closeness of calculation, imitativeness in a rare degree, and unwearying patience. The conditions of existence, from the time of the building of the first mud cabins on the banks of

the great rivers, had developed these qualities with an intensity not equalled elsewhere in the world; and thus a symmetry, perfect of its kind, in the nature of the people enabled them to excel to the utmost within the narrow boundaries assigned by policy, by usage and tradition. This excellence and others akin to it, which constitute an indefeasible merit so far as concerns the Chinese in their own country, is a standing menace as an element in the relations of China with the rest of the world.

In any employment where the qualities referred to are essential to success the Chinaman, their inheritor through a hundred generations, is to be esteemed for his skill and feared for his rivalry. The Chinese waterman will hold the sheet of his sail with one hand and steer the craft with the other, while with his foot he feathers an oar to aid the work of propulsion. The Chinese farmer, in the working of tilled fields, fits the ground for the seed by causing one laborer to dig the stubble with a hoe, another to shake off the earth and lay the haulm in little bundles, while a third stirs the untouched soil between; this manual labor rendering the ground suitable to be further broken by a plow drawn by men and women yoked thereto, or, if the ground be tough from the presence of clay, by a single buffalo. The Chinese colorist uses the pigments common in Europe, but secures a higher brilliancy by longer and more careful levigation in their production. What the Chinaman has once seen done he can do himself, with refinements of execution due to his close perceptions and habits of accurate work. Once taught, he works as an automaton, but as an automaton endowed with consciousness. I shall never forget my first sight, years ago in San Francisco, of a Chinese artisan at his work. It was only the making of cigars, but the tawny fingers moved as if directed by the regular stroke of steam, and with an accuracy that no mechanism could have surpassed. Making no haste and no pause, impassive to the curious gaze of the onlooker, his horizon apparently bounded by the space of the bench before him, stunted in figure, and with the dull and animalized visage peculiar to his race, he stood, a being trained to manual dexterity by forty centuries

of labor, but devoid of the wants, the aspirations, the high humanity with all its attendant needs which forty centuries of intellectual, emotional, and physical advancement have given to the races with which time and circumstance had brought him face to face.

The conditions of soil, climate, and geographical position which have moulded the industries of China, have furnished the basis of her governmental policy. Extending over many degrees of latitude, the climate permitted the growth of widely varying products. The general contour of the surface being low and level, watered by great streams, and favorable to the construction of canals, the productions of one part of the country supplied the needs of others, and an internal commerce served at once to provide occupation and livelihood to a large proportion of the people, and to supply all actual necessities of the whole. Many articles, both agricultural and manufactured, are produced in their greatest excellence in but few localities, from which they are, and for many centuries have been, distributed to other parts of the country. For instance, from its northern portions have been drawn its supplies of salt and in a less degree of coal, iron, and porphyry, copper and gold,—musk from the mountains of Kansuh, and strange drugs from the plain of Shantung. From Kansuh, also tobacco, milder than ours, but none the less esteemed. From the eastern provinces, the most fertile, healthful, and productive of the whole kingdom, and containing nearly half its population, are derived the woven silks of Soochoo, and the vividly colored crapes and fine embroideries of its rhyming neighbor, Hoochoo. Witness, also, the raw silks of Kangsoo, the satins of Nankin, and the fermented liquors of Shaouking; the green teas, inks and varnish of Gahnwuy, the hemp and grass-cloth of Keangsi,—the latter made from the China grass or ramie which has baffled the inventors of Europe and America in attempts to successfully apply machinery to the separation of its fibres; the fine porcelain of Kinkinching, and the hams of delicate curing from Kimwha; the rhubarb and musk, the paper and lead of Hunan. From the western regions, nearer the sources of the two great rivers, and bordered by mountain fastnesses

occupied by tribes yet wild and unsubdued, are brought herbs and roots of medicinal fame; copper, gold, and brass and silver, iron also, and cinnabar from which the celebrated vermilion is made. From the south the black teas, the iron, alum, and tobacco, the camphor, sugar and indigo of Fokeen; the sugar, cassia and betel-nuts of Kwangtung, and the varied and unrivalled manufactures of Canton. Such are a few of the sources of traffic which unite the whole of China in a network of business relations that, by their constant attrition, excite the national intellect to the highest activity in the practical affairs of life.

Because of its diversified productions, each more plentiful in a few favored districts, each portion of the country has found itself more or less dependent upon all the others, and each has found in the other its sources of profitable labor and remunerative trade. And although some little traffic naturally arose between China and the landward regions adjoining, and some with adjacent coasts, she found herself practically independent of foreign commerce, free from all need of it, at a period so remote that no record exists of its beginning. In the watered lowlands or irrigable regions abundant crops of rice, in the northern provinces of millet, gave sustenance and afforded occupation to the great mass of the people; while the other arable lands cultivated by manual labor, or only by the use of the buffalo as an animal of draft, fertilized and tilled like gardens, gave variety to the agricultural productions of the country, and yielded for a given area more than could otherwise by any possibility be obtained. For the Chinese learned early that the surface of soil required to support a farm animal is three times that required for the sustenance of a human being. The localization of special products and special industries, and the interchange of commodities, afforded still other outlets for industrial energy and provided the means of supplying the wants of each from the resources of all. It was not without wisdom, therefore, that the rulers of China accepted the belief that a system of national isolation which arose originally from geographical position, and which had worked well for unnumbered generations, should not be given

up; that a foreign commerce of which she had little need should be discouraged as a disturbing element having, to her, stronger possibilities of mischief than of good.

We may now pass to a more complex phase of the inquiry; that in which racial proclivities are added to physical conditions as factors in the development of Chinese character, and of the elements, good or bad, of Chinese power. And in this we should trace the induration of native endowments by the reiterated effect, through four thousand years, of moral and intellectual laws, as we have sought to trace the results of physical conditions upon those of their institutions more directly acted upon by the moulding action of subjective influences. The process is perhaps more difficult in the one case than in the other, because we must judge of character by its manifestations, while the facts of the physical world lie upon the surface. But it is not necessarily more obscure in its inductions or uncertain in its results. In the pursuit of this branch of our study we may learn that current Caucasian public opinion has underrated the strength and astuteness of the Chinese intellect, and has overrated any other claim which China may have to the favorable consideration of Caucasian communities. We may find, if I mistake not, that the Chinese character is strong not only in its positive but in its negative elements; that the very absence of those finer and higher qualities, which are with us believed to be essential to enlightened communities, has given, and will continue to give, a preponderating power to the Chinese in all that relates to merely material success: in brief, that their civilization bears the same relation to that of Europe and America that the proverbial iron pot bore to the flask of porcelain as the two in contact floated down the stream.

We have already seen that the industries of China were self-evolved; sprang from no foreign source, and were unaffected by any external agency. This carries with it the conviction that the intellectual type must have been developed in like manner, for the same conditions which exclude the idea of any subjective force in the formation of industries necessarily exclude any corresponding idea as to the formation, development,

or progress of the racial mind. That this is the case is also shown by the fact that the governmental, social, and religious institutions are simply an extension of those which control the family in the earliest stages of society. This can be traced in the constitution of the Chinese Empire as clearly and certainly as the banyan tree, spreading its connected trunks over many acres, can be traced to the solitary stem from which it originally sprang. The Emperor stands as *paterfamilias* to all his people; the governors of the eighteen provinces are in the same relation to those below them, and so on, through all the grades of authority, down to the family over which the father exercises absolute control. The social duties have for their essential foundation, first, reverence for the head of the family, and second, reverence for the paternal authority embodied in the officers of the law. Religion, although tolerated in almost all its forms by the State, is, with the Chinese, little else than the worship of ancestors, notwithstanding that their mythology is full of gods,—some of them mortals who died within historic times, and others merely the evils which they dread, for to them even the small-pox is an object of adoration. In the dwellings of the great mandarins are sanctuaries sacred to the burning of perfumes, the presentation of offerings, and the making of prostrations to the memories of their forefathers, and for communication with the spirits of the dead. The poorest laborer, crowded with a score of others in a single room of a mud-built dwelling, has, in a corner of his lodgement, a shelf sacred to the same purpose. Sacrilege itself is defined by the Book of Rites as disrespect to one's progenitors. This, strange and puerile as it may seem to us, becomes almost grand in view of its depth and intensity. It shows how far, after all, the emotional nature of man is superior to external surroundings. For this worship, which dominates China today as it has done for thousands of years, is but the survival, developed and intensified, of the awe with which the earliest Scythians, impressed with the fearful mystery of death, heard the voices of the departed in the storms of the mountain valleys or the rustle of the wind through the grass of the starlit steppes of

the North. Necessarily associated with this reverence of their forefathers is a like reverence for the forms, usages, and customs of antiquity. Hence the permanence of their laws, their stability as a people, notwithstanding the turmoil of many terrible revolutions. These usages and customs have sprung from the same source as the beliefs of the people and are the outgrowth of the idea of the family. For although the inhabitants of northern China may readily be distinguished by speech and appearance from those of the south, yet all read the same language, and all, in essential things, obey the same rules and follow the same principles of life and conduct, and this, not only as individuals, but as a colossal community.

Carrying one of the most sacred laws of the family into the organization of the State, the members of any one of the twelve tribes, each having a common name, must marry outside of his tribe, and with one whose name is different from his own. As a result of this the relationship of blood extends through all parts of the Central Kingdom; and each tribe, though distinct in itself, is bound by innumerable ties with all the others. The idea of the family implies mutual coöperation and helpfulness, and thus, in theory and practice, that which is the controlling motive of the civil organization becomes also the leading method by which the ordinary affairs of life are carried on. Nowhere else in the world is the principle of coöperation so well understood, and nowhere else is it carried into effect with so much utility. No man stands unsupported and alone among the Chinese. Throughout the whole country there are loan societies by which the burdens of high interest are lessened. Every trade, profession and business has its associations; even the robbers and beggars form themselves into guilds; and in localities where the governmental authority has for the time proved too weak to maintain order, voluntary combinations of the inhabitants have supplied its place.

Thus in the nation, as in the families from which it sprang and which formed its archetype, the most absolute form of a centralized government is made consistent with the utmost freedom of individual action. The personal volition of the Chinese is subject only to the rites, observances, and

convictions which are as much a portion of the people as is heart or brain, and as necessary to their normal existence as the air they breathe or the soil they cultivate. For their convictions are so strong—their rites and observances so fixed and permanent, that no conquering dynasty has ever changed them; so strong and so permanent indeed, that every ruler has respected and adopted them. When, centuries ago, Genghiz Khan, the Tartar chieftain, subdued the land, he held it for himself and his descendants only by conforming in every possible way to its established customs; and when one of his line attempted to disregard these, the rule of the Tartar gave way to that of a descendant of the native kings. In modern times the conquering Mongols, who for two hundred and forty years have been the political rulers of China, have held their place only by becoming the embodiment of Chinese traditions. The paternal idea is indeed carried consistently to the utmost limit, in providing for the remote as well as for the immediate welfare of the people. It is this that from the most ancient times has instituted the multiplicity of schools, and has opened the highest ranks, below that of the emperor, to those excelling in scholarly attainments without regard to their original condition of life. It is rare to find in China an individual who cannot read and write. The precepts of their wise men are painted upon the fronts of the buildings, so that, literally, he who runs may read; and an official gazette, probably the oldest newspaper in the world, carries the intelligence of the work of the Government to the remotest parts of the Empire.

Nor must it be imagined that this organization, so simple in its intricacy, and so strong in its apparent weakness, is a thing that has culminated and is now passing to decay. The life of China has been long, and her growth proportionally slow. But it needs but a brief recurrence to her history to show that there has been constant progress toward an end not yet reached, a development that is not yet completed. We have seen that it was twenty-two centuries before the Christian era when the Chinese mind first formulated its thoughts in written speech, yet it required seventeen hundred years before the outgrowth of that intellect took intelligible form in the

writings of Confucius and Lao-Tze. It was one thousand years later still before the system of the great exponent of philosophy and of the laws was regularly organized. And it was two hundred years after this before the Government itself adopted a system of promoting to the utmost those arts and industries upon which the prosperity of the people more and more depended as the population increased, and the conditions of life became more complex. For it was in the ninth century of our era, according to an Arabian chronicler, that the Chinese were, "of all the creatures of God, those who have the most skill in the hand, in all that concerns the arts of design and fabrication, and for every kind of work." The same writer says "that when a man has made anything that probably no one else could be able to, he carries it to the governor demanding a recompense for the progress he has made in the art." The test of its excellence was, that it should be kept for a year subject to the criticism of all who came, and if no real fault were found, the maker was promoted by being taken into the service of the Government. Quaint tales are told in Chinese history of the working of this plan, and illustrating, not only the excellence to which the arts were brought by this method, but the closeness of observation and severity of judgment then, as now, one of the salient characteristics of the race. It is said that an artist represented a sparrow, perched on an ear of standing grain, with such consummate skill that none doubted that the bird was alive; but it so happened that the ear was shown as standing straight, whereas if the bird were perched upon it the stem would be bent, and so the artist lost his reward. In the arts, as in letters and policy, the same slow gradation of successive progressive steps is seen. It certainly required many hundred years to construct the immense system of canals which, even in the beginning of our era, are known to have aided agriculture and facilitated the inland commerce of China. But it was not until the year A. D. 605, that the Emperor Yangti enlarged the entire system and connected the two great rivers. In the early ages of China the records were written on wooden sticks; the art had advanced in the time of Confucius to the painting

of the characters on paper. Yet it was only after fifteen hundred years from this that wood-engraving and stereotyping came into use. It was not until the thirteenth century that the distillation of grain for the production of alcohol was discovered by the Chinese; and it is only since the accession of the Manchoo dynasty that foreign grapes were brought into the country, and there acclimated.

Although, as we have seen, progress has been slow in China it has been sure; and every forward movement, whether slight or great, has added to the resources and the permanent prosperity of the people. The relations of China with other nations during the past century have forced upon her a policy that, when carefully examined, will show a more rapid and more aggressive advancement than any other portion of her history; a policy which, as we shall have occasion to consider, cannot, if continued, fail to have the most important bearing upon the future of our own country and, indeed, upon the future of the civilization of our race.

The retrospect of the past of China and her people shows absolute fixedness and absolute permanence in the direction of the Chinese character, but nothing that indicates that this character is stationary. Its scope is limited in certain ways, but in the line of the course which it has followed for more than four thousand years its path lies open, broad and clear, as it did in the infancy of recorded time. Yet, with all that we have thus far seen, a fair conception of the favorable side of the Chinese character is not yet fully given. Reference has already been made to their close and accurate powers of observation as displayed nearly ten centuries ago, and which form no inconsiderable element of mental strength and intellectual success. A distinguished traveller, in the early part of the present century, attributed to this the numerous discoveries of the Chinese in agriculture, by which they utilized plants of no worth in other parts of the world. And the thoroughness and completeness of Chinese ethics and practice, as applied to the paternal guidance of the population, is demonstrated by the fact that this faculty of observation has been encouraged by Imperial teaching and example. It is written in the Chinese books

that the Emperor Kiang-hi saw in the first day of the sixth moon a field where rice was sown to be harvested in the ninth. But amid all the myriad ears there was one already ripe. He gathered it; planted it through thirty successive seasons, and from it came the *ya-mi* or imperial rice, the only kind that can ripen north of the Great Wall, or that will yield two harvests a year in the south. This new cereal added to the food resources of the multitudes of Mantchuria, and may yet find its place among the grains grown in our own country, if, indeed, it has not already done so.

This faculty of observing the importance of apparently trivial things lay literally at the foundation of one of the greatest works of China. The Tartar horsemen from their infancy were seen to have legs bandied to the curvature of the sides of the saddle, and therefore weak in marching or fighting on foot. Hence the Great Wall, a thousand miles in length, was built, and the Tartars were shut out in the same manner and with the same childlike forecast as the wild beasts that shared with them the wide pastoral wildernesses of the North. The accuracy of perception and the close study of what passes under their observation form the basis of the strong imitative power of the Chinese—the faculty that renders them such dangerous competitors in the practice of every art affording scope for manual dexterity. The same faculty has also made them proficient in arts which they employ alike in the ordinary relations of life and in the highest work of diplomacy. They have been well said to be a nation of actors. The Chinaman is as subtle and facile in whatever requires intellectual work as he is in the performance of manual labor. Add to these faculties that of a suavity and politeness which, though ordinarily formal in the extreme, is nevertheless refined and delicate. In nothing does this appear more clearly than in Chinese diplomatic correspondence with the representatives of other countries. The communications from Caucasian powers have often been singularly rude and uncourteous when compared with the polished and considerate phraseology employed by the Chinese dignitaries. No civilization can be wholly deprecated which has fostered and developed the

characteristics which we have thus far seen to be inherent in the people of China,—characteristics that, almost without exception, are found to be universal with her people; with the ignorant, as with the educated, with the laborer as with the mandarin. And these qualities, always formidable in contests of diplomacy between nations as between individuals, become doubly so when through long growth and persistence they have been intensified, and made unchangeable as elements of national character.

However objectionable from our stand-point the Chinese type may be, it is of marvellous symmetry when considered by itself. Its more ignoble parts are not in any wise inconsistent with those which compel respect: on the contrary, its virtues give vigor to its vices, and the two together, combined in closest union, afford a racial individuality that for aggressive purposes is of more than giant strength.

The slow and deliberate savagery of the Chinese has been remarked from the earliest times in which they came in contact with the western peoples, and is shown in every relation of personal life and national policy. In the ninth century the foreign trade of China temporally acquired considerable magnitude, and led to the settlement of many foreigners in her seaport cities. One hundred and twenty thousand of these were massacred at one time in the capital city of Tche-Kiang. These were Christians, Hebrews, Mohammedans and Magians, whose numbers were ascertained from tax-lists; of the number of natives who were murdered on the same occasion, no record exists. There is no reason to suppose that this was the first instance of the promiscuous slaughter of a large population. Nor from that time to this has there been a single instance in which bloodshed has not been carried to the utmost, wherever territory has been conquered by arms, or cities have been subjugated by siege. Less than seven years ago, the city of Schu-chang, in the province of Kansuh, was held by rebels, and was invested by the Imperial forces. The fortifications were breached by the explosion of mines and then carried by storm. After the surrender the chiefs were hacked in pieces. Nearly sixteen hundred men were laid

on the ground in rows and then beheaded. In the words of the Pekin *Gazette:* "The same night the same corps entered the city, and set it on fire; bullets and spears did their work till the whole local Mahometan population, numbering more than five thousand and four hundred, save about nine hundred females, children and old folk, were given to the flames, and peace reigned in Schu-chang." The official account adds, with the greatest equanimity, that "the maiden and the wife had far from escaped violation," and closes with the statement that the enemies of the Emperor "had been executed as their muster-roll was called, like sheep or pigs in their pens, not one escaping." Such is now, and such has been from the earliest times, the Chinese idea of conducting war.

The ingrained ferocity of the people, however, both in the present and the past, is even better illustrated by their laws and by their social customs, which, as we have seen, have been the slow and determinate outgrowth of the nature of the people through unnumbered ages.

The intent of the Chinese law is to strike the innocent as well as the guilty, and to punish the offender by inflicting suffering, not only upon him, but on all connected with him. A person convicted of high treason is condemned to a slow and painful death, a death preceded by torture many times repeated; for executioners are skilful in reviving the victim for renewed torments. Not only the criminal, but his father, grandfather, sons, grandsons, paternal uncles and their sons, are condemned to death, while all the male relations under sixteen are subjected to a treatment too gross to be mentioned here, and given to the great mandarins for slaves. The female relatives of all ages are consigned to slavery, and all the property is confiscated. Notwithstanding these terrible penalties, no trial, in the proper sense of the term, is afforded the culprit; his case is heard without a jury before a mandarin, who is at liberty to hear or reject as much of the testimony as he pleases; and although a rehearing may be had at the instance of relatives, yet no counsel can be heard, and even the argument of the relations is a matter of favor and not of right. The debtors of the Emperor, if shown or claimed to be guilty of fraud, are strangled,

but if the non-payment be due merely to misfortune, the Imperial creditor confiscates their property, and sells their wives and children to slavery. A slave who strikes his master is beheaded; if he strike with intent to kill, he suffers death by torture; if he accidentally kill his master, he is imprisoned for a certain time, and then strangled; if he accidentally wound him, he is banished to the distance of three thousand *le*, but not until he has received one hundred blows. If a slave is impudent to his master, he is strangled; if to any of the relatives of his master in the first degree, he is banished for two years and receives fifty strokes with the bamboo. The nature of this common method of punishment in China should be understood. The victim is suspended from a beam by means of a rope tied to his wrists and feet, leaving his body bent in the form of a bow; his flesh is torn to tatters by executioners standing beneath. It is the common custom, after the prisoner has fainted, to restore his strength by remedies, in order to permit a repetition of the operation. The extent to which the law, in other words, the bamboo, is brought to bear in all the relations of life, is shown by the fact that when a trader deliberately plans to undersell his neighbors so that they cannot dispose of their goods, he is punished with forty strokes. Chinese marriages are not arranged by the parties directly interested, but by their relatives. If one of the family recalcitrates, after a betrothal has been agreed upon, the head thereof receives fifty strokes with the bamboo, and under this legal process the wedding ceremony takes place perforce.

But the intent and practice of Chinese legislation do not stop with even this, for wherever a person observes a line of conduct that may be alleged as offending propriety, even if there be no special infraction of any established enactment, he is liable to receive forty to eighty blows. These peculiarities of Chinese jurisprudence readily account for the fact that all the mandarins speedily grow rich. Where torture is the mildest form of punishment, a due gradation must render the death penalty frequent for faults considered to be of a graver kind. About a hundred years ago a subject ventured the advice that the Emperor declare his successor, for which heinous offence

he was put to death. The Ming dynasty declared that paper money should be considered the same as copper coin, and that whoever demurred to this should be beheaded. Up to the beginning of the present century, death was the punishment of natives who taught Europeans the Chinese language, or who revealed to foreigners the methods of Chinese manufacture. During the inception of the opium trade, the penalty of death was put into effect to deter the native population from purchasing or dealing in the article. Before the power of the western nations had made itself so effectually felt in China, foreigners penetrating to the interior were beaten, starved, and finally beheaded for their temerity.

A people living under such institutions must necessarily be given over to all the vices that form the common heritage of slaves, at the same time that their peculiar structure of society secures to them many of the strengthening attributes of freedom. Out of the condition of continual subjection to physical force, and the fear of bodily and financial harm, have been developed two notable faculties in an inordinate degree: one, that of deceit and trickery, by which punishment may be avoided and personal benefit obtained; the other that of avarice, the desire for the accumulation of wealth and the enjoyment of physical ease. For it is a law of nature that people appreciate and value most that which they are in the most danger of losing. Out of the same conditions, also, has sprung a disregard of human life which permeates all classes of society. When, thirty years ago, a new emperor ascended the throne, he put to death the counsellors of his father, who, under the stress of necessity, had added somewhat to the privileges of the Europeans. Among the lower orders, the same merciless spirit is shown in the common practice of infanticide; and incidentally and in a less degree, by the almost uniform neglect of the boatmen on the Chinese water-ways to rescue those whom they may see drowning in their immediate neighborhood. A French traveller recalls an instance in which a number of prisoners who were being carried through the country, had their hands spiked to the cart in default of ropes with which to tie them; and it has been recorded as frequently

occurring, that gamblers, after having lost even their clothing, have, in the northern provinces, been deliberately allowed in the depth of Winter to freeze to death. The propensity to gaming, it may be remarked, exists among the Chinese to an extent seen nowhere else in the world. When his last coin or his last rag is gone, the Chinaman has been known to gamble for his fingers—each player, as he loses, suffering the finger to be chopped from his hand. It would be almost impossible to comprehend a character so frantic or so debased, were it not that the statements are made on authority that can hardly be doubted.

As there is seldom a wide discrepancy between the social circumstances of a people and the laws under which they live, the social condition of the Chinese might be inferred from what has been already said. It is best proven, however, by their treatment of women. There is every reason to suppose that jealousy was the original motive that led to the mutilation of the feet of females, common from the remotest times among all except the very lowest classes of the population; and the custom may also serve as an example of the brutal directness with which the Chinese pursue any object they may have in view. The women are treated as slaves; are presumed to have no souls; and are in many cases subjects of established and regular traffic. A member of the British Legislative Council at Hong Kong said, nearly fifty years ago, "the traffic in females is too disgusting to detail—the facts are revolting to humanity." Their place in the household is one of abject drudgery; and, as in infancy they are believed to be hardly worth the trouble of maintenance, so in youth they are not thought to be worth the expense of education, save in the arts of embroidery and the like; and when fully grown, are measured only by their value as instruments of labor or pleasure. It is said that the experience of the Chinese women, abject and degraded as it is, has led many of them to a faith, repudiated by their masters, in a hereafter where sorrow does not exist—a faith springing from suffering; the strange fruit of earthly despair.

It may be very easily conceived that in such a society

religion can hardly exist. That the Chinese worship the spirits of their ancestors we have already seen; and as this is the oldest faith that they have ever known, so also it is the only one in which the belief can be said to be sincere. The creed of Confucius held by the educated classes is simply a formula of materialism in which morality is taught because of its beneficent results on earth, but in which there is no gleam or glimmer of the higher truths which lead humanity to loftier levels of thought or emotion, or which finds in a future life the rewards or punishments of good or evil. Mahometanism in China is even less in morals and ethics than it is in Turkey or in the Barbary States; and Buddhism there retains no spark of the lambent light which shone on India in the earlier days of the cult of Guatama. The Chinese character—intellectual, moral, or emotional—appears to have in it nothing of the religious element, as the term is understood among other races. It has successfully resisted or debased creed after creed that has found either a temporary or permanent place within its borders. The soiled streams of Mahometan and Buddhistic belief found deeper soilure in the degraded ideas of the Chinese, while the purer faith taught by the Nestorians a thousand years ago was extinguished by fire and sword; and the efforts of the Roman missionaries, fervent, earnest and continued through centuries, have grasped only a spotted handful here and there from the sodden harvests of Chinese belief. Whatever may be claimed as to the successes of the missionaries of more recent times, or of other churches, we shall see further on that they afford little encouragement to Christian hope; and if in the future they shall bourgeon into promise of greater fruitfulness, it must be under conditions widely different from those that now exist.

Having considered those characteristics which belong to the Chinese as a practically homogeneous people, and which are common to all grades and classes, we may well ask by what standard of intellect and attainment this colossal population is managed and controlled. In other words, our study now leads us to an examination of the status for governmental purposes of the governing classes. These include, of course, the

Emperor, and his subordinates, the mandarins. Thirty years ago, these latter were stated as numbering somewhat less than fourteen thousand scattered through the country, together with two thousand four hundred at the court. These belong to the civil branch of the Government: the military mandarins numbered eighteen thousand five hundred. The former, however, rank the highest in point of popular respect and administrative power, and with them mainly lies the control of the vast Empire. They are, and have been, during at least three thousand years, drawn from all ranks of the people; their promotion through the several grades being dependent upon their proficiency in literary studies and their success in passing literary examinations. As these studies are those that have been accepted and formulated through many centuries, the officers of the Empire are necessarily imbued with the popular reverence for antiquity, and are fixed and riveted to established usages. As the examinations are competitive, it follows that the strongest intellects are those which rise the most readily and rise the highest. As craft and subtlety have no less scope in this than in any other department of effort, it results that the keenest minds come soonest into power and longest maintain their place on the treacherous sands of official responsibility. As politeness, not less than the other characteristics we have mentioned, is always an element of success, those who combine urbanity with the stronger intellectual traits are first to receive the management of questions of State requiring high administrative skill.

Reasoning from such data, we may infer with certainty that both the home and foreign policy of China is founded on far-sighted ideas of national welfare, and is carried into effect with no inferior degree of executive talent and experience; but this conclusion need not rest on inference alone. It is demonstrated by what is known of the civil policy of China during many centuries past, and foreign ambassadors have not been slow to concede the qualities of consummate statesmanship to the high officials with whom they have been brought in contact. These qualities are displayed in the strict ceremonial by which the honors of office are held before the eyes of the populace, in order that authority may receive its full meed of the respect

which tends to insure obedience to law; each grade among the mandarins being entitled to special observances of regard from all below, and the Emperor being held as the incarnation of all that is to be reverenced by men. They are shown also by the extent to which the people are regularly informed of all that is believed necessary for them to know, and yet systematically misled in whatever becomes the interest, for the time being, of the Government to withhold, as was well illustrated after the victories of the English, when the Chinese throughout the Empire were made to believe that the invaders, instead of being victorious, had paid tribute for permission to retire from Canton. They are illustrated in a stronger degree in the mingled force and acuteness with which the outlying dependencies are held in allegiance to the Central Kingdom, a leading example of which exists in the political subjugation of Thibet, which is ruled through a Grand Lama, whose appointment by sinuous methods has long been controlled by the Emperor. The same craft and astuteness were also displayed in the influence brought to bear upon Nepaul as against the interests of Great Britain, and with the manifest intent of maintaining an independent State as a barrièr between British India and the western confines of the Empire. The statesmanship of the Chinese rulers is further shown in their systematic knowledge of the condition of the outside nations, and the manner in which the Imperial policy has been modified according to the necessities indicated by external circumstances.

A few passing references to historic events will illustrate this. A thousand years before our era, foreign embassies passed from India to China, and from that time to the present there has been no exigency requiring the exercise of astute foreign diplomacy that has failed to call it forth. Wherever interest, whether of trade or of policy, has made it requisite that the representatives of China should pass to foreign governments, they have done so. And what is now deemed a step forward on her part in sending envoys to the United States and the western powers is but a recurrence to what she has done, on occasion, during many centuries. In the year 141 B. C., the Emperor Woo-te sent embassies to

encourage foreign trade, and twenty years later his successor sent a plenipotentiary, with a retinue of one hundred persons, to visit the regions of the West; and only twenty years later still, the Chinese Emperor received tribute-bearing embassies from Japan. Two centuries and a-half after this a similar tribute came from the King of India; and after this in rapid succession were embassies from Rome and India; and so onward, although at comparatively long intervals, down to the present time, ambassadors have been sent and received by the Chinese Government. Where Chinese interests have required it, her embassies have gone forth with pomp to distant nations, and, in like manner, when she had no purpose to serve, those of other countries have been met with the same pomp harnessed in the guise of contempt. But whatever her course, there has seldom been an instance in which, from her stand-point, her methods have not been dictated by a far-sighted and enlightened regard for the welfare of her people.

We have already seen that more than two thousand years ago she encouraged trade with nations less powerful than herself, and that in the ninth century her ports were open to the commerce of other lands. This was continued down through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and we have no record of systematic opposition to foreign commerce so long as the nations from which it came were comparatively weak. Two centuries ago the continent of America was a wilderness, and Europe was composed of small, despotic, and far from prosperous States; but in proportion as these, which form the world external to China, grew great and prosperous, in proportion as their military power and commercial enterprise increased, just in this same ratio did China close her seaboard to foreign access. It was not for nothing that the Chinese rulers foresaw that the rapid strides of Caucasian civilization would render them dangerous in the same degree that they were permitted to obtain a foothold on Chinese soil.

Nor was it alone the material advancement of the western nations that bore out this policy and justified this principle of national action. The spread of liberty which has successively

changed and modified every government of Europe, saving those of Russia and Turkey, would have been inimical to the permanence of the Chinese political hierarchy; and it is not without interest and instruction that we learn that it was a knowledge of the French revolution that, in the latter part of the last century, caused the authorities of China to restrict the privileges of foreign traffic, to attempt to exclude foreigners from Canton, and to commit other works of *quasi* hostility which were destined ultimately to end in war.

Nor is the statesmanship of the Chinese displayed in a less degree in their home policy. Every Chinese male is registered, and he can depart to no corner of the earth but his place and locality are known, and the idea of fealty to his native land kept before him as a governing principle. He belongs to his country during life, and his country indicates his burial place when life has departed. The system of espionage extends even to business relations, and its thoroughness and accuracy are sometimes surprisingly displayed. When, in 1839, the opium was delivered up by the British at the Bogue forts, the Chinese commissioner, Lin, was aware, before any account had been rendered, of the exact number of chests of the drug on board the several vessels in the harbor. The paternal character of the government, as well as the rugged statesmanship of the Chinese, is further illustrated by the fact that this opium, upwards of twenty thousand chests, and having an actual value of six millions of dollars, was totally destroyed. The ferocity with which their laws are executed, to which allusion has already been made, is also further illustrated by the fact that a miserable creature who attempted to carry off some small pieces from the general destruction, was, on detection, immediately put to death.

Such is the Chinese nationality; such are its people; and such its rulers. It only remains for the completion of our analysis of this people, to consider their purely physical condition, as we have already considered their industrial, political and moral nature.

The Chinese are children of the temperate zone, and have developed under the influence of a climate sufficiently cold

and variable to insure considerable strength together with great endurance and elasticity to the physical frame, and yet warm enough to yield in abundance the staple food of more tropical lands. Rice, in the larger part of the kingdom, has been from time immemorial the principle sustenance of the people; and the fact that they have not deteriorated to a greater extent under the influence of a crowded population and, with many classes, of a comparative insufficiency of food, is doubtless because this grain contains a larger proportion of phosphates than any other, and thus renders possible the full development of brain and bone even when ordinary nutrition is diminished. Physiologically considered, the organization of the Chinese is coarse, as is indicated, for example, by the hair ordinarily so thick and strong that they, by comparison, liken that of Europeans to soft and downy fur. This coarseness of physical fibre has, however, for them, one great advantage, for, as is the case with animals, they recover from all kinds of accidents, wounds and bruises with much greater rapidity and, as one writer has stated, "with fewer symptoms of any kind of danger," than is the case with Caucasians. As concerns ability for labor, they may be considered as possessed of great endurance rather than of great bodily strength. It was calculated that, of those employed in the construction of the Pacific Railway, it required five Chinese laborers to do the work of four of those of our own country; and I was informed in Nevada that while they were admirably fitted for lighter work, they were unable to perform the heavy labor in the mines. Yet the number of occupations in which their strength is inadequate to the greatest performance possible with laboring men is comparatively small. It should be kept in mind that, both in civil and military pursuits, the value of physical strength, pure and simple, has been constantly diminishing for more than two hundred years. What gunpowder and improvements in fire-arms have done to degrade the value of physical prowess in war, improvements in implements and machinery have done to debase the value of physical strength in arts and industries.

The Chinese marry young, for the reason that the male

children become at an early age a source of profit to their parents, and the marriages are usually prolific. Such being the reason—instead of early maturity, as in tropical or semi-tropical climates—there is not that premature old age among them which one would otherwise expect; for although the proportion who reach seventy years is less than in Europe or America, probably the number that are capable of severe labor at the age of sixty is equal to that of any other country. In the eastern provinces especially, the largest and most populous of the Empire, containing nearly two hundred millions of inhabitants, the people are hale and hearty, and have well been characterized by a close observer as "a great and healthy mass of human beings, athletic and industrious, and capable of the most enormous and unwearied industry." That life in China has reached a certain balance, an equilibrium between the influences which sustain and those which destroy, is manifest when we consider that by far the larger portion of this immense population live in the depths of indigence, and under conditions of life that, if endured by the people of other civilized countries, would quickly reduce them to mental and physical inanition.

Some of the causes of this we have already considered, but there is still another not less important. Owing to the low ebb of medical knowledge among the Chinese and the hardships incident to the lives of the masses, the weaker among the children die early, and only the stronger survive to perpetuate the race. This, continued through a hundred and fifty generations, has produced the physical type of the people; a type in which a maximum of mental activity and muscular endurance is derived from a minimum of comfort and nutrition. The fact that the extent of the Chinese population has only been limited by the means of subsistence, has produced those conditions of life and society which provide to the Chinese the strongest motives for leaving their own country, when the barriers of emigration are thrown down, and at the same time render them most dangerous competitors, wherever they may find their way. In their own country their condition is manifested by the crowding of their dwellings; by low rates of wages; by a small scale of business when they rise above the status of mere laborers; and

by the narrowest profits on every ordinary business transaction. These habits, acquired by necessity and use, are carried with them wherever they go, and as a result they are able to undermine laborers who, from physical constitution and training, are unable to live upon the same minute proportion of the comforts or necessaries of life.

The houses of China vary in construction in different portions of the country. In some parts they are of brick; in others, built of mud laid up the same as concrete walls are sometimes made with us; in others the sides are composed mainly of matting coated with mud, while in one large district the habitations are dug in the earth and form a system of caves or subterranean dwellings. Even in the large cities a family of ten persons can live for about four hundred dollars a year including clothing and food, and with the unusual accommodation of a whole dwelling to themselves. The expense of living to a laborer is stated at from two to two and a-half dollars a month, which includes food, clothes and rent. Away from the cities the expense is reduced fifty per cent. In some cases from fifty to sixty people inhabit a single dwelling, which reduces the expense to each still further. The Chinese emigrants at Batavia, the Dutch capital of Java, showed in each house ten men fit to bear arms.

Under such conditions comfort, health and morals must be reduced to the lowest degree. This is illustrated by the fact that in the north of China the beds are made larger or smaller in proportion to the family, are constructed of brick, and are warmed by small stoves. The usual size of Chinese houses, except among the limited wealthy classes, is thirty feet long, ten wide, and eight high, with streets from ten to twenty feet broad running parallel between the buildings, and crossed by narrow and dirty lanes; and, according to observant travellers, "neither table, chair, or other article of furniture can be seen in the dwellings of the poor."

The rate of wages may be inferred from the average condition of the people. The wages of mechanics and skilful workmen seldom exceed twenty-five cents a day, while those engaged by the month or for longer periods receive still less.

A common laborer ordinarily obtains about fourpence, English, which may be freely translated as eight cents *per diem*. It is this class that constitute the great bulk of emigrants, and who, from their ability to learn readily all ordinary occupations, profit the most when transplanted to some region where labor is in demand. The actual cost of living to a laborer, his wife, and three children is reliably stated at three dollars per month in Canton; while single or elderly persons have been maintained at a cost of one dollar per month.

The small scale to which business is subdivided is shown by the copper coins which form the usual medium of exchange and which form the smallest currency in the world; silver being used only for the larger transactions. An undertaking requiring one hundred dollars of capital is frequently divided among numerous share-holders. It follows that, money having relatively so great a value, the slightest profit is acceptable, and hence in all ordinary transactions bargains are made upon a margin that would be deemed impossible in other countries. As one writer has said, "the Chinese will refuse no money in selling if they can be ever so little gainers." Of course, where business is conducted upon so narrow a margin, slight depressions in the general prosperity of any district produce extreme suffering, such as, for instance, has often resulted from famines. Three years ago, in the provinces of Shantung and Chih-li, a drought destroyed the crops, and as soon as the reserve of food was consumed the people resorted to chaff, the bark of trees, turnip leaves, etc., and were finally reduced to devour the half-decayed sorghum stalks of which the roofs of their rude buildings were composed. It was this famine which was so great that in one place a shop was opened for the sale of human flesh, and many thousands of children were sold into slavery in order that their parents might sustain life upon the proceeds. Aid was given from the other provinces, and it was stated, apparently with truth, that but for such assistance not one-half of the population would have survived until the ripening of another harvest.

Even under ordinary conditions the destitution is very

great, and beggars are brought to almost unimaginable depths. In some cases systematic relief is afforded; but the kind and character of this assistance only further shows the necessities of the people. In Pekin there was long since established a phalanstery, which in Chinese was termed "the House of Hen's Feathers." This was a large building upon the floor of which was a thick layer of feathers, over which was spread one immense coverlet, provided with innumerable holes, each large enough for a human head to pass through. The lodgers —men, women and children—buried themselves indiscriminately in this mass of feathers, each thrusting his head through one of the holes, and each paying the value of a tenth of a cent for a night in this dormitory. In the morning the noise of a *tam-tam* afforded the signal for lifting the coverlet by a pulley suspended from the ceiling, and for starting the mendicants each upon his way.

Such are the conditions of life with the working multitudes of China, a population of five hundred millions confined within a territory of twelve hundred and eighty thousand square miles, or four hundred and sixteen to the square mile. The northern, western, and southern boundaries of this region are formed by the dependencies of the central State. Each of these tributary countries has a less capacity than China proper for sustaining a numerous population, and all have already reached the maximum they are able to support. The only outlet, therefore, for the population of China is to the westward, to Australasia, and to the distant coasts of America. Toward these, when existing obstructions to Chinese emigration are removed, the population of China must as naturally flow as the waters of pent up rivers flow to adjacent lowlands when the levees are broken down. Thus the prospect of the near future (for fifty or a hundred years are but a brief space in the life of nations) is that the outflow of this great people with its ingrained characteristics and its hoary institutions will sweep down upon the slightly settled western portion of this continent, especially upon that richest part of the Pacific slope where the presence of the Asiatics has already produced mischief and discontent.

Peculiarly pertinent to this phase of the question is the fact that the Chinese have never retraced their way from any region where they have once established themselves. The dragon flag has never been more than temporarily lowered from any country where it has once been planted. Time has been within the past few hundred years when China possessed nothing but her own area, the Central Kingdom. Today she has obtained, either by peaceful acquisition or by conquest, the control of the countries of Mongolia, of Mantchuria, of Eastern Turkestan, and of Thibet; while her population is swarming into Siam, and some portions of India, and the complete control of Formosa is but a question of time. More than this, in the Philippine Islands, the first foreign land to feel the noxious effects of Chinese immigration, neither statecraft nor slaughter has been sufficient to uproot the peaceful invaders. Nearly three hundred years ago, at a period when the Spanish residents of the Philippines were only about eight hundred, the Chinese numbered nearly twenty thousand. A well-founded fear on the part of the handful of Europeans led to a contest in which the Spaniards, provided with fire-arms, succeeded in slaughtering nearly the whole number of the badly armed celestials. Yet within thirty years thereafter, the Chinese population had increased through new immigrations to thirty-three thousand. These were in time detected in fomenting rebellion, and the work of the previous generation was repeated. Fully two-thirds of the Chinese were destroyed. After this, legislation limited the Chinese in the islands to six thousand; and in 1710 they were all expelled, and trade with China was prohibited. But with all this, it has been impossible to keep them away, there being at the present time about ninety thousand Chinese in Manilla.

The meaning of this incident in the history of Chinese emigration, is emphasized by the admitted fact that the outflow has occurred in defiance of the authorities of China, and not by their favor. With a wise forecast, the policy of the Government, since the rise of the western powers, has been to keep the Empire intact, and to prevent, so far as possible, the involution of its people with those of other countries. As we shall

see further on, this policy, sound and considerate in itself, has been broken down only by the persistent efforts of the foreign powers, to whom our own country has acted as deputy-assistant in no very dignified manner or degree. The enforcement of Chinese law has been sufficient to restrain the inhabitants of the interior from seeking a foreign outlet, but this has been ineffectual as concerns the outer provinces. The Chinese population on our Pacific coast is about one hundred and fifty thousand, yet all of these have been derived from an area of but fifteen thousand square miles, embraced within the Province of Quang-tung, this area having a population of about five millions. An emigration, in the same ratio of population, from the entire Central Kingdom, would launch upon the Pacific coast a population of ten millions, which would reduce the Caucasian community to the proportion of six per cent. of the total. But so great and so dense is the population of China, that the loss of ten millions of her inhabitants would make no perceptible change in her resources, or in her industrial, social or political condition. These emigrants are from the agricultural and laboring classes, not more than two per cent., according to official data, being of the literary class; but all, owing to the peculiar educational institutions of their country, more or less disciplined by study and instruction. The reports from which these statements are taken, show that "their average wages at home may be reckoned at less than three dollars a month."

It is to the conservative policy of the Chinese Government, and to this alone, that the western coast of America thus far owes even its comparative immunity from the overwhelming influence of Asiatic immigration. I use the term "comparative immunity" advisedly. If China encouraged the outflow of her people to the same extent that she has discouraged it, the Chinese question would have been already settled beyond recall. Reverence for the wisdom of their ancestors in binding each citizen to his native land by indissoluble ties, has until lately led China to maintain a policy, the results of which have been even more favorable to our safety than conducive to her own.

But before proceeding to a consideration of Chinese immigration, as it affects and is likely to affect the interests of our own country, it may throw some light upon our relations with China if we consider how those relations began, and how they have been evolved to their present degree of intricacy and importance. We shall find that our course has been tributary to European interests, detrimental to our own, and counter, in many instances, to the plain dictates of international justice.

The inception of the Chinese question of today lay in the action of Great Britain in forcing the opium trade upon China fifty years ago. For without this there would have been no material breaking down of the twin principles of Chinese policy—the exclusion of foreigners, and the retention of her people within her own borders. British aggression was based upon the necessity of finding a market for the opium grown in India, and this market could only be obtained in China. The Chinese, possessed of little conception of any other than sensuous enjoyment, had long found in opium a source of pleasure at little pecuniary cost, although at fearful expense of health. But so severe were the repressive measures of the Government that the habit was held in check to an extent never elsewhere accomplished with any form of dissipation. The importation of the drug was strictly forbidden under penalty of death. Through the vigilance of the officials the quantity introduced by smuggling was extremely limited, and the cultivation of the poppy for opium-producing purposes was restricted to one or two small localities. Opium, however, was the one great staple produced for export in the Indian possessions of Great Britain, and the financial condition of those dependencies rendered the sale of this article abroad a matter of vital import. Without a market for opium, and the prosperity of trade resulting therefrom, British power in India would have been shaken to its foundations. This market was opened by the sword, and a peaceful nation, striving to shield its people from one of the greatest scourges that ever afflicted humanity, was assailed by armed squadrons; its fortified cities stormed; its people slaughtered, and its Government brought, against its will, into direct relations with other countries, and

compelled to witness the debasement of millions of its people by the use of a drug that destroys physical and mental health, which renders manhood miserable, and old age degraded. The import of opium into China amounts to upwards of seventy millions of dollars annually, so that seventy-five per cent. of all the exports of tea and silk are paid for by the infernal drug; and the quantity consumed, including the native growth, is more than twenty-one million pounds, or ten thousand five hundred tons. The extent to which the consumption of this drug has debased the energies of the people and induced profligacy and poverty, cannot be measured. Nor does the mischief end with this, for, the industrial capacity of the people being diminished, the taxes are lessened, the difficulty of collecting them enhanced and the administration of the government retarded.

The motive which induced Great Britain to force the opium trade upon China, still exists; for the Indian Government derives at this present time each year a profit of eight million pounds sterling, or forty millions of dollars, from its opium monopoly, and without this the British power from Cape Comorin to Lahore would in twenty years vanish into air. It is not without interest, in this connection, that we trace the cry of protection to American commerce in the Chinese seas in part to the participation of Americans in this iniquitous traffic.

It was certified by the United States Legation at Canton in 1858, that "the most active opium business in any single ship was carried on in a steamer built in New York, and floating the American flag." At that time, upwards of one-quarter of the opium was carried in American vessels. Had there been no opium war between Great Britain and China and no attempt on the part of our people to share in the advantages of the trade, there would have been no Chinese question on the Pacific coast of the United States; for in the political as in the organic world foul seeds spread rapidly their noisome growths to distant places, and bear their rank and bitter fruit under circumstances the least foreseen. With the success of the English in securing trade with China, came the

desire of other countries to profit by traffic with this remotest East. The French soon joined with the British. The Dutch, who under severe restriction had long traded with China, were quick to assert their claims. Then came Germans and Americans, and all together united to force upon China a policy repugnant to her national ideas, and contrary to her traditional usages in commerce and industries. In all these aggressions the interests of the United States were of the slightest account, and the profits from her ill-advised interference have been less than the price of the birthright of Esau; for in return for our little gains we have had cast upon us one of the weightiest problems known to historic times. We can only appreciate the relations with China of the United States, and of the western powers, by an analysis of their demands urged by diplomacy, and enforced by cannon-shot.

In doing this, we should remember that China was a nationality independent and established; one that dated from the remotest ages; one possessed of a distinctive civilization; and one which had for its leading political idea non-intervention in the affairs of the nations whose people came from the distant seas. Her institutions were the outgrowth of four thousand years of slow but permanent progress; her social customs had been handed down from generation to generation for forty centuries. These usages and customs were hallowed by antiquity and were the object of idolatrous reverence on the part of the entire people. Yet for their own benefit, and not for hers, the distant nations have temporarily succeeded in subjecting this great country to indignities that they would not have dared to propose to each other, and to which not one of them would have submitted for an hour.

The opium trade began with an armed vessel sent out by the Government at Bengal. It was continued by private armed cruisers, fitted out to resist the Chinese government vessels in their efforts to prevent the introduction of the drug, and which acted as receiving-ships at convenient places along the coast. This continued until the war with Great Britain resulted in opening the ports of Shanghai and Canton to the sale of the article. Thus, by force of arms, China was compelled to permit

a traffic which in the course of twenty-five years reduced the normal increase of her population from three per cent. annually to one per cent. But this was but the entering wedge to foreign demands.

The next step in aggression was the doctrine of exterritoriality, which exempts foreigners from the operation of Chinese laws, and which has been, and still is, insisted upon and enforced by all the foreign powers. Less than ten years ago, our representative at Pekin formally reasserted "the intention of the Government of the United States to claim for all its citizens entire exemption from the operation of Chinese law," and this is the policy of the United States today. No Chinese can arraign any foreigner in a Chinese court, for any offence or any crime. It is not known that any foreigner has ever yet been executed for the murder of a Chinaman, except, possibly, at Hong Kong and Macao. It is part of the system of the members of the diplomatic corps in China to make common cause with each other, in order that what is demanded by one may, if obtained, be shared by the others; and the "favored nation" clause forms part and parcel of every treaty between China and other countries. Among the demands made by France is that of "the right to place salaried consuls at any point, either on the coast or in the interior, and that any place where such a consul resides shall be open to foreign trade." The same power also demands that the revenue derived from the tonnage dues of the Chinese ports shall be handed over to a "mixed commission, composed entirely of foreigners, to be expended in such a manner as may seem proper;" the avowed idea being that the amount should be devoted to the improvements of the harbors for the accommodation of foreign vessels. In other words, it is asked that China shall not only surrender a portion of her legal revenues, but shall virtually hand over the administration of her seaports to foreign powers. Our own country claims that citizens of the United States, importing merchandise into China, "should have the privilege of transshipping such merchandise in their own vessels, or of those belonging to the subjects of China, to any point on the Yangtse River and its tributaries,

without limitation or restraint," which amounts to a claim that the Chinese government shall give up the control of its inland commerce. This demand, made many years ago, has been persisted in by our present representative in China, with the more explicit demand that foreign goods in native hands shall not pay the *lekin* or internal customs duty which is levied on the transit of goods from one part of the Empire to another. This is, in substance, simply the assertion of a right to prevent the Chinese government from collecting its usual taxes from its own people.

In view of these demands it is not strange to find it officially stated that the foreign residents of China regard force "as the only sure and speedy agent for opening up China;" that the merchants "look upon the use of force as necessary to open up new resources and avenues of industry;" and that the missionaries favor it, because it will render their task "less difficult," and also for the reason "that the use of arms to compel submission, is only adding an auxiliary force to reason, to accomplish the great work of the Master."

When we find merchant and missionary using the arguments of the buccaneer in matters of general import, we are justified in further examination of the equities of specific claims. The character of many of the demands for damages made against the Chinese government needs no further illustration than the fact that the indemnity paid by the Chinese, a few years ago, was so largely in excess of the amount actually due that a large surplus still lies in the United States Treasury; and by the further fact that many of these claims grew out of the damage inflicted by the British bombardment of Canton in 1856, or were necessarily involved in the defensive operations of the Chinese. A claim for indemnity for these losses was simply an assertion that the Chinese government should afford to the property of foreigners a protection not given to its own citizens. It is further to be remembered that our own Government was in virtual sympathy with the British assault, and only two years later, one of our naval officers, although we were at peace with China, joined the British in their attack on the fortifications at the mouth of the Peiho. In like manner, nine

years ago, when we were under treaty obligations to maintain peace with China, an American fleet composed of two ships of war and four armed steam-launches was sent by the commander on the China station to prepare a chart of the channel between the main-land and the island of Hanghoi; which was very much the same as if a foreign power, against our protest, should send an armed squadron to take soundings in the East River. As was expected, and prepared for, the Chinese opposed the invasion, and as a result had their batteries silenced by American guns. This, a few days later, was followed up on our part by an attack in which five forts were completely destroyed and two hundred and fifty of the Chinese were slaughtered. How much danger was experienced by our forces in this exploit, may be inferred from our loss of three killed and ten wounded. It was, however, sufficient to cause our envoy to explain to our Government that the "gallantry and heroism" of our marines were "conspicuous," and reflected "honor and renown" upon our "navy and Government." The same spirit, that of the presumably strong against the presumably weak, has been displayed in nearly all the relations of the foreign powers with the people of China.

We have already seen how venerable and how nearly approaching the nature of a religion is the reverence of the Chinese for their social customs. Yet the disregard by foreigners of all that the Chinese hold sacred is deliberately made a constant source of irritation. In the words of one of our own officials, "among the Chinese the unsullied reputation and modest demeanor of females is very highly esteemed; and the rules for separating the sexes are very strict, both in regard to their personal intercourse, and the seclusion of their apartments." Yet the Chinese female converts are led to disregard this public opinion and, by open defiance of the usages common among the respectable classes of their own people, give offence to their relatives and neighbors. In some cases the marriage contract has been interfered with by the foreigners; and it was to such a cause that the death of one of the missionaries in 1869 was due. It is to be noted in this connection that while the assassins of the missionary

were executed, one of them beheaded and the other strangled, certain converts who engaged in offensive operations against the Chinese Government have never been punished; and that in another instance a native convert who headed a mob that killed two hundred natives was, through the influence of the missionaries, enabled to escape beyond sea, and was never traced. Many of the assaults on foreigners which have awakened indignation in Europe and in this country, were kindled originally by the deliberate violation of Chinese law, or of usages which have the force of law. It has been no uncommon thing for the foreign missionaries to assume governmental pretensions, and thus strike directly at the home authority of the local officials. The assassination of the Governor of Macao in 1849 was the result of cutting roads through the graves of the Chinese buried outside of the city, and the riot in the French Concession in 1875 arose from the same cause. When we recall the veneration of the Chinese for their ancestors, it is not surprising that public feeling took the form of violent resistance to the desecration of the graves. It is not difficult to imagine that something similar might have occurred even in an American city, had an identical cause existed.

Everywhere in China the foreigner has sought to enforce his will by the exercise of arbitrary power; the guns of war vessels and the sabres of marines are his only arguments. And inasmuch as the Chinese, though physically brave, are badly armed and worse disciplined, it was only to be expected that all the resources of Asiatic diplomacy would be brought to bear with all of native craft in defence of native rights. Nor shall we fail to find that, after all, the subtlety and far-sightedness of the Asiatic have more than equalled the force of the invaders. The claim that foreigners should trade without let or hindrance in any part of the Empire, and that the payment of internal taxes should be remitted in their favor, has been successfully evaded or resisted until Great Britain, who controls seven-eighths of the trade with China, has virtually ceased to insist upon it. It is not likely that any other country will hereafter seriously attempt to enforce it.

The indirect efforts to secure the purposed dominance of foreign influence in the interior of China by the introduction of railroads, telegraphs, and steam navigation have been brought to the same dismal end.

Meanwhile Chinese merchants, entering the paths of competition which were opened to them perforce, have in a great measure crowded European traders from numerous ports more or less remote from Chinese coasts. This is true of the trade with Saigon, in Cochin China, with Bangkok in Siam; with Singapore in India; with Batavia in Java; and with Manilla in the Philippine Islands. Sometime since the British India Steam Navigation Company had a strong line of vessels on the route between Calcutta and Singapore, touching at intermediate points. A Chinese company started a line between Rangoon and Singapore, and in a short time the British line, except for a government subsidy, would have been compelled to stop,—the carrying business, at latest accounts, being reduced to the lowest ebb.

Six years ago a foreign company without a concession from the Chinese authorities laid a short railway to connect Shanghai with the river entrance to the harbor. It was conceded that the foreigners who undertook the enterprise had no right to do so; and the American minister expressed the opinion that "the body of ministers at Pekin ought in advance to hold language regarding the project of a sort calculated to keep matters in their present satisfactory condition;" which being interpreted means that certain foreigners having stolen a right of way for a purpose not recognized by the Government, the latter was to be bullied by foreign pressure into compliance. An American citizen was placed in charge of the grading, and the American representative declared that he was ready to defend the right of the projectors to build the railway. The only stirring incident in the construction of the road, however, was a fight between the American citizen aforesaid and an old woman whose land was endangered by his refusal to place a culvert where the grading crossed a ditch. Although the projectors had no right to construct the railway, it was purchased by the Chinese

government at a fair price which was determined by arbitration. It is a matter of recent newspaper comment that the rails have been taken up, and exported to this country as old iron.

The history of the attempted telegraph line is substantially identical with that of the railroad. In October, 1875, a Danish company, without any legal authority, began the construction of a telegraph line from Foo-Choo, the centre of the tea industry, to the port of Amoy, and continued the construction, although the officials had positively refused to sign a contract. In this, as with the railroad, the American representative was not slow to intimate that the diplomatic body should insist upon the permanent enjoyment of the rights appropriated without the shadow of law. Twenty miles of the line were destroyed by local officials, whereupon a claim for indemnity was set up by the Company. As the latter had a *quasi* agreement with a body known as "the Board of Foreign Trade" of the Province, the matter was finally settled by the Chinese Government purchasing the whole concern for the sum of one hundred and twenty-four thousand five hundred Mexican dollars, which ended the controversy, and with it the telegraph line.

During fifteen years, the American Steam Navigation Company owned a fleet of twenty steam-ships, two or three of which were of American, and the others of English build, and which traded between Shanghai and the Yangtse ports and Tientzing. In 1875, a Chinese corporation, the Chinese Merchandise Company, had vessels on the same water routes. In that year the Chinese government agreed with the native Company for certain freights at rates more than twice as high as those obtainable by either company in the open market, and which of course amounted simply to a subsidy to the Chinese Company. In less than two years the American enterprise was bought out by the Chinese, and American competition with native shipping was ended on the rivers of China. The philanthropic idea of supplying China with a currency by the coinage of the trade dollar illustrates our ignorance of Chinese methods and Chinese wants. In the north of China, not five

hundred of the new coins were found two years after their introduction; while in the south they utterly failed to replace the Mexican dollar, which is a favorite form of silver.

So much for our diplomacy with China in matters of comparatively minor importance; for those referred to are dwarfed by comparison with the Burlingame Treaty, in which the far-reaching Chinamen found in an American politician a convenient implement with which to manipulate the policy of an aggressive but short-sighted nation. That treaty conferred on each of the parties thereto all the rights granted by the other to the most favored nation. The United States has granted to the most favored nations the right, on the part of their citizens, of passing without restraint to all portions of our country, of transacting business to the same extent and in the same manner as our own citizens, and of freely exercising their religion without let or hindrance. China has granted to her favored nations the right of their citizens to travel to and reside in certain open ports, and nowhere else. To quote the language of our consul at Ningpo, "it is a settled question so far as the Government of the United States is concerned, that missionaries have no right to reside elsewhere than at the open ports," and that such right does not extend to other citizens. This interpretation of the treaty has been concurred in by our State Department, and also by the British government whose instructions to her envoy have been of the same tenor.

Such are the results abroad of our interference in Chinese affairs, and of our diplomatic relations with China. But it is only when we consider their outcome on our own soil that we can fully recognize their utter folly, the mischief already wrought by our colossal blunders and the further mischief that bids fair to come.

When British cannon first opened Chinese ports, California was known to us mainly as a land fruitful in products and winsome in climate: a broad territory, coveted by Great Britain and by our own country, and held with an unsteady hand by Mexico. Ten years later it belonged to the United States, and its gold mines made it the El Dorado of the restless

of all nations. With the others came the Chinese. As individuals they came and returned to their own country, a constant ebb and flow. As a people they came to stay. Their number has constantly increased in spite of all obstacles, until in commerce and industries their influence is dominant through all the Pacific coast, and their advance scouts have extended to the Atlantic seaboard. It is in California, however, that the problems springing from their presence have most forcibly arisen, and it is from California that facts conclusive in the solution of these problems must be derived.

California has a population, Chinese included, of about seven hundred and fifty thousand, or somewhat less than four individuals to the square mile. The land, at the date of its annexation, was held in large grants, some from the Mexican, others primarily from the Spanish Government, and all, so far as they were *bonâ fide*, protected by the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo. Although these lands have in a measure passed to new owners, they have seldom been divided into smaller holdings, and are now possessed by a comparatively small percentage of the entire population of the State. The influx of Chinese labor almost simultaneous with the new settlement of the country, provided a means by which these lands could be worked at little cost, and obviated the necessity, which otherwise would have existed, of dividing the immense ranches into farms. Chinese immigration, therefore, buttressed the almost feudal control of the land. In their turn the great land-owners lent the power of their wealth, their political influence, and their business talent in favor of the system of cheap labor by which their own power was maintained. From this it has followed that the social economy of California agriculture has throughout been different from that of any other country professedly governed by republican institutions or assuming to be controlled by republican traditions.

The great crops which form the staple productions of the soil are such as require no tillage between seed-time and harvest, which thus become the only active seasons of the year. East of the Sierras the conditions of farming are such that there is opportunity for continuous labor from early Spring to

later Autumn, and even in some degree throughout the Winter months; and the farm laborer has opportunity for constant occupation. Forming, as he does, a part of a homogeneous community he has, if a man of family, a fixed abode, however rude, and has within his reach many at least of the ordinary comforts of life. If single, he commonly resides in the family of his employer. Under such circumstances the existence of the farm hand is rendered tolerable, neither undignified nor unworthy; and there is nothing in his condition which need impair his self-respect or deny to his industry or skill their legitimate reward of pecuniary or social success. But nothing of this exists in California farming. The laborer is hired during a few weeks of the heavy Spring work and of the harvest. He receives his wages and his rations, and is expected to lodge himself. Wrapped in his blanket, he sleeps in an outhouse or on the threshed straw under the rainless sky. When the season of driving work is over he goes away, whither no one knows and no one cares. Thus periods of long idleness intervene between seasons of severe labor. Such a system is possible only in a country composed of estates of immense proportions, tilled by labor of the cheapest and most servile kind.

The discovery of gold, the reported fertility of the soil, and the beauty of the climate led at the outset to a large immigration from the Eastern States; to the organization of a commonwealth based on their political traditions and social usages. These traditions and usages were and still are directly counter to those which, in all ages, have resulted from the control of the land by the few, and to those represented by the cheap labor of the Chinese. The civilization represented by the masses of the white settlers on the Pacific coast had, as an inherent necessity, a remuneration of labor adequate to the comfortable maintenance of families, their education, their refinement in manners, mind and morals; which can only obtain where the physical being is sustained by sufficient nutrition, and the intellect and emotional nature suffered to expand by a fair degree of leisure. The civilization represented by the large land-owners was that springing from the use of labor secured at the lowest possible remuneration, re-

gardless of its effects on the laboring classes. This labor was found in the Chinese immigrants who, without families, and used in their own country to the smallest wages, could be obtained in unlimited number at rates lower than those necessary for the bare sustenance of white workingmen. The conflict between these two forms of civilization began early. It has extended to every branch of industry, and the results thus far have been detrimental in the extreme to that which we are accustomed to consider as the highest form of Caucasian society. The Chinese have invaded every department of industry, and Chinese executive ability has marshalled that labor into the most effective opposition to the industrial classes of the whites. Everywhere, except among the wealthy, the white man has gone to the wall in the competition with the Asiatic.

This is most conveniently illustrated by reference to the various branches of industry on the Pacific coast; for the manufacturing interests that, with a normal development of society, would have been built up by white labor, have virtually passed into the hands of the Chinese. The result is, not only that laboring men as such are thrown out of employment, or reduced to wages insufficient for comfortable maintenance, but all those occupations which, even in the most crowded Caucasian communities, afford a frugal sustenance to women and children, are monopolized by the Chinese. For example, in some portions of the Eastern States, as also in England, the season of picking hops is one as festive in character as the vintage of France or Italy, because it affords unusually high wages during three or four weeks to women and children whose labor at other seasons has little money value. Wherever, east of the Rocky Mountains, hops are grown, the hop-picking season is looked forward to by thousands of young girls and by needy families as offering a means of ready money, the use of which is often extended throughout the remainder of the year. In California the hop-picking is done by Chinese to the exclusion of all others. So also, in many portions of the Eastern States, the season of berry-picking affords an opportunity for the earning of money, which to the poor softens the hardships of other and more scanty seasons. In California, berry-picking,

which at one time was availed of by women and children, has been entirely absorbed by Chinese. The weaving, which formerly was done almost entirely by women, is now done by Chinese. In the making of underclothing, Chinese do the work which in this country and Europe is performed by seamstresses. The laundry-work, the dress-making and the millinery-work have been passed to the Chinese. The manufacture of shoes for women and children is entirely in their hands. The gathering of fruit, the digging of potatoes, the care of gardens is for the most part done by them. The handling of the immense crops of the coast calls for the use of many tens of thousands of grain-bags, which are all sewed by Chinese. In the large dairies, some of them having from a thousand to thirteen hundred cows, the milking and other dairy work is performed by Chinese. The seating of cane chairs, which forms the last resource for poor women in eastern cities, is in California given over to Chinamen.

When white labor is thus crowded away from the minor and poorer industries, it follows as a matter of course that other and more remunerative occupations are filled in the same way. The Chinese are employed in the woollen mills; in the tanneries; in fisheries; in the canning of fruits, etc.; in the varnishing of furniture and the like; in the building of embankments for the redemption of overflowed lands; in railway work, the making of road-cuttings, and the digging of tunnels. There is scarcely a manufacture in which they do not constitute the whole or the great majority of the operatives. In one establishment in San Francisco (the Mission Woollen Mills), five hundred and fifty Chinese have been employed at one time. In a neighboring spring-mattress factory, not a single white man found work, and, near by, the only oakum factory in the city was also Chinese throughout. In placer-mining there were four thousand in one neighborhood, near Oroville; and in many localities they have entirely exhausted mines which, although incapable of profit with the wasteful methods in vogue twenty years ago, would have proved by this time sources of revenue to the whites. There are in San Francisco fifteen thousand boys and girls, between the ages of fourteen and

twenty, who, in eastern communities, would find active employment; but they cannot compete with the Chinese, and are for the most part idle.

The Chinaman, it is claimed, and apparently with truth, will learn any given mechanical operation in one-third of the time required by a white workman. He has no family; he lives in the most frugal manner; he lodges upon a wooden bench; he has been used at home to wages that would hardly more than sustain life. His sole ambition is to accumulate from two hundred to four hundred dollars, which is to him a fortune, and which enables him to return as a rich man to his own country. He is obedient and servile. By means of all this he is enabled to live as no white man could live, even if the white man were not burdened with the support of wife and children. The result has been to prevent the immigration of a strong and healthy laboring class of kindred and easily affiliated race from the Eastern States and from Europe. Thus there has been almost wholly wanting in California, the element that contributed so largely to build up the prosperity of the whole country east of the Rocky Mountains.

The evil of this has been twofold. Not only has the sum total of a large Caucasian immigration been lost, but there has been none of the natural and legitimate increase of population that would have resulted therefrom. In the Eastern States the Swedish, Irish, or German maiden finds ready employment in domestic service; in course of time she marries and children are born, and families surrounded by the safeguards of Christian communities grow up to careers of usefulness and often of honor. In the second or third generation the descendants of the European immigrant are so completely merged with our people that no difference is perceptible. In California anything of the kind is impossible. To a certain extent it existed before Chinese cheap labor had become so overpowering as it now is; but it has diminished in the same ratio that the latter grew to be the dominant feature of the Californian industrial system. California has thus been shut off from the legitimate elements of growth which would have made her, in all the essentials of material and moral prosperity,

tenfold stronger than she is today. Chinese labor has operated not only to prevent, but to destroy the normal development of the State, and to throw upon the people unwonted burdens. In every community there are many who, through adversity, are thrown suddenly upon their own resources—children, and tender women who must seek a sustenance in humble employments. Where access to these is closed, as it is by Chinese labor, the alternative is fearful and plain. The woman who, in California, without friends or money seeks to earn a livelihood by any of the occupations commonly open to her class in even the most crowded cities of Europe or of the Eastern States, is met at every turn by Chinese who will work for less than is necessary to support life and health in a person of Caucasian descent and training. There is for her the simple alternative of shame or starvation. The man who is dependent upon his handiwork for daily bread, finds his children dwarfed for need of mere physical nutrition, because his income, beaten down by Chinese competition, is inadequate to their support; and beggary and crime are the natural results.

The same cause has produced another evil of no slight social magnitude. Where young men find the prospect of supporting families to be insecure, they do not marry. From such a condition of society the political economist deduces with certainty that the normal increase of the population will be slow; the student of moral science deduces with equal positiveness that the standard of public and private morals will be debased.

It is an axiom, that where servile labor is brought in contact with that of a higher social character, the latter is brought down to the level of the former. It was an argument used with effect against the institution of negro slavery, that it was not the colored man alone, but the free white laborer also, who bore the stigma associated with manual toil. The same rule of association holds true as between the Chinese and the white workingman in California. In the city of San Francisco, sixty thousand of the Chinese are crowded into six or seven blocks of buildings. A single story measuring twelve

feet from floor to ceiling is sometimes divided by two intermediate floors, making three stories in one, all occupied by Chinese. The streets in that portion of the city are connected from one side to the other by subterranean passages, so that the occupants of the houses pass underground from building to building. Sometimes the upper stories of the structures are built outward over the street until, at some distance from the ground, they approach within two feet of each other. The district embraces among its denizens some four or five thousand Chinese women, of whom not more than one in twenty is other than the vilest of the vile. When the chief laboring class steams and festers in such dens as these, labor itself must stand low in public esteem. And with such associations and such competition, the wonder is, not that the white population is turbulent, but that it is not a hundred times more revolutionary in its ideas and lawless in their expression.

I am aware that it is sometimes claimed that Chinese labor is not servile, but free. In a subject so important, we need hardly tolerate a quibble on words or a balancing of technical phrases. A people is servile when it becomes an inert mass, directed solely by the will of others, and repelled by fear from exercising the ordinary prerogatives of freemen. That this is the case with the Chinese in California, is apparent when we consider, never so briefly, the circumstances under which they are brought into the country, and the tenure by which their stay is determined. The real masters of the Chinese in California are those of their own countrymen who compose the Six Companies, the Sam Yup, Kong Chow, Wing Yung, Hop Wo, Young Wo and Yang Wo. These enforce their authority partly as creditors of the laborers, and partly by combinations with the steam-ship companies. A contractor desiring any given number of Chinese, makes an agreement with one or the other of the companies, which undertakes to furnish the desired number, to be selected in China. A Chinaman wishing to emigrate from his own country to California will, in most cases, borrow money for his expenses, paying interest at from four to eight per cent. a month; and until this money is repaid

he is bound to the company, and goes hither and thither at its beck and call. In addition to the cost of his voyage, he is required to pay seventy-five dollars to the company as its commission. In return for this commission, the company exercises a general supervision and care over each individual, not only finding him employment, but caring for him in sickness and misfortune.

When the company is fully repaid, the immigrant is presumably free, but is not so in fact. Every Chinaman hopes to return sooner or later to his own country, or at least to have his remains laid beside those of his ancestors; but the Six Companies have made arrangements with the steam-ship companies by which no Chinaman, alive or dead, can be transshipped without their consent. More than this, the great majority, being directly indebted to the companies, work for the interests, real or imagined, of their creditors, and a Chinaman fares hard indeed at the hands of his own people, if he is found to be recalcitrant. Whatever name, therefore, may be given to the relation of the Chinese to their employers, they are neither more nor less than servile to the last degree.

Another result that has been observed to flow from this is the constantly increasing arrogance on the part of employers, a fault cultivated and encouraged by the patient and absolute servility of the cheap laborer.

It is no wonder, therefore, that with wages depressed below the point of comfortable living, and with labor debased to the social depths of an Asiatic community, California has not increased in white population, and has materially diminished in that distributive wealth which is the only solid foundation for the material prosperity of a commonwealth. I know that it is claimed that the aggregate wealth of the State has been increased by Chinese labor, but the evidence does not bear out the assertion. On the contrary, it is not difficult to prove that the State is actually poorer today than she would have been had the Chinese never passed the Golden Gate. More than this, it is easy to show that the wealth of the State, even apart from that included in the land, has been principally accumulated in the hands of a few, while the mass of the people has been impoverished. We

may go further, and assert with perfect truth that even the cities of the Atlantic seaboard are poorer by many millions than they would have been had California been dependent upon white labor alone. That State has lost for the past quarter of a century the increase of white population that would have inured to her, had she presented the attraction of high wages to the thrifty mechanics, farmers and laboring men of the Eastern States. And during the same period she has lost the refinements in tillage and the enterprise in commercial undertakings that she would have experienced had her immense ranches been divided into smaller farms, as they would have been had not the Chinese furnished vassals for their wholesale cultivation.

If agriculture has lost from cheap labor, commerce has not gained. It has been asserted that our trade with China has been promoted by the presence of the Chinese. But if we analyze this we shall find it as delusive as the others. Out of perhaps twenty millions of dollars of imports, thirteen millions are in tea and silk which would be imported to the same degree if there were no Chinese on the coast; and the same remark applies to most of the other imports, a very large proportion of which is consumed by the Chinese themselves, as, for example, two million dollars of rice, three hundred thousand of fire-crackers, and one million dollars, more or less, of opium. Of the balance, some three or four millions of dollars, it is difficult to see in what respect it owes its existence to Chinese immigration. It consists of such items as oil of aniseseed, cassia-buds, china-ware, camphor and cassia, all of which find a considerable, if not their greatest market, in the Eastern States, and would be called for regardless of the character of the population on the Pacific coast. On the other hand, our exports amount to between ten and eleven millions, leaving a balance of trade against us of apparently about nine and a-half millions, but which in reality is about seventeen millions. For more than seven-tenths of our so-called exports to China consist of treasure which is listed with the merchandise. This seventeen millions in coin and its equivalent passes to China, and thence, in payment for opium,

to the British, to form part of the fund with which their power is maintained in the East. About one million dollars of our exports consist of quicksilver, and another million of sundries. The export of flour, about which so much has been said, amounts to only thirteen or fourteen thousand barrels per annum; of coal, about fifteen thousand tons; and of lumber, about two million feet, having a value of some fifty thousand dollars. There is not enough in this showing to indicate any great or permanent advantage to this country from the continuance of commerce with China.

But the story is not yet fully told. There are in San Francisco fifteen or twenty Chinese firms through whom the great bulk of this commerce is transacted, and its profit goes not to our own people, but to the Chinese, whose allegiance is to their own country, and whose wealth is part of the wealth of China. The wealth that has been accumulated through Chinese labor has been amassed by the few, and has contributed nothing to the prosperity of the masses. It is not twenty years since the Pacific Railway was built with subsidies from the Federal and the State government, and even of counties along the line. The cost of building the road was based upon estimates of the ruling rates of white labor. Upon these estimates the appropriations and subscriptions were made. When the work was undertaken, instead of employing the workingmen of the country, the projectors, through the Six Companies, obtained ten thousand coolies direct from China, and with these the road was built. But the profits went, not to the community, but to the few bold business men, whose wealth dazzles the eye and inflames the imagination. And this wealth, obtained in this manner, and concentrated in a mere fraction of the population, has been prejudicial to the best interests of the State, for it has been used throughout to perpetuate the abnormal conditions through which it was first obtained.

Furthermore, the results of the cheap labor of California have come in direct competition with the labor of the eastern portion of our country. For the laboring man, who is accustomed to the standard of life in the East, cannot work and keep his strength on the low wages of the Chinese. And whenever

the products of his labor have come in competition with those of Chinese labor, they have been lowered in price, and, as an inevitable result, his wages have been reduced in proportion. Fifteen years ago, California sent forty millions of dollars annually to the Eastern States in payment for manufactured products; today the Californian market is practically closed to eastern manufactured products, because Chinese labor produces them at lower prices than is possible on the Atlantic coast. In proportion as the demand for the results of labor in the East diminishes, just in the same degree must the wages of the laborer in the East be reduced, and unless this tendency is stopped by legislation, both as concerns the East and the West, it must continue with constantly increasing force until white labor is driven to degradation or revolution.

But the tendency referred to has gone even further than I have indicated. We have seen that the hop-yards of California, some of them of forty and fifty acres in extent, are picked by Chinese whose wages are so low as to afford a virtual bounty upon the product as against that of eastern hop-yards. It is known that within the past few months the tobacco of Connecticut has been shipped to California, there made into cigars by Chinese operatives, and then returned to the eastern markets; so that the cigar-makers of New York, Boston and Philadelphia are brought into the same direct competition with Chinese labor as those of the Pacific coast. As concerns many branches of manufacture, this would occur even if Chinese immigration was restrained west of the Rocky Mountains. But, as we all know, the Chinese have penetrated to every large city in the country. They swarm in Brooklyn, and have their own "Chinese quarter" locally known as "Chinatown." In New York City there are, in round numbers, two thousand of them who, like their brethren in California, take the work ordinarily done by women and children. Here as there, they are without families, and here as there they live in the same cheap squalor and comfortable debasement. It is keeping within bounds to say that for each Chinaman who follows the occupation of "washee-washee" in this country, a family of a washer-woman with four children

lose their means of subsistence and sink to deeper depths of poverty.

It may be asked, why, with these facts staring the investigator in the face, so strong a public opinion as we know exists should have been produced or maintained in favor of Chinese immigration. The answer is easily found. California is in a great measure ruled by railroads whose builders made fortunes through Chinese labor. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company has its vessels manned with Chinese sailors, and makes its profits from the transport of Chinese coolies to such a degree that without this traffic it could hardly exist; and, as we have seen, it is in close affiliation with the Chinese companies through whom the immense flood of Asiatic laborers has flowed into the country. The American consular charges in China have been from one to two dollars per head for every Chinaman shipped; and all the official weight of the American representatives at Hong Kong has been thrown in favor of the trade. And every large manufacturer and great land-owner who has found the profits of the ranch or the manufactory enhanced through the reduction of wages to the lowest point, has joined in laudation of cheap labor. To so great an extent has the fabrication of a public opinion in favor of the Chinese been carried, that after the death of Senator Morton, it was widely reported, and almost as widely believed, that he had left in his own handwriting a report in laudation of Chinese labor and advocating its continuance; whereas the truth was that Senator Morton joined with the other members of the committee in declaring that it has "become painfully evident that the Pacific coast must in time become either American or Mongolian,"—and, with reference to the present industrial condition of California arising from Chinese labor, used the following language: "The Chinese have advantages which will put them far in advance in the race for possession. They can subsist where the American would starve. They can work for wages which will not furnish the barest necessities of life to an American." This committee, of which the Senator was one, and in whose report he joined, spoke of the Chinese as making their way "by revolting characteristics and by

dispensing with what would be mere necessities in modern civilization." Yet in spite of this emphatic language the pro-Chinese advocates have succeeded in spreading the current belief that the distinguished Senator came to the same conclusion as themselves.

It has been supposed by many that Chinese immigration has reached its limit. But this is at variance with what is plainly indicated by demonstrated facts. Although many Chinese return each Autumn to their own country, a still larger number make their advent in the Spring; the annual surplus of immigrants over emigrants being from eighteen thousand to twenty thousand, which insures a constant increase of the Chinese population. As already stated, the Chinese constitute one-sixth of the people of the State; their number being about one hundred and fifty thousand. This is an average of various estimates, and is probably rather below than above the number, inasmuch as the Chinese are most ingenious in evading any accurate enumeration. We may here pause for a curious calculation. There are only between five and six thousand Chinese females in the State; and the Chinamen are, therefore, almost without exception, men without families. Each one of them is inspected before leaving China, with a care equal to the inspection of volunteers for active service in time of war. Without this they cannot be shipped. They are therefore healthy, active and enduring,—as much so, probably, as the average military force of any country. As concerns the white community, the number of men fit to bear arms may be estimated by the same rule that obtains in European countries, which is one in five of the total population. Therefore, of the six hundred thousand whites, there may be counted one hundred and twenty thousand men capable of actual service. From this it follows that in the number of men fit to bear arms in California today, China is twenty per cent. stronger than the United States. We may readily infer whether this proportion is likely to increase, when we consider the low cost at which Chinese immigrants can be brought to the Pacific coast. The charge per head for bringing coolies on a steam-ship is variously stated; sometimes as high

as fifty-five dollars by the advocates of Chinese immigration, sometimes as low as ten dollars by its opponents. The truth appears to be that the actual rates of the steam-ship company is about thirty dollars from Hong Kong to San Francisco, and about ten dollars on the return. I find in a sworn statement made by an expert in the business, that in sailing-vessels the Chinese can be brought to California for fifteen dollars each. Even under conditions hitherto existing, it is plain that the Chinese will continue to increase on the Pacific coast.

But there is another and novel aspect of the Chinese question which gives renewed and multiplied force to every argument used against this Asiatic invasion. As we have seen, China for many hundred years discouraged the emigration of her people. We have seen, also, that the barriers she builded to shield her empire were broken down by force and fraud in which, in the later days at least, we had our share. We have seen, too, that the Chinese intellect, the Chinese character, is strong, vigorous, patient and far-sighted; and that as diplomats the statesmen of China have held their own with those of every other nation in the world. This people thus constituted have now reached a point where the policy of four thousand years is manifestly reversed, and China, instead of standing upon the defensive, is upon the verge of, if she has not already adopted, an aggressive policy.

The signs of aggression are neither few nor obscure. As already remarked, on her own coasts and in neighboring regions she has supplanted the enterprise of Europeans and Americans. This process is now being extended to our own country and, if continued, will soon constitute upon the Pacific coast a power too strong to be overcome by policy or war. The Chinese Steam Navigation Company is about to establish a steam line direct to Havana, which at once will control the Chinese trade with the Atlantic seaboard and the Spanish Main, and provide a means for the easy transport of Chinese immigrants to the United States, the West Indies and South America. One hundred and forty thousand of these, it is stated on apparently good authority, have already found a place in Cuba. Within the past few weeks, we have witnessed the inauguration, with

the steamer *Hochung*, of direct trade in Chinese steam-vessels between Hong Kong and San Francisco. The opportunities afforded by a favorable public opinion and thoughtless governmental action, both in this country and in Europe, have enabled China to avail herself of the latest and most improved resources, whether for peaceful or warlike purposes. Hundreds of the best of her young men have been educated in Caucasian schools; the scientific works of Europe and America have been translated into her language for the use of her officials. Armories have been established on Chinese soil for the manufacture of improved fire-arms for Chinese troops. China has defeated the Russians in Kashgar with muskets from the arsenals of Europe, and has mounted Krupp guns on the earthworks that guard the inlets to the great rivers. And within the past few years she has equipped a navy which, with the single exception of that of Great Britain, carries heavier and more effective ordnance than that of any other nation in the world. And it is this nation, possessed at the present time of a population of upwards of five hundred millions, increasing at the rate of one per cent. per annum or one hundred millions in twenty years; it is this nation, hemmed in on all sides, save that of the sea, and whose soil has already reached the limit of productiveness for its people; it is this nation, whose sway has never permanently receded from any region over which it has once been held; it is this nation with which we are now brought face to face, and which we smite with one hand, while with the other we open wide the gates to its inflow upon our territory.

Is it not time we sought to protect ourselves against the influx of such a people, the commercial enterprise of such a country, the possible aggressions of such a power? But in what way shall the inflow be stopped and its reflux be secured? Considered with reference to the formalities and technicalities of diplomacy, the subject is perhaps not free from complexity. Examined with reference to expediency, to the broad equities which, with nations as with individuals, should be of controlling authority, the case grows comparatively clear. Sweeping aside all sentimentality and all technicalities woven by diplomacy, or rather by the lack of it, the most direct method is the best.

Chinese immigration should be stopped with all the power of the Government, and the elimination of the Chinese from our borders should be secured with the least possible delay. And preliminary to these, such legislation should be had as will either *de facto* or *de jure* abrogate our existing treaty with China. Notwithstanding the high authority which has pronounced that treaty as having the force of a provision of the Constitution, I for one must forcibly dissent from such a plea. The same paragraph of the Constitution which provides that treaties made in accordance therewith shall be the supreme law of the land, also declares that statutes made in accordance therewith shall be the supreme law of the land. A law of Congress, therefore, stands upon the same level and has the same force as a treaty with a foreign power. It has been judicially held that a Federal statute, contrary to a provision of a treaty, repealed the treaty itself. And this is sound law as well as sound common-sense. In order to secure a change in the Constitution, the favorable action of Congress and the consent of three-fourths of the separate legislatures of the States are required. When such care was exercised to prevent the hasty change of any of the provisions of the organic law, it cannot have been the intent of its framers that a treaty, entered into by a single plenipotentiary and ratified by the President and Senate, should have a power binding as that of the Constitution itself, and be capable of disturbing our industrial, social and political equilibrium. To say that the Senate and an envoy appointed by the President possess a power greater than that of both Houses of Congress and the President together, is to reverse the principles and traditions that have controlled the Government and expressed the will of the people from the beginning. That vigorous action is necessary in our own defence is, I think, clear to any one who will carefully investigate the facts and draw conclusions from them with the same direct logic as is applied to the ordinary concerns of life. And there is no ground for doubt that this action, to be effective, should not be delayed.

JAMES A. WHITNEY.

ART. II.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES.

1. *History of the Origin, Formation and Adoption of the Constitution of the United States.* By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. New York: 1863.
2. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited by H. A. WASHINGTON. New York: 1853.
3. *The Works of Daniel Webster.* Boston: 1854.
4. *Thirty Years' View, or a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years from 1820 to 1850.* By A SENATOR OF THIRTY YEARS. New York: 1854.

> Truth is brought to light by time and reflection, while falsehood lives by bustle, noise, and precipitation.—*Tacitus.*
>
> Take away the sword: States can be saved without it.—*Edward Bulwer-Lytton.*

IT has been observed that "it was long before man came to apprehend the prevalence of law in the phenomena of matter; and it was still longer before he could even entertain the notion of natural law as applicable to himself. The ancient law-givers were always aiming at standards of political society framed according to some abstract notions of their own as to how things ought to be, rather than upon any attempt to investigate the constitution of human nature as it actually is. It was a mistake in the science of politics analogous to that which Bacon complained of so bitterly in the science of physics. Men were always trying to evolve out of their own minds knowledge which could only be acquired by patient inquiry into facts. How worse than useless this method

is, received an illustration in ancient philosophy still more striking than in ancient legislation. Fortunately for mankind, no actual legislators have ever been quite so foolish as some philosophers. Perhaps, all things considered, the most odious conceptions of human society which the world has ever seen, were the conceptions of an intellect certainly among the loftiest which has ever exercised its powers in speculative thought. Plato's Republic is an ideal State, founded on abstract conceptions of the mind, and one of its leading ideas is the destruction of family life, and the annihilation of the family affections. And yet, this result, odious and irrational as it is, was arrived at from reasoning which is not in itself odious, but which is false, chiefly because it takes no account of the facts. Such are the humiliating results of abstract reasoning pursued in ignorance of the great law that no purpose can be attained in nature except by the legitimate use of the means which nature has supplied. For as in the material world, all her forces must be acknowledged and obeyed before they can be made to serve, so in the realm of mind there can be no success in attaining the highest moral ends until due honor has been assigned to those motives which arise out of the universal instincts of our race." *

The science of government may be said to consist in establishing the coincidence of statute and natural law within the sphere of social phenomena. We mean, of course, civil as distinct from moral government. Theoretically, the Constitution of the United States did point directly to this end, and if the fundamental law had been executed in spirit and detail as designed by the wise statesmen who framed it, how vastly different would have been the condition of the country at the present moment! The preamble of the instrument recites the lofty intention of its authors: "We, the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." Certainly

* *The Reign of Law.* By the Duke of Argyll. Chap. vii.

these noble ends appear to be entirely within the range of practicability. It was the idea of Locke that the chief end of government was to secure the right of property, but even from this narrow point of view it must be admitted that the United States government in the manner of its administration has failed, for in the exercise of the taxing power and through the venality of legislators, the most outrageous, and we might say unparalleled, violations of the right of property seem to be the rule or, at least, by no means the exception. But it is in the department of finance that those who have been charged with the administration of the government have inflicted the most serious injury upon the people. *

The history of fiscal administration in the United States is, in its most important points, the negation of the fundamental as well as of the natural law. So distinctly was the removal of the curse of paper-money one of the chief objects contemplated by the Constitution of 1787, that "there was a loud and general outcry against the people of Rhode Island, who had kept themselves aloof from the National Convention, for the express purpose, among others, of retaining to themselves the power to issue such a currency." † There were at this time only three banks in existence in the United States, namely, the Bank of North America, at Philadelphia; Massachusetts Bank, at Boston; Bank of New York, at New York. The first named bank produced so much evil that the State of Pennsylvania took away its charter in less than four years after it went into operation, but it continued business under the charter obtained from the old Congress; and it was finally reincorporated by the State of Pennsylvania, in March, 1787. How much circulation these banks were enabled to put out is not known, but it was very little, notwithstanding that every contrivance or artifice was resorted to for that purpose. Experience had hitherto led the people to look with suspicion on everything in

* "I do not hold, gentlemen, that good finance is the beginning and the end of good government, but I hold this—that it is an essential of good government; it is a condition of good government; without it you cannot have good government, and with it you almost always get good government."—Speech of Hon. W. E. Gladstone at Edinburgh, November 29, 1879.

† *History of the Constitution.* Curtis.

the shape of paper-money. The wreck of two hundred millions of paper dollars lay upon the land, and the framers of the Constitution worked in the midst of that wreck. Accordingly, our fathers, so far as they established anything under the fundamental law, established a hard-money government. The word *currency* is not in the Constitution, nor any word which can be made to cover a circulation of bank-notes. Gold and silver are the only things recognized as money: they are the money and the only money of the Constitution. The Federal Government is not, indeed, prohibited in terms from issuing paper-money under any circumstances, for our fathers were too wise to impose such restriction; but the power to issue is nowhere granted, except under what may be called the war clause, which confers plenary power to do whatever Congress may consider necessary in any emergency, when the safety of the State becomes the supreme law.* The Constitution, however, does distinctly say that no State shall "make any Thing but gold and silver Coin, a Tender in payment of Debts," or pass any "Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts."

The power to issue circulating notes, or promissory notes to circulate as money, is not delegated to Congress by the Constitution, and consequently does not reside with the Federal Government: it is expressly prohibited to the States, and consequently does not reside with the States; and such a power is repugnant to the expressed and implied powers of both Federal and State Governments, as it is also unquestionably contrary to the principles of political economy.† Moreover, legislative enactment explained the practical intent and meaning of the framers of the Constitution, for the fifth statute passed at the first session of the first Congress that ever sat under the present Constitution, on the thirtieth day of July, 1789—just one month after Congress had commenced the work of legislation—declared that the fees and duties payable to the Federal Government shall be received in gold and silver coin only; the

* "The laws fall to the ground with the peace which they are no longer able to uphold." Burke.

† The Constitution of the United States, as Burke said of the British Magna Charta, "is a charter to restrain power, and to destroy monopoly."—Speech on Fox's East India Bill.

gold coins of France, Spain, Portugal and England, and all other gold coins of equal fineness, at eighty-nine cents for every penny-weight; the Mexican dollar at one hundred cents; the crown of France at one hundred and eleven cents; and all other silver coins of equal fineness, at one hundred and eleven cents per ounce. It is no argument to say that the notes of State banks or National banks of issue, as banks of issue are known in this country, are not a legal tender by the statute, and therefore not unconstitutional:* it is sufficient to say that bank issues expel the coin from the channels of circulation, so that there is no legal tender in fact, and by a law of necessity they, in the absence of coin, become a legal tender, because they are the only available instrumentality for discharging debts. They become the actual and practical currency of the community: people must take it or get nothing; and everybody must use it from necessity, whether compelled by law or not.

It was, then, with a very limited experience only on the part of the community, of the effects of banks of issue, that the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Alexander Hamilton, in December, 1790, presented to Congress his celebrated report, recommending the establishment of a Bank of the United States. The advocates of the measure, besides maintaining the expediency of it, as a means of stimulating the industry of the people and augmenting the national wealth, held it to be a most useful, and therefore so desirable an instrument for exercising the fiscal functions of the Government as to entitle it to be regarded, in the language of the Constitution, as "necessary and proper for carrying into execution" the powers vested in the Government by the Constitution. Its opponents denied both its expediency and its constitutionality. Most of them preferred a metallic currency to one composed of bank-notes; whilst the measure was by many regarded as unconstitutional,†

* "The same reasons which show the necessity of denying to the States the power of regulating coin, prove with equal force that they ought not to be at liberty to substitute a paper medium in the place of coin. * * * The power to make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts, *is withdrawn from the States, on the same principle with that of issuing a paper currency.*"—Madison, *Federalist*, pp. 350-51.

† *See* Jefferson's opinion against the constitutionality of a National Bank.—*Works*, Vol. VII, p. 555.

because, however convenient the proposed bank might be to the Government, in their opinion it could not, in the true meaning of the Constitution, be pronounced to be necessary and proper for carrying into execution other powers, of a primary nature, expressly conferred by that document. Nevertheless, the act of incorporation was passed, and among the provisions in the act was one making the notes of the Bank receivable in all payments to the United States, "and from that moment the moneyed character of the Federal Government stood changed and reversed. Federal bank-notes took the place of hard-money; and the whole edifice of the new government slid, at once, from the solid rock of gold and silver money on which its framers had placed it, into the troubled and tempestuous ocean of a paper currency." The Constitution was thus violated, the Statute of 1789 overthrown, and from that day until the present, the country has been plunged into an interminable currency debate, until, to use Mr. Jefferson's expression, it seems as though our very brains were made of lamp-black and rags.

It would appear surprising, considering the condition of England at that time, and of France, and of Europe generally with reference to paper-money, that Congress should have taken such a leap into the shoreless ocean of paper; but Hamilton, although a statesman, was also a politician. Mr. Jefferson had been absent in France, and had too recently returned to be of any service in resisting the measure.* Jefferson was a democrat; Hamilton was an aristocrat, and although, as Jefferson writes, "of an acute understanding, disinterested, honest and honorable in all private transactions, amiable in society and duly valuing virtue in private life, yet so bewitched and perverted by the British example, as to be under thorough conviction that corruption was essential to the government of a nation." The whole secret of this struggle

* "I told him"—writes Jefferson in 1792 of a conversation with the President (Washington)—"that a system had there been contrived for deluging the States with paper-money instead of gold and silver, for withdrawing our citizens from the pursuits of commerce, manufactures, buildings, and other branches of useful industry, * * * and which had introduced its poison into the government itself."—*Works*, Vol. IX, p. 104.

with reference to banks of issue, appears to be that it is simply a vulgar squabble on the part of so-called bankers to obtain the profit of circulation which is not essential to the legitimate and even large profits of banking, as the example of other countries shows, which profit belongs to the State, and should be used, if at all, for the benefit of the taxpayers; and on the part of the politicians it is a strife for power which they hope to secure by allying themselves with the so-called bankers. The Bank of the United States was a corrupt political machine from its birth throughout its whole career to its disgraceful end. We say "so-called bankers," because the business of issuing promissory notes to circulate as money is no part of the business of banking. The business of banking is to loan the credit and the circulating capital of the bank, and the circulating capital of its depositors, on the security of other circulating capital, or on the security of commercial paper which, if genuine, represents circulating capital. But the issue of promissory notes is a usurped and an unnatural function of banking, and it cannot be made secure, because the redemption of bank-notes, payable in coin on demand, cannot be secured except by a pledge of coin. Money is circulating capital, and the redemption of notes payable on demand cannot be secured by a pledge of fixed capital, or of bonds * which are not capital at all but simply debt. It might as well be attempted to secure the promise to deliver wheat on demand, by pledging a title-deed of land. But the essence of value in money is not either immediate or remote redemption; the real thing to be desired is an efficient check against excessive issues, and when a pledge of coin is required for every note issued there is no motive to excessive issue, because the interest gained on the paper issued is lost on the coin pledged. Profit is the object to be gained by the issuer, and with a pledge of coin required, the circulation cannot be increased without adding value to the circulation: in the

* Even suppose the system were not in other respects defective, yet, as Mill justly observes, "if the property cannot be claimed in exchange for the notes, it is difficult to divine in what manner its mere existence can serve to uphold their value." In a general suspension the banks do not give up the property to their note-holders.

absence of such a pledge, the circulation can be increased, and, as human experience shows, always is increased without adding value—*price* only is gained and depreciation is at once established. We are speaking of banks of issue as they are known in this country, and as the Bank of England was constituted before the Act of 1844.

It was justly objected to the United States Bank that seven millions of its capital stock was owned by foreigners, and thus foreigners were actually fleecing the people of the United States by drawing interest on their promissory notes in circulation as money. The same objection lies against the present national banks of issue, a considerable portion of whose stock is owned by foreigners and absentees, and a tax is thus levied on the American people for the benefit of those who contribute nothing whatever to the commonwealth, but who, like vampires, are sucking the blood of the community. A metallic circulation is a circulation of value on which the people pay no interest to anybody; but a circulation of paper is a circulation of no value on which the people pay interest to the issuers. The national bank circulation, therefore, is a tax on the people for the benefit of aliens and others, and the tax should be removed because it puts no money into the public treasury, besides entailing upon the country the evils and expense of bureaucracy.

The downfall of the United States Bank in 1834 separated the Federal Government from the business of banking, and the establishment of the Independent Treasury in 1840, finally, in the language of the day, divorced Bank and State. This last measure which revived, in effect, the statute of 1789 contemned by Hamilton, was vehemently opposed by the bank party in the Senate under the lead of Webster and Clay, and in the house by Caleb Cushing and others, but finally passed the former by a vote of twenty-four to eighteen, and the latter by a vote of one hundred and twenty-four to one hundred and seven. This measure was described as "the distinguishing glory of the twenty-sixth Congress, and the crowning mercy of Mr. Van Buren's Administration." Experience has amply vindicated its wisdom, importance and

value. One of its curious but scientific features is that when imports are excessive, the payment of coin for duties into the Treasury takes money out of circulation, or out of the reserves of the banks, and thus operates to contract the currency and check excessive importation—a sort of automatic brake on the wheels of commerce when going too fast. This salutary action was perfectly understood by the friends of the measure, and Mr. Webster, who seems to have acted as an attorney for the bank interest,* opposed the measure on this very ground. It would oblige the banks to contract their issues and thus curtail their profits. But upon principles of political philosophy, the measure is very desirable in itself, for it effects the divorce of Bank and State, which is as essential to the liberty and welfare of the people as the divorce of Church and State. Banks, properly so-called, are indispensable to a civilized commercial people, but when joined in a political alliance with the State, or when allowed to issue their promissory notes—unlimited in quantity and unsecured in value by an actual pledge of coin—to circulate as money, are, as the Colossus of American statesmen has declared them to be, "more dangerous than standing armies."

The example of Hamilton's licentious construction of the Constitution in establishing a national bank of issue was quickly followed. From the three banks that were in existence at that time, the number increased to eighty-eight on January 1st, 1811. The charter of the first United States Bank expired in that year, and was renewed in April, 1816, for twenty years. The bank commenced business on the 7th January, 1817, and immediately began a reckless career: it became a practice to lend to the stockholders, on their stock, to the extent of the par value, without any personal security. Meanwhile the war of 1812 broke out, when the number of banks increased rapidly, till in 1815 there were two hundred and eight; in 1816 two hundred and forty-six. During this period there were excessive issues of bank-notes made for the

* "To his own and his country's harm the advocate in him always spoke loud in the reasoning of the statesman."—Von Holst, *Const. History of U. S.* Vol. I, p. 495.

payment of loans to the Government; the banks all stopped specie payment,* and the result was that the revenues of the Government were paid in bank-notes all differing in specie value, thus violating the provision of the Constitution making taxes uniform throughout the country. The following table shows the progressive increase of banks of issue in the United States:

Year.	Number of banks.	Circulation millions.	Year.	Number of banks.	Circulation millions.
1811.....	89	28	1837.....	788	149
1815..... ..	208	45½	1847.....	715	105½
1816.....	246	68	1857.....	1,416	215
1820.....	308	45	1860.....	1,562	207
1830.....	330	61¼	1861.....	1,601	202

The disastrous panic and revulsion of 1837 is a well-known matter of history, of which we need not take particular notice; but we may mention that the circulation was, by the failure of banks and the contraction or destruction of bank paper, reduced to 116,000,000 in 1838; expanded again to 135,000,000 in 1839; reduced again to 107,000,000 in 1840; to 84,000,000 in 1842, and to 58,500,000 in 1843; then expanded again to 75,000,000 in 1844, and to 89,500,000 in 1845; to 105,000,000 in 1846; to 128,000,000 in 1848; reduced to 115,000,000 in 1849; expanded to 131,000,000 in 1850, and to 155,000,000 in 1851; then reduced to 146,000,000 in 1853; then expanded to 204,000,000 in 1854; then reduced to 187,000,000 in 1855; increased to 196,000,000 in 1856, and to 215,000,000 in 1857; then reduced to 155,000,000 in 1858; then increased to 193,000,000 in 1859, to 207,000,000 in 1860. These frequent alterations of the standard, while they were attended by the most injurious consequences to the people, indicate the repeated attempts on the part of the banks to crowd into circulation more paper than could flow in the channel of circulation and remain convertible; and it is obvious that under a metallic circulation no such violent alterations of the standard could have taken place. The currency was depreciated by reason of its excess, so that our manufacturing industry

* This is what caused the suspension of cash payment by the Bank of England in 1797—war loans to the Government paid, not in money, but in bank-notes.

was subjected to foreign competition, thus causing a loud clamor for protection,—not against the action of the banks who were the real cause of the trouble, but against the cheaper labor of Europe, whose products were forced into the market by the natural law of international trade.

We shall now attempt to examine the political consequences of this departure from the landmarks established by our fathers, and in doing this we shall endeavor to show that among those consequences was the civil war, which has resulted in sweeping away the republican commonwealth, and in giving place to a government of class interests—a sort of political devil-fish which is throwing out its tentacles in all directions, and arrogating to itself powers which "are reserved to the States respectively or to the people," which reservation is vitally essential to the maintenance of the republican system of government. *

Where there is no division of labor in a community, there cannot be a stable democracy; and, on the other hand, slavery cannot permanently exist where manufacturing industry is carried on to a considerable extent, and where the division of labor is consequently widely extended. "The division of labor," says Adam Smith, "is the first principle of a free civilized society." And he remarks that "commerce and manufactures gradually introduced order and good government, and with them the liberty and security of individuals, among the inhabitants of the country who had before lived almost in a continual state of war with their neighbors, and of servile dependency upon their superiors." And again: "It is the great multiplication of the productions of the different arts in consequence of the division of labor, which occasions in a well-governed society that universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people."

As slavery was already planted and had taken root in this country when we had achieved our independent national existence, its peaceful extirpation required the most careful

* It is to the well-founded jealousy of Federal encroachment on the part of the State of Massachusetts that we owe the restraint imposed by the tenth article of amendment to the Constitution.

observance of economic law; for "where slavery proper subsists, any improvement in the process which substitutes mechanical for human force becomes difficult, partly because its introduction would depreciate the value of the slave, partly because the slave is unfitted to use it. The general prevalence of slavery was probably the cause why the ancient world made so little progress in the mechanical arts."* That slavery in some form, that is to say, the subjection of many to the will of a few, is the natural condition of society in a well-populated and purely agricultural community, where there is no division of labor, and where, consequently, the chief or only social distinction arises from ownership of the soil, appears to be true.† Climate does not appear to exercise a controlling power on or over slavery—to destroy it on one hand, or to establish it on the other. The advance of civilization, that is to say, the extension of the division of labor, will inevitably destroy it. The advance of the mechanical arts, the introduction of steam, and the consequent increase of production resulting from the application of mechanical agencies to the productive force and power of a society, are incompatible with the existence of slavery.‡

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution of 1787, slavery existed in every State excepting Massachusetts and New Hampshire, it having been abolished in the former State by the Constitution of 1780. By the Federal Constitution of 1787, the slave-trade was forbidden after 1808, but the word *slave* nowhere appears in the instrument, and it is well known that slavery was looked upon with disfavor by some of the best and wisest statesmen of the South, and with strong dislike by the people of several of the States. "Can the liberties of a

* Professor J. E. Thorold Rogers.

† Chattel slavery may not exist, but predial slavery is inevitable; and that is the condition of the colored people of the South, as well as of the Irish tenantry, today.

‡ The present condition of Ireland is a case in point of this economic law. The absence of the division of labor, and absenteeism of landlords, have reduced the cultivators of the soil there to a condition compared with which slavery, as it existed in the Southern States, is more tolerable. Mr. John Bright, in a speech at Birmingham, January 20, 1880, distinctly recognizes the law. "In England," he said, "there were other industries to correct the evil of the feudal system."—*See* speech reported in *New York Herald*, February 9, 1880.

nation be thought secure," writes Mr. Jefferson, "when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? that they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation." The spirit of liberty was abroad in the land and the gradual and prospective abolition of slavery took place in the New England States,* New York and Pennsylvania, although it was not finally extinct in Connecticut till after 1840, as the census for that year in that State returned seventeen slaves. Indeed, Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont and Michigan were the only States that contained no slaves by the census of 1840. The following table is interesting and instructive as showing the relative proportion of white and colored slave and free population:

Census years.	White persons. Per cent.	Colored persons.			Total. Per cent.
		Free. Per cent.	Slave. Per cent.	Total. Per cent.	
1790, ...	80.73	1.51	17.76	19.27	100
1800, ...	81.13	2.04	16.83	18.87	100
1810, ...	80.97	2.57	16.46	19.03	100
1820, ...	81.57	2.47	15.96	18.43	100
1830, ...	81.90	2.48	15.62	18.10	100
1840, ...	83.17	2.26	14.57	16.83	100
1850, ...	84.31	1.87	13.82	15.69	100

* The nature of the industries of these States was incompatible with the existence of slavery.

Now, the information we gain from the above table is that since the Constitution was formed, the colored population has been in a continually declining ratio to the white population, owing, doubtless, to the extinction of the slave-trade, and to the immigration of whites, and partly, perhaps, to a greater fecundity of the white race. But the remarkable fact is that the proportion of free colored to slaves was in a continually increasing ratio down to 1830, when the progression changed and became a declining ratio of free colored to slaves. Now, the question which concerns us is, what arrested the advance of freedom among the colored population?

During the colonial dependence of the United States, the policy of England was directed to the repression of manufactures and to the encouragement of agriculture, especially in such branches as were necessary to England. In the speech from the throne on the nineteenth of October, 1721, it is observed that: "Our plantations in America naturally abound with most of the proper materials for this necessary and essential part of our trade and maritime strength; and if by due encouragement, we could be furnished from thence with naval stores, which we are now obliged to purchase and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence, and power of this nation, but by employing our own colonies in this useful and advantageous service, divert them from setting up and carrying on manufactures which directly interfere with those of Great Britain." In 1731, the House of Commons called upon the Board of Trade and Plantations to report "with respect to any laws made, manufactures set up, or trade carried on in the colonies, detrimental to the trade, navigation, and manufactures of Great Britain." The alarming discovery was made that hats were manufactured in the colonies in considerable quantities and had even been exported to foreign countries. A law was therefore passed, forbidding hats or felts to be exported from the colonies or even "to be loaded on a horse or cart or other carriage for transportation from one plantation to another." In 1750, a law was passed prohibiting "the erection or continuance of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling

iron, or any plating-forge, to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel, in the colonies, under penalty of two hundred pounds."

Notwithstanding these restraints and the restraints of the navigation laws, the commercial enterprise of the colonists achieved important advances. "Our fisheries were the wonder of Europe; our trade in lumber and naval stores important." The cultivation of tobacco became an important industry in the Southern States, and to encourage it England prohibited its cultivation in Great Britain. The colonies before and the States after the revolution, which had enjoyed the advantages of neutrality while the powers of Europe were at war, began to accumulate capital in such industries as had been allowed to flourish, and also in foreign trade; but the embargo of 1807, and the war with Great Britain that followed, caused the total interruption of foreign trade, thus setting at liberty an amount of capital which found employment in the development of manufacturing industry: "manufactures on a large scale, requiring great capital and skill, owed their existence to the total interruption of commerce." The division of labor thus became more extended, and when peace was declared, in 1815, it found the manufacturing industry firmly established with a very large amount of capital invested in it.*

It may be observed here that the division of labor is limited by the extent of the market, and by the quantity of circulating capital available for the employment of industry. The interruption of foreign commerce, therefore, occasioned by the war of 1812, released a large amount of capital, as has been already stated, and, at the same time, there was an abundance of natural agents, such as water-power, fuel, a virgin soil and navigable streams all ready to be harnessed to the work. No legislative protection was needed, although the existing laws were sufficient for the purpose, for the war was prohibitory of foreign trade. When peace was restored, in 1815, foreign commerce and the fisheries revived, ship-building became active, and the New England and Middle States began

* For a notice of the impulse given to manufactures by the embargo, see Jefferson's *Works*.

to compete successfully for a share of the foreign carrying trade, under which they rapidly gained opulence. To illustrate the nature and profitableness of this foreign carrying-trade, and at the same time to correct a prevailing economic error, we may repeat in his own language an incident related by Mr. Webster in a speech on the tariff in the House of Representatives in April, 1824: "Allow me, sir, to give an instance tending to show how unaccountably individuals deceive themselves, and imagine themselves to be somewhat mending their condition, while they ought to be persuaded that, by that infallible standard, the balance of trade, they are on the high road to ruin. Some years ago, in better times than the present,* a ship left one of the towns of New England with 70,000 specie dollars. She proceeded to Mocha on the Red Sea, and there laid out these dollars in coffee, drugs, spices, and other articles procured in that market. With this new cargo she proceeded to Europe; two-thirds of it were sold in Holland for $130,000, which the ship brought back and placed in the same bank from the vaults of which she had taken her original outfit. The other third was sent to the ports of the Mediterranean, and produced a return of $25,000 in specie, and $15,000 in Italian merchandise. These sums together make $170,000 imported, which is $100,000 more than was exported, and is therefore proof of an unfavorable balance of trade, to that amount in this adventure."

This interesting incident affords an insight into the nature of the commerce by the means of which the New England States were rapidly accumulating capital for the purpose of extending manufacturing industry. But, unfortunately, at this time the evils of an excessive and consequently depreciated currency began to be felt. Perhaps no better illustration can be given of the change that had taken place than the fact that the speech of Mr. Webster in 1824, from which we have just quoted, was a free-trade speech, while his second speech on the tariff in 1828 was for protection. The banks had begun

* It will have been noticed in the foregoing pages that the circulation was contracted between 1816 and 1820 from 168,000,000 to 45,000,000, which explains the depression to which Mr. Webster alluded.

their work of assault on the mechanical industry of the nation; the mechanical industry of the nation began to appeal to Congress, not to suppress the banks of issue, as it should have done, but to protect mechanical industry from the natural consequences of excessive bank issues by taxing the people. They who were the determined champions of bank-notes, were also the loud advocates of protection, and between the upper and nether millstones the people were being ground. This state of affairs was perfectly understood by southern statesmen. Mr. Webster, in some remarks on the general effects of protection, thus delineates the view of Mr. Calhoun: "His idea is, that, if some goods are manufactured at home, less will be imported; if less goods are imported, the amount of exports still keeping up, the whole export being not thus paid for by import, specie must be brought in to settle the balance; that this increase of specie gives new powers to the banks to discount; that the banks therefore make large issues, till the mass of currency becomes redundant and swollen; that this swollen currency augments the price [cost?] of articles of our own manufacture,* and makes it necessary to raise their prices still higher; and this creates a demand for the imposition of new duties." This, though a somewhat obscure statement of facts, clearly shows the accurate drift of Mr. Calhoun's mind. He saw that the object of protective duties was to raise the price of foreign manufactures; that when the price of foreign manufactures was raised, it removed foreign competition with home manufactures; that the price of home manufactures was then raised; that this advance of home manufactures enabled the banks to put out more circulation, the effect of which was to raise general prices and increase the cost of home manufactures; that then excessive imports began to flow into competition with home manufactures; that this necessitated still higher duties for protection of home manufactures, and so on *ad infinitum*, until the fever culminated in a paroxysm.

It should not be understood that the South was inimical to the doctrine of protection, so far as that doctrine was

* And consequently foreign imports begin to set in, and exports at the same time decline.

understood to mean simply the encouragement of home industry, and especially manufactures. It objected to the doctrine of protection when it became abused, and prostituted to the service of banks of issue.* The doctrine of protection was applied in the South itself at an early period for the purpose of domesticating the cotton-plant, and thereby obtaining the advantage of what is known in political economy as the territorial division of labor. In 1816 Mr. Calhoun was an outspoken and able advocate of encouragement to manufactures. Mr. Webster was on the opposite side of the question. In 1828 they had changed places, both from the same cause. Webster was the champion of the bank party, and, therefore, by necessity a protectionist, in order to save the mechanical industry of the New England States from supposed probable ruin. Mr. Calhoun objected to the abuse of the protective principle, because he was not willing to be taxed for the benefit of banks of issue. If the North wanted banks of issue, let it take the loss as well as the profit of banks of issue; let it reap what it had sown.

The encouragement of manufactures, the suppression of paper-money, and the enactment of navigation laws were distinctly among the especial objects of national concern at the foundation of the government, and are demanded by the highest considerations of public policy. The encouragement of manufactures and the maintenance of navigation laws are defended by Adam Smith: the former, as we have already seen, as the chief security for liberty, civil order, and good government; the latter for the reason that, "as defence, however, is of much more importance than opulence, the Act of navigation is, perhaps, the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England." Mr. Jefferson was unreservedly committed to the policy of encouraging manufactures after the embargo; and on the subject of navigation laws he declared

* "As to the tariff," wrote Mr. Jefferson, "I should say put down all banks (of issue), admit none but a *metallic circulation* that will take its proper level with the like circulation in other countries, and then our manufactures may work in fair competition with those of other countries, and the import duties which the Government may lay for the purposes of revenue, will so far place them above equal competition."—Jefferson's *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 180.

that it involved still higher considerations: "As a branch of industry, it is valuable; but as a resource of defence, essential. * * * The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their landboard, and nothing to desire beyond their present rights. But on their seaboard they are open to injury; and they have there, too, a commerce which must be protected. This can only be done by possessing a respectable body of citizen-seamen, and of artisans and establishments in readiness for ship-building."

We have said that in 1828 Mr. Webster and Mr. Calhoun changed places with reference to the tariff, and in that year the question became one of overshadowing importance to the nation; for the doctrine of nullification dates from the enactment of that tariff, and marks a disastrous epoch in American history, whose remote consequence was the conflict which shook the foundations and changed the superstructure of the Government. There was no excuse for this revision of the tariff. It was the work of bank politicians and the manufacturers together:* the banks wanted to put out more circulation for the profits of circulation; the manufacturers wanted higher prices for their goods as a consequence of increased bank circulation; the politicians wanted patronage and the power which patronage gave, and which was necessarily increased when taxation was increased.† In the course of the debate on this tariff, Mr. Rowan of Kentucky said: "He was not opposed to the tariff as a system of revenue, honestly devoted to the objects and purposes of revenue—on the contrary he was friendly to a tariff of that character; but when perverted by the ambition of political aspirants, and the secret influence of inordinate cupidity, to purposes of individual and sectional ascendancy, he could not be seduced by the captivation of names or terms, however attractive, to lend it his individual support. It is in vain, Mr. President, that it is called the American system—names do not alter things. There is but one American system, and that is delineated in

* Benton.

† With curious but unintentional irony, this system of banks of issue and high tariff was called the "American system."

the State and Federal Constitutions. It is the system of equal rights and privileges secured by the representative principle—a system which, instead of subjecting the proceeds of the labor of some to taxation, in the view to enrich others, secures to all the proceeds of their labor, exempts all from taxation, except for the support of the protecting power of the Government. As a tax necessary to the support of the Government, he would support it—call it by what name you please—as a tax for any other purpose, and especially for the purposes to which he had alluded, it had his individual reprobation, under whatever name it might assume."

We have said there was no excuse for this tariff; it was not necessary to the support of the Government; but the real cause of its being brought forward was the fact that the banks were increasing their issues as we have shown, thus depreciating the currency. And in order to create the necessity for more revenue, the doctrine of "internal improvements," so-called, was urged at this time with zeal, in order to justify increased taxation. The power to spend money in the prosecution of internal improvements was inferred from the power "to regulate commerce" granted by the Constitution. The power to build light-houses, breakwaters at the entrance of the coast harbors, and so on, to insure the safety of navigation, was generally admitted and acted upon; but beyond that the constitutionality of the doctrine of internal improvements was denied by Presidents Jackson and Polk. Had Congress authority under the general power to regulate commerce to build a harbor at Buffalo, for example, where nature had not formed one, at the public expense for local benefit; or should such an improvement for local benefit be made at local expense? If Congress was justified in building an artificial harbor at Buffalo, might it not also have built the Erie Canal? Here was manifestly a case requiring a strict construction of the Constitution. It became a difficult and a nice question to know what Congress might not do. "Under the power to regulate commerce," said Mr. Jefferson, "they assume indefinitely that also over agriculture and manufactures, and call it regulation to take the earnings of one of these branches of

industry, and that, too, the most depressed, and put them into the pockets of the other, the most flourishing of all. Under the authority to establish post-roads,* they claim that of cutting down mountains for the construction of roads, of digging canals, and aided by a little sophistry on the words 'general welfare,' a right to do, not only the acts to effect that, which are specifically enumerated and permitted, but whatsoever they shall think or pretend will be for the general welfare."†

Meanwhile, the banks continued to increase their issues,‡ and the manufacturers and the politicians to clamor for more protection. Let it be still borne in mind that the real enemy of the manufacturers was the banks; but their supposed or pretended enemy, against which they wanted protection, was unequal foreign competition. Accordingly, in the year 1832, during the administration of General Jackson, the tariff question was brought forward again, and with it the question of the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank,

"——that fatal and perfidious bark
Built in th' eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark."

We may again observe that there was not only no necessity for an increased revenue, but, in view of the extinction of the public debt, then very near at hand and reduced to a certainty within the ensuing year, President Jackson recommended the abolition of duties on numerous articles of necessity or comfort not produced at home. Of course, the United States Bank, which was a powerful political machine at that time, did not want a reduction of revenue, because it received the public moneys on deposit and profited thereby, and it needed the profit of the public deposits to assist it in paying "enormous bounties which it was conceded had been paid by its late managers to trading politicians and mercenary publishers for corrupt services, rendered to it during its charter-seeking and

* The suspension-bridge across the East River connecting New York with Brooklyn is an example of the abuse of constitutional power to establish post-roads.

† It should not be understood that Mr. Jefferson was opposed to internal improvements. His view was that surplus revenue should be redistributed among the States according to their representation, and the States could expend this surplus for internal improvements as they saw fit.— *Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 41.

‡ In 1834, the bank circulation had increased to $94,839,570; in 1835 to $103,692,495; in 1836 to $140,301,038.

electioneering campaigns." Nor did the manufacturers want a reduction of taxation, because taxation of foreign manufactures enabled them to establish monopoly-prices for their own, and thus to protect themselves, as they thought, from the excessive issues of the banks, and to pay their lobby agents, and prosper at the expense of the taxpayers, and of the South. The debate was warm and exciting. General Smith, of Maryland, said: "I am, Mr. President, one of the few survivors of those who fought in the war of the Revolution. We then thought we fought for liberty, for equal rights. We fought against taxation, the proceeds of which were for the benefit of others." On the opposite side the debate was quite as warm and quite as serious. Mr. Clay said: "The danger to our Union does not lie on the side of persistence in the American system,* but on that of its abandonment. * * * But let that be checked, let them feel that a foreign system is to predominate, and the sources of their comfort and subsistence dried up; let New England and the West, and the Middle States, all feel that they too are the victims of a mistaken policy, and let these vast portions of our country despair of any favorable change, and then, indeed, we might tremble for the continuance and safety of this Union."

Here, then, was the dilemma sharply presented. If the American system, with unlimited bank issues and consequential heavy taxation far beyond the revenue requirements of the Government in order to establish monopoly-prices for manufacturers, were not sustained, the safety of the Union would be endangered. On the other hand, if unconstitutional banks of issue were to create a swollen and redundant currency, and "the accursed policy of the tariff" were to be adhered to, then the South would revolt at the tyrannny upon the principle which animated our revolutionary fathers in the conflict with Great Britain,—that resistance to tyrants is obedience to

* The so-called American system was a veritable two-edged sword against the South. It obliged her to sell her entire cotton crop at prices fixed in Liverpool, and at the same time obliged her to buy all her commodities for consumption at high prices fixed by banks of issue and indirect taxation through the tariff. And the South knew this; she clearly perceived the violation of political economy as well as of the Constitution.

God. It was a case where the eloquent language of Burke became applicable: "Be content to bind America by the laws of trade: you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burden them by taxes: you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of States and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools, for there only may they be discussed with safety. But if intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government, by urging subtle deductions and consequences to those you govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty, you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question. When you drive him hard the boar will surely turn upon the hunters. If that sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take? They will cast your sovereignty in your face. Nobody will be argued into slavery." Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, during the debate spoke in a supplicating tone: "I call upon gentlemen on all sides of the House to meet us in the true spirit of conciliation and concession. Remove, I earnestly beseech you, from among us this never failing source of contention. Dry up at its source this fountain of the waters of bitterness. Restore that harmony which has been disturbed—that mutual affection and confidence which has been impaired. And it is in your power to do it this day; but there is but one means under heaven by which it can—by doing equal justice to all. And be assured that he to whom the country shall be indebted for this blessing, will be considered as the second founder of the Republic. He will be regarded in all after-times, as the ministering angel visiting the troubled waters of our political dissensions, and restoring to the element its healing virtues."

This appeal for forbearance and these words of loyalty to the Union produced no effect on the majority, and the session ended without any sensible amelioration of the system, beyond the reduction of the duty on a few articles of comfort and necessity as recommended by President Jackson. But General Jackson vetoed the bill rechartering the United States Bank,

and the election which followed in the same year resulted in his reëlection as President with Martin Van Buren as Vice-President. But South Carolina had given up all hope of obtaining justice, held aloof from the contest, did nothing to assist the reëlection of General Jackson, and in two weeks after the election which, it was then thought by some, had decided the fate of the American system, issued her ordinance of nullification. A compromise tariff bill was subsequently passed with the object of satisfying South Carolina, but it was strongly opposed by the Northern members of the House. Mr. John Davis, of Massachusetts, objected because, as he said, "I do object to a compromise which destines the East for the altar." It was an abandonment of the American system, and therefore intolerable. It will thus be seen that the dilemma was not removed. A second compromise tariff bill was passed in the early part of 1833, but without any decisive or satisfactory results. The real trouble was caused by the banks of issue that were then rapidly increasing, as we have shown, and, had they been suppressed, there would have been no altar upon which to sacrifice the East or the South or the Union. General Jackson promptly met, and with the aid of the Force Bill, crushed nullification which, constitutionally speaking, was absurd. It was the inalienable right of revolution which South Carolina attempted to exercise.*

We have seen that down to this time there had been a progressively diminishing ratio of slave to free colored and white population; and it may be observed that, as late as 1832, the gradual abolition of slavery in Virginia was discussed with great freedom on a measure for that purpose being introduced by Mr. Jefferson Randolph, in the House of Delegates, which came within a few votes of being passed. Moreover, down to this time the question of slavery had been no element of the political unrest which had disturbed the country and finally broke out in the revolutionary action of South Carolina. The question of slavery had, indeed, been the subject of legislation,

* "The forcible resistance of the States to the general Government might be as justifiable as the forcible resistance of the Colonies to England; but, in law, it would be in this case as in that, a revolution and not a mode of procedure under the Constitution."—Von Holst, *Const. Hist. U. S.*, Vol. I, chap. iv.

and it had engaged the attention of moralists, as well as of the thoughtful statesmen of the slave States. But the sole cause of the economic disturbance which produced the political revolt of South Carolina was the action of banks of issue in extending their loans and discounts, and consequently their deposits, and ultimately their issues of promissory notes to circulate as money; these notes pretending to be convertible into coin on demand, which convertibility was secured (?) by somebody's promise to pay "dollars" (not necessarily coin) to somebody (not the holder of the bank-note), at some indefinite time, at some remote place in a remote future. In short, the country was flooded with bank-notes that were in fact irredeemable by reason of their excess, so that the currency was depreciated. Consequently, the exchange turned against this country, and foreign manufactures flowed into the country in obedience to the natural law of international trade: statute law was then opposed to the natural law, and heavy duties were laid with the futile design of counteracting the law of international trade, which duties caused prices of domestic manufactures to rise still higher, which rise was maintained by increased bank issues; whereupon manufactures flowed in faster than ever. So that the only commodities that we could offer in exchange at acceptable prices to foreign markets were the products of the soil, of the fisheries, of the forest and mines, and, occasionally, when the London market needed money, coin also; which produced suspension of specie payments, that is to say, an open avowal of what had all along existed—inability of the banks to pay their notes in coin, while the "cats and dogs" pledged to secure redemption were equally inconvertible into coin except at a sacrifice to which the banks would not submit: they preferred to sacrifice their customers, and always did so, by curtailing their loans and discounts.

We have said that the division of labor is limited (1) by the extent of the market; (2) by the amount of circulating capital available for the employment of mechanical industry. It therefore follows that the condition of the currency as we have shown it to be, was such that high prices of manufactures

generally prevailed, and manufactured commodities continued to flow in, and to cease almost entirely to flow out, thus limiting the extent of the market for our own manufactures, and consequently limiting the division of labor on this account. It also follows that, the production of manufactures being discouraged by a swollen and redundant currency, circulating capital that otherwise would have been invested in that direction was devoted to agriculture, shipping and other pursuits in order to increase the production of such commodities as could be exported, or it was converted into unnecessary forms of fixed capital,* or sunk in disastrous land speculations like the great eastern land speculation in 1837, which ruined many shrewd merchants; or like the speculation in western lands belonging to the public domain, the sales of which ran up to five millions a month, creating an excess of public revenue in the Treasury which was apportioned and partly distributed among the States, and to prevent these enormous sales the celebrated specie circular issued by President Jackson was sent out forbidding further sales of public lands for anything but hard-money.† So the division of labor was also limited on this account, and the progress of manufacturing industry retarded, and the otherwise rapid advance of freedom and civilization arrested.

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* All increase of fixed capital at the expense of circulating capital—that is to say, excessive and rapid conversion of circulating into fixed capital, is always disastrous for the time being, but not likely to occur under healthy, economic conditions. — *See* J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Book I, chap. vi.

† The great demand for public lands arose from several causes. First, the price of public lands was fixed by law at $1.25 per acre; consequently, while the price of commodities rose, the price of land could not rise, and capital was diverted to investment in land. Secondly, the price of cotton rose higher relatively than other commodities, because it was not subjected to foreign competition like other commodities, and consequently its production was most profitable; it rose from six to ten cents per pound; between 1833 and 1834 it was over eleven cents; in 1835 the lowest price was fourteen and the highest price twenty cents; during 1836 it fluctuated between twelve and twenty cents; in 1837, during the panic, it fell to eleven and fifteen, and eight and twelve cents. This great rise in the price of cotton, while it could not be affected by competition, created a great demand for cotton lands in the new slave States, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee, whose slave population increased during the decade 1830-1840 more than eighty per cent., while the slave population of the old slave States, Delaware, Maryland and District of Columbia, increased during the same time less than six per cent.

There was an extraordinary demand created by the same cause at the same time for the products of slave labor for export, such as cotton, tobacco, naval stores and rice, and consequently great inducements for the extension of slavery, and great facilities for borrowing money (the excess of which could find no other profitable employment) at the North and in foreign countries by the southern planters on the security of their crops and even on the slaves themselves, for the purchase of slaves,* which encouraged slave-breeding: all these influences in obedience to natural law *forced* the extension of slavery, and destroyed all community of interest and feeling between the North and the South, notwithstanding every other influence in the opposite direction. Three-fourths of the produce of the South being exported, foreigners were the best customers of the South.

At the same time, South Carolina, baffled in her revolutionary designs by the suppression of nullification, saw that it was necessary for the South to acquire more political power in order to extort that justice which was her political right, or to effect political separation, peaceably if she could, forcibly if she must. Consequently, there followed the admission of Arkansas as a slave State, the war with Mexico and the annexation of Texas as a slave State,† the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the struggle over Kansas and California. Thus, and only thus, was the institution of slavery

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More than $50,000,000 were borrowed in London by the new slave States on the security of State stocks to be used for bank capital, and loaned to planters and others. The security for these loans was the land of the plantations and also the slaves with their unborn posterity. Capital also came from the free States for this purpose. "How was it possible not to call cotton 'king,' and to fall into the delusion that the limits of his kingdom could not be too wide?" The cotton crop rose between 1833 and 1837, from 1,070,438 bales to 1,422,968 bales, and the entire increase came from the new slave States.—*See* Von Holst, *Constitutional Hist. U. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 179-189.

* The money obtained from the sale of bonds, most of which bore six per cent. interest, was employed in the establishment of banks which loaned it to planters chiefly at eight per cent. Not only the plantations, but even the slaves and their posterity served as security for such loans—the plantations in Florida, for instance, at the rate of eight dollars an acre, and the slaves at three hundred and fifty dollars each.—*Constitutional Hist. U. S.*—Von Holst, Vol. II, p. 184.

† Had the United States not annexed Texas, it would have become a dependency of Great Britain. British diplomacy was at work to accomplish that purpose.—*See* Von Holst, Vol. II, p. 637.

changed from its proper treatment as an economic question to be improperly judged as a moral and political question,* and became the firebrand which finally lighted the flames of civil war.

It is very important to the philosophy of this discussion to observe that down to 1830 the abolitionists, as a sect, were unknown; that down to this period, also, free colored persons, otherwise qualified, were allowed to vote in some of the slave States. The South was alarmed at the danger of slavery. Governor Hayne, of South Carolina, in his message to the legislature in 1833, observed that "a state of military preparation must always be with us a state of perfect domestic security. A profound peace, and consequent apathy, may expose us to the danger of domestic insurrection." A member of the Virginia Legislature exclaimed: "Life becomes a burden if men are forced to lock their doors at night, and open them in the morning to receive their servants to light their fires, with pistols in their hands." And again: "Tax our lands, vilify our country, carry the sword of extermination through our now defenceless villages, but spare us, I implore you, spare us the curse of slavery, that bitterest drop from the chalice of the destroying angel." Marshall, touching the real and essential evil of slavery, said, that for the slave's sake the abolition of slavery was not at all desirable; "but it is ruinous to the whites; retards improvement, roots out an industrious population, banishes the yeomanry of the country, deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support. † This evil admits of no remedy, it is increasing and will continue to increase, until the whole State will be inundated with one black wave covering her whole extent, with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface."‡

It is not too much to say that, at this critical juncture in

* Montesquieu lays down the rule of conduct in dealing with great public questions by saying: "We must not judge by moral law when we should judge by civil law; we must not judge by civil law when we should judge by political law; and we must not judge by political law when we should judge by natural law."

† That is to say, it destroyed the division of labor.

‡ Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, Vol. I, p. 201.

our national life, had there been a return to those fundamental principles of the Constitution which characterize that instrument as a most careful embodiment of precepts drawn from the experimental philosophy of political science,* had the destruction of banks of issue been effected, and had a scheme of taxation been devised measurably equal in its incidence, protective of manufactures and therefore scientific in theory as well as democratic in its effect, and consequently productive of revenue to the public treasury, the community of interest between the North and South would have been established, a community of feeling—"the unsuspecting confidence which is the true centre of gravity amongst mankind"—would have followed, and, probably within a few years, the border States, including North Carolina, would have become actual or prospective free States, and the advance of civilization and freedom would have gone on without bloodshed But, unfortunately, a new and a fatal element appeared.

The abolitionists commenced their political action in 1835. They were divided into four classes, the most extreme of which was composed of men who repudiated their political obligations,† and who were determined to " wage an unrelenting

* "The science of constructing a commonwealth, or renovating it, or reforming it, is, like every other experimental science, not to be taught *a priori*. Nor is it a short experience that can instruct us in that practical science; because the real effects of moral causes are not always immediate, but that which in the first instance is prejudicial may be excellent in its remoter operation, and its excellence may arise even from the ill effects it produces in the beginning. The reverse also happens; and very plausible schemes, with very pleasing commencements, have often shameful and lamentable conclusions. In States there are often some obscure and almost latent causes, things which appear at first view of little moment, on which a very great part of its prosperity or adversity may most essentially depend. The science of government being, therefore, so practical in itself, and intended for such practical purposes, a matter which requires experience, and even more experience than any person can gain in his whole life, however sagacious and observing he may be, it is with infinite caution that any man ought to venture upon pulling down an edifice which has answered in any tolerable degree for ages the common purposes of society, or on building it up again without having models and patterns of approved utility before his eyes."—Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

† In May, 1844, the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its yearly meeting, proclaimed the principle, " No community with slave-holders," and rejected the Constitution as "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." In August, 1843, the liberty party had held a National Convention in Buffalo, in which all the free States, with the exception of New Hampshire, were represented. In the Committee on Resolutions, the clergyman, John Pierpont, of Massachusetts, moved that they should formally absolve themselves from

war, asking no quarter and giving none," in order to effect the *immediate* emancipation of the slaves. Unable to perceive that it was from the breach and not the observance of the Constitution whence slavery drew its sustenance and growth, they denounced the Constitution itself as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell;" they wanted "no Union with slave-holders;"* they circulated through the mails inflammatory appeals to the passions of the slaves, in prints and in various sorts of publications calculated to excite them to insurrection and murder.† Societies, individuals and foreigners were engaged in this work, which was injurious to the slaves because it subjected them to restraints that otherwise were unnecessary. Ministers of the Gospel dragged the pulpit down to a level with the hustings and became busily engaged in kindling the fires of hate in the human heart;‡ the poets found a profitable theme for versification, the politicians a stalking-horse to power.§ The South, already stung

obedience to the provision of the Constitution in relation to the surrender of fugitive slaves, and the Convention adopted it without a discussion (Von Holst, Vol. II, pp. 537, 538). The language of the resolution was as follows: "To regard and treat the third clause of the Constitution, whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly null and void; and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon or sworn to support it." And yet, Abraham Lincoln, in his inaugural address, affirmed the constitutionality of the fugitive-slave law, acknowledged his obligation, and avowed his determination, to enforce it.

* In February, 1842, J. Q. Adams presented a petition in the House of Representatives from citizens of Haverhill, Massachusetts, requesting Congress to take, without delay, steps towards a peaceable dissolution of the Union. In March, 1842, Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, presented a petition from Austinburg, Ohio, praying for a dissolution of the Union.

† *See* President Jackson's Annual Message, December 2, 1835, calling the attention of Congress to those attempts to produce all the horrors of a servile war.

‡ "No sound ought to be heard in the church but the healing voice of Christian charity. The cause of civil liberty and civil government gains as little as that of religion by this confusion of duties. Those who quit their proper character to assume what does not belong to them are, for the greater part, ignorant both of the character they leave and of the character they assume. Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the passions they excite. Surely the church is a place where one day's truce ought to be allowed to the dissensions and animosities of mankind."—Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

§ Is there not some truth in what Mr. Calhoun said: "Be assured that emancipation itself would not satisfy these fanatics—that gained, the next step would be to raise the negroes to a social and political equality with the whites;

by a sense of injustice and tyranny, and keenly sensible of the inflammable nature of her social structure, was goaded to desperation. She maintained the political warfare within the Union, and, exasperated by the abolitionist's crusade, returned hate for hate, during all of which time the institution of slavery was taking deeper root and acquiring greater political strength. But the North was outstripping it in the race for power. Finally, the election of 1860, turning almost entirely on the slavery question, excluded from the South the possibility of living in peace with the North. Separation was resolved upon under the name of secession, which, like nullification, was and is constitutionally absurd; and, moreover, it possessed not the attraction of novelty, for it had been threatened in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1811,* and at the Hartford Convention a little later.† It would have been more respectable for the South to have rested her case upon the inalienable right of revolution; and, if the written Constitution were to be violated, as it unquestionably was, to have stood upon the terms of the Original Contract which is not written on parchment, nor yet on the leaves or barks of trees, which preceded the use of writing and all the civilized arts of life,—which affirms that government rests on the consent of the governed and can have no other foundation; that all men are born equal, and owe allegiance to no prince or government unless bound by the sanction of a promise; that this promise is always understood to be conditional and imposes on them no obligation unless they meet wtih justice and protection from the sovereign; that these advantages the sovereign promises in return, and if the sovereign breaks, on his part, the articles of agreement, the subject is absolved from his allegiance.‡ But the South was debarred from this plea, for she was aiming to set up a new government founded on the denial

and that being effected, we would soon find the present condition of the two races reversed. They and their northern allies would be the masters and we their slaves."—Calhoun, *Works*, Vol. II, p. 635; quoted by Von Holst, Vol. II, p. 271.

* On account of the purchase of Louisiana by Mr. Jefferson.

† On account of the embargo and war with Great Britain of 1812.

‡ Hume's Essay on *The Original Contract.*

of liberty, on the affirmation of principles directly opposed to the Original Contract. Slavery was to be the basis of the new social system. The stone which the builders of the Constitution rejected was to become the head of the corner † in the New Jerusalem. The South went into a hopeless struggle; for while slavery was, from the economic point of view, immensely stupid, and as obsolete in the conditions of modern civilization as the mail-coach, it had merited the reprobation of mankind and the displeasure of God. The odds, therefore, were tremendous, and to face them it required a degree of courage which, in a less detestable cause, would have commanded admiration and deserved success.

The result proved the soundness of Mr. Jefferson's belief that this is the strongest government on earth. It also emphasized Mr. Webster's prophetic warning: "Overthrown by direct assault, it cannot be: evaded, undermined, nullified, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us here, as agents and representatives of the people, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great branches of our public trust, faithfully to preserve, and wisely to administer it." This prophetic warning of Mr. Webster is full of meaning to us now, for the political edifice that withstood the direct assault of its avowed enemies, is yielding to the insidious encroachments of its professed friends.

GEORGE A. POTTER.

APPENDIX.

For the purpose of showing the nature of our foreign commerce, we give the analysis of the business for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1860, which was not an exceptional year.

Declared value of total imports, including specie.....	$370,714,076
Declared value of total exports, including specie.....	400,122,296
Apparent excess of exports.....	$29,408,220

† Speech of Alexander H. Stephens at Savannah, March 21, 1860.

It is supposed that the undervaluation of imports equalled this apparent excess of exports, thus balancing the figures and showing neither profit nor loss on the year's business, so far as figures are an indication. It should be observed, however, that when a nation is doing a profitable foreign trade the real value of imports, *if they are paid for*, must exceed the real value of exports, if there is no foreign debt or interest account to be settled.

The imports consisted of—		
General merchandise		$182,205,571
Manufactures		179,958,370
The imported manufactures consisted of—		
Cotton textiles	$32,559,024	
Flax and linen textiles	10,736,335	
Silk textiles	54,301,796	
Woollen textiles	37,936,945	
Laces, embroideries, etc.	4,017,675	
		$119,551,775

The remainder of the manufactures imported consisted of various articles manufactured of hemp, iron, steel, leather, jewelry, plated ware, tin, porcelain and china-ware, wines and spirits, etc., etc., the whole quantity of which was unproductively consumed.

Of the imports productively consumed we may mention sugar, tea, coffee, molasses, spices, fish, fruits and dried fruits, salt, and all forms of food; also raw materials, such as wool, flax, hemp, jute and coir, copper, iron, lead and other metals, indigo, madder and other dye-stuffs, chemicals and drugs, linseed, hides and skins, rags, coal, bleaching-powders, etc., etc. The whole imports being classified as—

Productively consumed	$182,205,571
Unproductively consumed	179,958,370
Exports consisted of—	
Manufactures of cotton goods	$10,984,796
Manufactures of hemp and flax	1,243
Manufactures of bags, etc.	2,657
Manufactures of wearing-apparel	525,175
Other manufactures, wood, iron, tobacco, etc.	28,315,295
Total manufactures exported	$39,779,166
Exports, exclusive of manufactures, were—	
Products of the sea	$4,156,480
Products of the forest	13,738,559
Produce of agriculture	49,475,821
Raw produce	1,355,391
Unmanufactured tobacco	15,906,547
Cotton	191,806,555
	$276,439,353
Net excess of coin and bullion over imports.	$57,996,104
Foreign merchandise reëxported	$17,333,624
Carried forward	$119,551,775

Brought forward.....	$119,551,775

Adam Smith remarks: "There is another balance, indeed, which has already been explained, very different from the balance of trade, and which, according as it happens to be either favorable or unfavorable, necessarily occasions the prosperity or decay of every nation. This is the balance of the annual produce and consumption. * * * The balance of produce and consumption may be constantly in favor of a nation, though what is called the balance of trade be generally against it."* Applying, therefore, this criterion to our foreign business for the year, we find the—

Value of foreign manufactures unproductively consumed in the United States.....	$179,958,370
Value of American manufactures unproductively consumed abroad,	39,779,166
Balance of consumption against the United States in manufactures,	$140,179,204
Value of foreign merchandise productively consumed in the United States.....	$182,205,571
Value of American merchandise productively consumed abroad..	276,489,358
Balance of consumption against the United States in raw materials, food, etc.....	$94,283,782
Total balance of consumption against the United States.....	$234,412,986

Here, then, is the result of seventy years of protective legislation for the purpose of excluding foreign manufactures and encouraging home manufactures: the latter half of this period were years of bitter sectional strife culminating in civil war. Here is the result of the system which, with exquisite irony, was called *The American System*. This is the system, the imposition of which upon a protesting people produced the most stupendous civil war in modern times, and finally released four millions of colored people from one form of bondage and joined them with forty millions of white people in subjection to another and a more ingenious and wicked system, with a different set of masters, in whose breasts no sentiment of public justice or public morality seems to dwell.

There is no question but that a metallic currency without any protective legislation whatever would have produced better results. There is no question but that a metallic currency, absolute free-trade in the most radical sense of the term, and direct taxation for revenue—the slave-holding States, in conformity with the Constitution, paying direct taxes according to representation in Congress based on three-fifths of the slaves together with the whole of the free population †—would have extinguished slavery before the seventh decade of the century had dawned, and left our manufactures and our foreign trade in a better condition than they really were. Is it said that home manufactures have grown to a vast extent? The answer is that they have grown notwithstanding bad government. An abundance of free natural agents, cheap food, the inexhaustible bounty of a beneficent Creator in every conceivable form, with an ocean barrier in front of us and behind us, with no public debt of consequence, with inex-

* *Wealth of Nations*. Book IV, chap. iii.

† Constitution, Art. I, section 2, clause 8.

pensive civil and military establishments—these were advantages which even banks of issue and politicians combined could not wholly overcome. The sheer force of matter had overcome the ignorance and cupidity of man. It should be borne in mind that indirect taxes are taxes on consumption, and, since there can be no production without antecedent consumption, enhance the present cost of production when applied to articles productively consumed; but direct taxes are taxes on income, and, while injurious, do not enhance the present cost of production. It is quite true that manufacturing industry cannot be extended faster than the requisite increase of circulating capital will allow, but it is equally true that the circulating capital which had been sunk in land speculations and in promoting the system of slavery, could and would have been used for the extension of manufactures had not banks of issue prevented, by flooding the country with paper, thus raising prices and enhancing the money cost of production. And it is consequently true that but for banks of issue, circulating capital would have increased much more rapidly than it did. It has been observed by Hume, that "when any commodity is denominated the staple of a kingdom, it is supposed that this kingdom has some peculiar and natural advantages for raising the commodity; and if, notwithstanding these advantages, they lose such a manufacture, they ought to blame their own idleness, or bad government, not the industry of their neighbors." If, therefore, the United States is not the chief cotton-manufacturing nation of the world today, it is because of bad government. We have not only exported three-fourths of the staple commodity in its raw state, but, as we have shown, imported nearly thirty-three million dollars' worth of cotton manufactures in one year—not an exceptional year (1860).

That indirect taxation under the name of protection, in the presence of a swollen and redundant circulation, not only does not protect, but actually injures manufactures, is shown to be true by the course of our foreign trade since the civil war closed; for, under a tariff which may be considered a curiosity of proscription, we have incurred a foreign debt of vast proportions, which is increasing at irregular intervals, on account of manufactured goods unproductively consumed and not paid for.

GEORGE A. POTTER.

Art. III.—The Poverty of the People.

The poverty of the people, not only in the acute but in the chronic form also of the disease, is a very great evil, in such sense that it ought to be made a prominent and emphatic part of policy, both social and individual, fully to avail of the legitimate, practicable and efficient means tending to its cure or progressive diminution.

Whatever may be the case after death, it is certain that in this life man is intimately and inevitably dependent upon the physical environment for conditions and materials essential to existence. And so far from this dependence obtaining only in respect of the purely physical functions, the truth is that it increases in extent and complexity just in proportion as, by the progress of civilization, human life becomes farther and farther removed from the merely animal. As to both the variety and the amount of the tribute levied upon nature, the civilized man far exceeds both the savage and the barbarian. And, furthermore, *pari passu* with the development of his capacity for more varied, higher and longer enjoyments, there grows up a feeling of absolute need of them, in such wise that for him it becomes oftentimes even a greater hardship to refrain from one of these acquired functions than for a savage to be without sufficient food or shelter. In a certain sense, we may say here that *noblesse oblige.*

But the more elaborate necessities which civilization introduces, civilization does itself, within limits, enable man to satisfy; indeed, we may perhaps safely say that it is only by being first experienced as satisfactions that they ever come to be felt as necessities. We shall see hereafter, it is true, that it is only in speaking broadly that we can truly affirm that

civilization enables man to obtain from nature the conditions and materials essential to the complex existence which civilization teaches him to require. There are limitations, some of which may be hinted at by saying that the proposition is truer of man (in the abstract) than it would be of *men*, considered severally. And it may even be that the whole truth of the case is contained in the narrower proposition, that in so far as men are enabled at all to obtain the conditions in question, in something like the desirable degree, it is from civilization that they derive the ability.

However this may be—for this is not the place to discuss the point—the important fact remains that, none the less for such progress as he achieves, but rather the more in proportion thereto, man has needs which it is highly desirable that he should satisfy, and the satisfaction of which involves the more or less permanent and exclusive appropriation, for the purpose, of given portions of the material universe, more or less consciously or artificially altered, or transported, to that end. "Cast a look on the natural and artificial productions of all the regions of the earth; consider how they have become, one here, another there, articles of necessity for man." (Werner, in *Wilhelm Meister*.)

Of the simple materials, in the state and position in which nature yields them, the scope or sphere is comparatively restricted, as respects the satisfaction of human wants,—with a single but important exception in the case of *land* (which here includes woods, waters, caves, and so forth) in so far as the land is available even independent of artificial alterations thereof or additions thereto. Even as to land (in its present sense), it is still the fact that only while men remain in a very primitive condition can their wants be adequately provided for without the aid of human labor having for its aim the procurement, in the situation, shape and condition in which they will be useful, of the various portions of matter required.

At first, while wants continue still to be comparatively few and simple, it is possible, as a rule, for each man, under ordinary circumstances, to do for himself all that is necessary in respect both of modification and transportation. Gradually,

however, as wants increase in number, variety and complexity, it becomes practically impossible for each one to acquire all the arts and do all the work and the journeying involved in the direct procurement of the quantity and variety of useful objects essential to his adequate existence and progress. In proportion as this occurs, there emerges "the one characteristic peculiarity of the economical life of man," *i. e.*, the *division of labor*. "Particular goods, needed by the whole community, are made by special makers, and they are distributed to those who require them for use, that is, to consumers, by the makers obtaining from each other what they want for their own needs. The baker makes bread for the town, and he gets from the hatter, the grocer, the tailor, the supply of his wants." The power of buying consists "in goods to give in exchange; with the exception of a relatively small amount of articles previously made, in commodities produced for the very purpose of being exchanged with one another." "The means with which every man buys are (with the exception already named) his *income*, and incomes, be they rent, profits, wages or dividends, are nothing else but the share each man obtains of the commodities produced." (*Bonamy Price.*) Each one's power to buy, accordingly—or, in other words, his wealth—consists of such portion of his income (of the given, or of previous, years) as at the given time he still has by him, *unspent*. This is of course dependent, as to amount, upon the amount by which his total income has exceeded his total expenditure, and will vary whenever income and expenditure are unequally diminished or increased. These two determinants are very different for different classes and individuals. Income, or "the share each man obtains of the commodities produced," is by no means the average or equal share, for the aggregate of commodities produced is not at all evenly distributed. Thus, David A. Wells has shown *first*, that, according to the census of 1870, the total aggregate of incomes in the United States was within $7,000,000,000, which, divided among 40,000,000 of people, would yield as the average, share only $175! *Second*, that as an actual fact the division was so unequal, that, while some received "this average share multiplied by hundreds or

even by thousands," large classes of the people secured less than $100 each! But though equality be not the principle of distribution, we find that there is a principle which, though its operation is undoubtedly interfered with in practice by fraud and violence in their various forms, does yet upon the whole, or for the most part, determine the proportions in which the commodities produced are distributed among, or belong to, the various persons whose incomes they constitute. That principle distributes products in about the proportion in which the elements essential to their production—labor, capital and land—have been respectively contributed by the participants. The right to share at all in the results of production is almost exclusively based upon the given individual's personal contribution to production, of either capital, land or labor; and, moreover, the quantity of such results which those who do share respectively receive, is on the whole quite definitely proportioned to the degree in which they have respectively so contributed. Rent is the return on land; profit and interest the return on capital (the former, when the capital is *invested*, the latter when it is only *lent*); wages, lastly, are the reward of labor. The proportionateness here asserted, however, is a quite special and intricate one; the proportion of reward to contribution being the same only for things of the same sort, quality and availability. Thus, if one man contributes *two* acres of land, and another, *one*, all being of one quality and uniformly well-located, the two-acre man would, as a rule, command twice as much rent as the one-acre man. But if the plots differed in quality or location, the rent would no longer be proportioned to quantity, but might even equal or exceed for the smaller plot the rent of the larger one. So, too, capital and land and labor are so incommensurable that it is impossible to tell what quantity of the one corresponds to a given quantity of the other, so as to determine whether they all receive the same proportion of reward.

But as respects this contribution to production (which contribution, as we have seen, is the basis of the right to share in the results), the various individuals composing the community differ very much. Some contribute all three of the requisites

mentioned,—land, labor and capital, and receive rent, wages, interest, and profit; others contribute capital and land, or capital and labor, or land and labor (as the case may be), and receive the corresponding kind and quantity of income. Again, some contribute only one of the elements indicated, and receive the one income answering to it. Limited classes in the community contribute so great or so valuable a quota of some one or more of the requisites, as to be thereby put in receipt of large incomes, variously constituted of profit, interest, rent or wages, or of two or more of these. Larger and larger classes of people contribute less and less largely or effectively, and accordingly command only correspondingly smaller incomes. We thus, by degrees, arrive at a class which in most countries sooner or later embraces a large proportion in the entire population—so large a proportion, that it is constantly referred to as "the people"—the members of which can contribute only labor, and that, too, of a sort which frequently can be performed at the given time by, and is the only available dependence of, many more persons than are needed to do the amount of that kind of work required for the then actual scale of production. Under these circumstances it happens that now this and now that set of individuals belonging to this class and varying in number with the variations in the scale of production, fail to find employment, while those who are employed command (even for excessive, disagreeable, or dangerous work) only the pittance to which wages are reduced by the desperate competition men engage in to save themselves from falling into the ranks of the unemployed. For, to be unemployed, when one belongs to the class in question and so has neither land nor capital to contribute to production, is to be in receipt of no current income, having at the same time no appreciable accumulations to fall back upon. And even in the rare cases where something has been laid by, the accumulation, so long as it is not large enough to constitute, *as capital*, a source of sufficient income, but must be eaten into to be availed of at all—so long, I say, the accumulation does not withdraw the owner from among the competitors for employment.

Occasionally the inadequacy of the actual scale of production to furnish remunerative employment to those having little or no other ground than labor for sharing in distribution, becomes so marked that not only is there a large number of persons unable, for the time being, to obtain any employment at all, but also a falling off in wages, such that even those who are employed fall far short of being adequately provided with the means wherewith to purchase necessaries. Such a state of things exemplifies the *acute* form of the poverty of the people; a disease which is strictly analogous, for the body social, to what in the individual body is known as *anæmia*, or insufficiency or poverty of the blood.

The evils of such a critical or acute stage of the disease are so intense, quickly-developed and wide-spread, that their occurrence commands universal attention, their origin and causes are discussed and studied into, and they themselves are distinctly recognized and held as symptoms or incidents of a malignant disease, of which the best practicable cure or mitigation it is of the utmost importance to discover and apply.

But in respect of that less intense stage of poverty of the people, which is a *chronic* stage, and which differs from the acute only in degree, most persons seem hardly to be aware that it, too, involves evils which should be intolerable, save to the resignation borrowed from despair. For the most part, people never fully realize that *the existence of the majority in absolute and direct dependence upon current wages*—their existence, that is, in the "hand-to-mouth" condition—is itself disease, and disease of an insidious and destructive type. It is only or chiefly when—in consequence of some unusual destruction of property through waste, accident or necessity—the poverty of the people becomes so aggravated as seriously to diminish their purchasing power, thus affecting markets, and impairing the incomes of other classes, that there is thought to have arisen any occasion for diagnosis and prescription.

But the opinion here to be maintained impugns this, the popular attitude upon the subject, as being at once based on error and mischievous in result. Based on error, inasmuch as

its assumption of the tolerableness, if not satisfactoriness, of the *status quo* is emphatically a mistaken one; and mischievous in result, inasmuch as its being held prevents an adequately zealous search for, and application of, the means by which it might be practicable to diminish or remove the evil.

That that stage of the poverty of the people which we have referred to as chronic, and which consists of the existence of the majority in absolute and direct dependence upon current wages, is so dreadful an evil that it ought to be endured only in the degree in which it shall have proved impossible to cure it, might well be assumed as too clear for argument, were it not for the astounding fact that few seem to be aware of it, while still fewer show any signs of its adequate realization.

In a recent essay on *State Socialism*, Mr. George Jacob Holyoake calls attention to the following surprising fact: "The rich, as a class, are not averse to the dependence of the poor. Patronage is pleasing to them, and ministers to their influence. The extinction of pauperism, which they believe they desire, would fill them with dismay if it were likely to take place. They only object to charitable gifts when they become too expensive; but they have a permanent objection to [enabling] the poor to obtain a position absolutely independent, and hesitate to afford them the means of becoming so by obtaining for them fair legal facilities of supporting themselves, which they fear would give the people the airs and importance of equals, when their education would be no longer regulated and limited by their superiors, and their politics and religion would cease to be dictated by their 'pastors and masters.'" And readers of Mill's *Political Economy* will remember passages corroborative of Mr. Holyoake's opinion.

Half in this class (of positive objectors) and half in the class which simply ignores our view, are those whom Prof. Cairnes refers to in the following language:—" * * * Patrons of the laboring classes who encourage an exclusive reliance on trades-unionism, and would advance their interests by confining them to their present *rôle*. It was the opinion of M. Comte, as it is that of his disciples, that the true idea of industrial

society—the goal toward which all reforming effort should be directed—is a more and more definitive *separation* of the laboring and capitalist classes. The proper model for our industrial organization, according to them, is an army in which the capitalists are as the captains, and the laborers are as the rank and file."

Beyond these, again, are those (constituting the largest class of all) who, without consciously *preferring* that the masses should continue in their present absolute lack of capital, have simply taken it for granted that they will so continue, and have accordingly recognized no problem save that of the specific improvement of wages, thus wholly ignoring the problem of capitalization, here to be formulated. In point of fact, few have bethought themselves that perhaps more may be done by way of bringing a daily-increasing proportion of the people into the class receiving capitalistic incomes than by the way so persistently attempted throughout history, of artificially altering the relative sizes of the wages-income and the capitalistic ones. But, as I say, to the majority our proposition would seem not so much untrue as futile. To them it seems as idle to posit the desirability of "general capitalization" as to descant on the utilities of the philosopher's stone. Thus, Prof. Walker, commenting on Cairnes' advocacy of capitalization, rather impatiently remarks: "What is this industrial panacea? Why, the laborers are to become capitalists. A most felicitous result, truly; but—how is it to be accomplished?" This formidable question of ways and means we shall have to consider later on: at present we are concerned only to note that the very large and important class, whom Walker fairly represents, though from their exclusive attention to wages they might have been supposed to attach but little value to capitalization, in fact, agree with us that the latter would be "a most felicitous result, truly," but simply assume (with only too much apparent ground) that the attainment of that result is simply out of the question. At present, at any rate, we have not to reckon these among our adversaries, and we are left at liberty to confront our only real opponents in this part of the case,—the conservative "rich" accused by Mr. Holyoake and the Comtists and others referred

to by Prof. Cairnes. Even as to these, indeed, we are not quite sure that we ought to indulge in argument on such a proposition, especially as it would be neither probably feasible nor essentially important to convince these persons themselves. The real parties in interest, the classes now non-capitalistic, both could and would carry out the policy of capitalization were they once in possession of an obviously efficient *way*, even though these unconvinced conservatives and despotic theorists should sulk, like Achilles, in their tents. But, as on the one hand it would certainly do no harm, so on the other there are not wanting reasons making it prudent to offer here a brief presentation of the advantages to accrue from capitalization, assuming it to be practicable. If nothing else, a clear realization of these advantages would tend to make men less willing to remain in an uncapitalized condition, and correspondingly more critical of the grounds upon which the assumption that capitalization is impracticable has hitherto been allowed to rest unquestioned. Some such presentation, therefore, we shall attempt.

Alas! our chief difficulty, in proceeding to a survey of the evils in question, is of the sort the French refer to as *embarras de richesses*—not the lack, but the excess of material.

In the first place, the people's absolute dependence upon wages necessarily involves, in practice, their being at a terrible disadvantage in bargaining with their employers; especially in view of the fact already stated, that many more are candidates for each given kind of employment than are needed to do the amount of that kind of work required at the given time. Capital can wait, and can therefore make its own terms with laborers who have nothing to wait upon. The possibility of occasionally raising wages somewhat by trades-unions, strikes, etc., in so far as it exists, is not contradictory of this position, for trades-unions and combinations for "strikes" operate precisely by way of furnishing the striking laborers with *capital* upon which to hold out. The only question, therefore, which is raised by the trades-union system, is whether it is a means, and the only means, which it is desirable to use for the purpose of capitalizing labor.

This disadvantage in bargaining, joined to the terrible competition for employment to which the general poverty gives rise, normally results not simply in the masses securing only a miserable pittance, but frequently also in their having to earn even that pittance by work that is too severe, or prolonged, or painful, or dangerous.

The inadequacy and precariousness of the average wages-income produce in fatal abundance the dreadful crop of privation, sickness, ignorance, improvidence, physical and mental degeneracy, and, last but not least, mad and disastrous theories and attempts at cure. "Any attempt," says John Stuart Mill, "to depict the miseries of indigence, or to estimate the proportion of mankind who in the most advanced countries are habitually given up during their whole existence to its physical and moral sufferings, would be superfluous here. This may be left to philanthropists, who have painted these miseries in colors sufficiently strong. Suffice it to say that the condition of numbers in civilized Europe, and even in England and France, is more wretched than that of most tribes of savages who are known to us."

"Since the human race," says the same author, "has no means of enjoyable existence, or of existence at all, but what it derives from its own labor and abstinence, there would be no ground for complaint against society if every one who was willing to undergo a fair share of this labor and abstinence, could attain a fair share of the fruits. But is not the reverse the fact? The reward, instead of being proportioned to the labor and abstinence of the individual, is almost in inverse ratio to it: *those who receive the least, labor and abstain the most.* Even the idle, reckless, and ill-conducted poor, those who are said with most justice to have themselves to blame for their condition, often undergo much more and severer labor, not only than those who are born to pecuniary independence, but than almost any of the more highly remunerated of those who earn their subsistence; and even the inadequate self-control exercised by the industrious poor costs them more sacrifice and more effort than is almost ever required from the more favored members of society. The very idea of distributive justice, or of any proportionality between success and merit, or between success and exertion, is in the present state of society so manifestly chimerical as to be relegated to the regions of romance. It is true that the lot of individuals is not wholly independent of their virtue and intelligence; these do really tell in their favor,

but far less than many other things in which there is no merit at all. The most powerful of all the determining circumstances is birth. The great majority are what they were born to be. Some are born rich without work, others are born to a position in which they can become rich *by* work, the great majority are born to hard work and poverty throughout life, numbers to indigence. Next to birth the chief cause of success in life is accident and opportunity. When a person not born to riches succeeds in acquiring them, his own industry and dexterity have generally contributed to the result; but industry and dexterity would not have sufficed unless there had been also a concurrence of occasions and chances which falls to the lot of only a small number. If persons are helped in their worldly career by their virtues, so are they, and perhaps quite as often, by their vices: by servility and sycophancy, by hard-hearted and close-fisted selfishness, by the permitted lies and tricks of trade, by gambling speculations, not seldom by downright knavery. * * * It cannot be pretended that honesty, as a means of success, tells for as much as a difference of one single step on the social ladder. The connection between fortune and conduct is mainly this, that there is a degree of bad conduct, or rather of some kinds of bad conduct, which suffices to ruin any amount of good fortune; but the converse is not true: in the situation of most people no degree whatever of good conduct can be counted upon for raising them in the world, without the aid of fortunate accidents."

The fact is, that, by reason of the absolute dependence of the majority upon wages, it comes to pass that the proper rule is exactly reversed, and those who do the most disagreeable or exhausting or harmful sorts of labor, instead of receiving the best incomes, receive pay at so low a rate that they have to work much longer at their undesirable labor to earn bare living wages than others have to work at comparatively easy and agreeable labor to earn immensely better incomes.

Secondly, this chronic non-accumulation of capital by a great portion of the community frequently results in certain kinds of persons being left with no other resource than wages, in whose case such dependence is a great evil not only to themselves but to society at large.

Women, the young, the aged, the sick, the physically or mentally disabled, are classes whose exposure to the hardships, vicissitudes and dangers of the hand-to-mouth condition is obviously a great public evil, and as to them it cannot be contended for a moment that the wages-income constitutes an

adequate or satisfactory provision. And to them, in this respect, must be added the class whose capacities, though not at all of the wage-earning sort, are yet so fraught with potentialities of wide-reaching and great public utility that it is ill indeed for society when it is true of them that—

"Chill penury repressed their noble rage."

Hurrying on—for illustration of these points would lead us into too great detail and length of exposition—we arrive at the third head of this hideous hydra, of the chronic poverty of the people.

Thirdly, then, the absolute dependence of the masses upon wages makes it impracticable for society to attain to the advantages of wealth as fast and as far as would otherwise be possible, without still further sacrificing to its progress the well-being (poor enough at best!) of the unfortunate workers.

This is an important point and should be carefully considered.

The fact is, that the progress of invention, discovery, and industrial organization inevitably tends to reduce the amount of human labor needed to satisfy any given degree of efficient demand for commodities. This tendency, which would be as great a blessing to the working-classes as to the rest of the community, were it not for their absolute dependence upon wages and their tendency to increase faster than the demand for labor, does, nevertheless, so long as these two circumstances operate, undoubtedly aggravate the natural precariousness and insufficiency of wages.

It is a self-evident proposition that, other things being equal, industrial improvements which are really "labor-saving" *do* diminish the amount of labor needed to supply any given degree of "efficient" demand, so that unless we can count upon an *increase* of the efficient demand such as shall counterbalance the economy of labor due to the improvements, there will be less employment for those who depend upon it for their only income. But it has been claimed that society is insatiable in its demand for labor. Prof. Cairnes argues as follows:

"The work which society has to do is not a fixed quantity. On the contrary, it is absolutely indefinite and practically

unlimited: indefinite, as varying with human wants and desires; and practically unlimited, because always far in excess of what human hand can accomplish. I am speaking now of society * * * as we know it in Western Europe and the United States, after civilization has kindled those insatiable aspirations and created those innumerable needs which distinguished the civilized from the uncivilized man. In society, when it has reached this point, there is no practical limit to the *desires* of human beings, nor therefore to the quantity of work which they would *wish* to have done. * * * Benevolence and public spirit, the interests of science and literature, would become powerful and exigent, as the tastes for mere physical luxury and personal indulgence or aggrandizement declined, and would rapidly create wants to take the place of those which would be no longer left. * * * So much labor and capital are relieved from the tasks formerly required of them, and set free for the performance of new work, for the satisfaction of cravings hitherto unfelt."

These statements of fact are literally true, but the argument is fallacious. Prof. Cairnes' own language suggests the distinction which we would make. He says,—"there is no practical limit to the *desires* of human beings, nor, therefore, to the quantity of work which they would *wish* to have done,"—and in this he sums up the whole essence of his argument. But the trouble is that the "desires" of human beings, the "quantity of work which they would wish to have done," are not the measure of the efficient demand for labor, unless the desires, wishes, needs, are accompanied by the possession of the wherewithal to pay for their satisfaction. "If wishes were horses, beggars might ride," says the proverb; and this reminds me of a still more striking illustration of my position. If Prof. Cairnes is right, his argument is susceptible of this remarkable application,—that even without regarding "society" at large at all, and considering simply any one individual member of it, laborers should confidently count on a sufficient demand for labor existing. Take the writer's humble self for instance: is there any doubt but that, were "desires" enough, those which I myself presume to indulge would amply employ every one of the millions for whom the world has room? The objects which, had I the needed wealth, I would eagerly aim at, in ways involving the employment of labor, are absolutely unlimited; yet, though capable of this range of desire, and

actually conscious of wishes which the assistance of whole generations would not suffice to satisfy, I am daily forced, in very self-defence, to harden my heart and shut my eyes and ears, lest my life be made too bitter for me by the sights and sounds which tell of poverty's despairing search for employment!

"I, whose vast pity almost makes me die," avert my head, and hurry away from outstretched hands and trembling lips, whose piteous pleading seems but the more pitiful because its eloquence appeals to willing ears but impotent hands. Shall I then, with this experience, be told that employment cannot fail, because men are insatiable in desire? I say, that it *already* falls far below what it ought to be, if the majority of mankind are to have no other resource;—and I appeal to facts.

Clearly, while the desires of men may be unlimited, the income with which to pay for their satisfaction is always very decidedly limited. It cannot be expected that so long as but a small portion of the community make it a point to increase their wealth, the total wealth available for the pay of labor shall suffice to yield an undiminished rate of wages to every member of a rapidly increasing number of would-be laborers. The fact that so many people remain too poor to buy anything but necessaries, of course makes the amount of demand for commodities just so much less than it would otherwise have been, and thus limits the markets, and consequently the wealth of the accumulating classes. Even they, therefore, cannot indefinitely increase their efficient demand for labor. Their incomes can come only from the production and sale of commodities, and cannot be carried beyond the point which the markets will allow. And the markets, obviously, cannot be as good as they might be, so long as only a small minority of the population even try to add to the quantity of "purchasing power" in their hands.

David A. Wells has shown how, under such circumstances, it comes to pass that labor-saving expedients are not accompanied by a corresponding increase of the efficient demand for labor in some other direction. He says:

"The next important factor in this problem of inability to purchase and consequent lack of demand, and one which has not

hitherto received the attention [to which] its importance entitles it, grows out of, or rather in itself is, *that very increase in the power of production* which, although affecting in a greater or less degree the industrial condition of all countries, has of late probably manifested itself more remarkably in the United States than elsewhere."

After giving statistics, Mr. Wells thus sums up:

The labor of 225 persons is as effective in 1876 in meeting the demands of the country for cloth and food products as was the labor of 691 persons in effecting similar results in 1838; and as a consequence of this change in the power of production, the labor of 466 other persons has, within this time and within the special industrial sphere under investigation, been rendered unnecessary; and they have been compelled to enter (where possible) into relations with new wants and new capabilities of purchase, in order to find employment. Results similar, and possibly even more striking, are afforded by the analysis of other leading American industries. * * * The changes affecting labor in trade and commerce within a comparatively recent period, consequent upon the use of the telegraph, and greatly increased facilities for transportation, have also been no less remarkable than those which have occurred in agriculture and manufactures, through the introduction and use of labor-saving machinery and processes."

For a time, however, counteracting causes prevented our realizing the fact that our efficient demand for labor was rapidly becoming insufficient to employ the laborers depending absolutely on wages. In other countries, immense standing armies, and governments otherwise costly; in our own, the war, and the reckless speculation and waste following it, hid from view the real facts, by at once withdrawing millions of workers into idle yet consuming armies, and creating for a time an abnormal and tremendous extra demand for labor.

"Under these conditions, whatever there was of labor, which under ordinary circumstances of supply and demand, labor-saving machinery and processes would have made surplus, continued to find full opportunity for employment, and the day of industrial disturbance did not come. * * * But natural laws at last prevailed, and the day of industrial disturbance has at last come. Artificial stimulants to production and consumption, in the form of paper-money, irredeemable and therefore excessive; high discriminating taxes imposed to foster special industries; and extravagant ideas engendered by the war, no longer avail to stimulate; and consumption of every kind having been reduced to the requirements of almost absolute necessity, and investments of

capital in constructions looking to future and larger production having been almost suspended, the question of almost transcendent importance before the country today, is: *What disposition is it proposed to make of the labor of the country which labor-saving machinery and new methods of business have now for the first time, and under existing conditions, made manifestly surplus?*"

Shall we answer this question by pointing, with Prof. Cairnes, to the insatiable desires of civilized society? We might lay this flattering unction to our souls, were it not for the undeniable fact that all available incomes, and even some principal, are already as fully invested in the employment of labor as their owners feel that they can afford to invest it, in view of the fact that about all the commodities *for which there is a market* are already easily produced by the labor which is employed. As Mr. Wells points out, the progress which has made much labor superfluous has diminished the income of the laboring class, and thus still further reduced the efficient demand for commodities. This he looks upon as a very important factor of recent economical developments.

We thus see but too clearly that the people's total lack of capital sets limits to the degree of wealth and development which society can attain without disaster to the working-classes; for their poverty implies smaller efficient markets than there would otherwise have been, thus restricting the wealth of other classes, at the same time that it makes laborers absolutely dependent upon employment which only good markets could offer them.

We thus come, fourthly, to the last express count in our indictment of the chronic poverty of the people.

That count is, that this chronic poverty contributes powerfully to the production and aggravation of commercial and industrial depressions and panics, by keeping a large proportion of consumers so near the verge of destitution, that it takes but a comparatively slight disaster (bad crops, fire, war, etc.,) to sweep them over into it, thus reducing the markets and dragging many other classes, in widening circles, into greater or less impoverishment and distress.

It is plain that a system under which a large proportion of the whole number of consumers have no income save the small

and precarious one of wages, wherewith to make their demand "efficient," must make the social body far more sensitive to disturbing causes than it would be under a more healthful system. The analogy is exact with the well-known law of the physical body, that where constitutional disease exists, a cause which might otherwise have proved innocuous, will thereby be rendered, not infrequently, seriously if not fatally injurious.

Surely, we have said enough to justify our position, that true wisdom and public spirit must seek *fully to avail* of every legitimate, practicable and efficient means to cure or mitigate this fearful social disease of poverty, no less in the chronic than in the acute form of that disease.

CHARLES FREDERIC ADAMS.

ART. IV.—THE FRANCHISE IN THE SOUTH.

1. *Report of the United States Senate Committee to inquire into alleged Frauds and Violence in the Elections of 1878*, with the Testimony and documentary Evidence. Vols. I–II. Washington: 1879.
2. *Congressional Record Forty-Fifth Congress, Third Session.* Washington: 1878–9.

IN approaching the most vexed, perhaps, of the many vexed questions of American politics, it is necessary, as a preliminary step, that we should endeavor to disembarrass it of the exaggerations and falsehoods, the mists and cross-lights by which it has been industriously obscured. Surely, there can be no subject that more imperatively demands the patient, unwearied investigation of facts, the impartial balancing of testimony, the superiority to personal and party bias that distinguish the upright judge. A very distant approximation to this was all that the most sanguine could have hoped for, but in truth the spirit in which it has been treated might be most fitly summarized as the exact reverse of that which we have just indicated.

Upon the professional hacks and tools of party, the Tapers and Tadpoles who can see in this momentous question nothing higher than a "good cry," a golden opportunity for partisan or personal aggrandizement, we do not purpose to waste a moment. Great and small, in high or low position, they but do after their kind, and we almost fancy that we can hear their glib repetition of the world-famous plea of a wiser and wittier criminal,—"'Tis no sin for a man to labor in his vocation." In the diligent pursuit of this high vocation let us leave them undisturbed today, for to-morrow it may behoove them, however reluctantly, to depart from the scene of such long-continued labors and abundant rewards and betake themselves to "fresh woods, and pastures new."

It is not to these, but to the great body of honest and patriotic citizens, who, if the issue can be fairly presented to them, will assuredly prefer the interests of their country to those of a faction, that we address ourselves; for in the ancient language of the law, *interest reipublicæ*,—this matter concerns the commonwealth, and in a point of vital moment.

If such a state of things as has been confidently alleged, really exists at the South, we are indeed in evil case, since there is no redress possible within the limits of the Constitution, and even if that embarrassing instrument be altogether set aside—a course by no means without strong recent precedents,—there can still be no adequate remedy except through the destruction of free institutions within the limits of the infected States; in effect their expulsion from the Union as States, and their government as provinces by the sword.

It seems sufficiently clear to need no demonstration, that if, in a community governed by universal suffrage, one segment of the people has deprived the other of all freedom in the use of the elective franchise, there exists nowhere in the system a power capable of reforming this evil, since the body which can alone undertake it is the very one standing in need of such reformation itself; and that there remains no expedient save the application of external force, a resort to which, we need hardly point out, is utterly inconsistent, not only with the Constitution of the United States, but with the first principles of popular government.

This, then, is the awkward predicament in which we find ourselves placed by the course of recent events, if the constantly repeated assertions of certain well-known organs in the press, and prominent leaders in party politics, are to be accepted as correct. We desire to state the point clearly, so that there can be no misunderstanding it. The question is not (for there is a deplorable confusion of thought on this head), whether there are abuses connected with the exercise of the suffrage at the South, nor even whether the co-occupation of that section by two different and unequal races renders such abuses more frequent and flagrant than in homogeneous communities; but whether they exist to such an exceptional extent as practically

to deprive one entire race of the right of suffrage which is nominally and legally theirs. The first proposition, *i. e.*, that such abuses exist, may be taken for granted without further investigation; for thus much, we apprehend, might be predicated with safety of every society in which the elective franchise has in any shape existed, from the ancient commonwealths of Greece down to the latest British colony.

Into the truth of the second we purpose hereafter to examine farther, contenting ourselves for the present with the remark that it might perhaps be more correctly stated thus, viz.: that the abnormal relations subsisting between the Caucasian and the African race have given rise, in certain parts of the South to abuses in some degree peculiar to these exceptional circumstances, but neither greater in extent nor more monstrous in kind than have often occurred elsewhere.

Conceding, however, for a moment, and solely for the sake of argument, the truth of the second proposition as originally stated, this, we repeat, is by no means the *gravamen* of the matter; this, in effect, would be no further aggravation of ordinary evils than might reasonably have been expected from the unusual circumstances, and might safely have been left for correction to a firm though temperate application of existing law, and to the curative effect of time. But this is not at all the state of things which we have been over and over again assured prevails at the South, and for which we have been repeatedly urged to sanction some extreme, though hitherto scarcely defined remedy.

If the reader will turn to the Majority Report of the Teller Committee, or, still better, to the remarkable speech delivered in the Senate of the United States by Mr. Blaine, in December, 1878, he may easily satisfy himself that we have not unduly heightened the picture drawn of the political situation at the South. The proof of this is, indeed, but too abundant. For years past the air has been rent with clamors over alleged outrages on free suffrage in that region, growing louder on the eve and fainter on the morrow of each periodical election, until in the pending contest it may truly be said to form almost the entire staple of one of the two great political

organizations into which the country is divided. It is not, however, from the point of view of its probable effect on the success of either of these that we design to consider this question. In our judgment it is matter of far too high and grave import, too deeply affecting the permanent welfare of the whole country, to be degraded into a subject of mere partisan declamation.

To return to Mr. Blaine's speech. In referring to it above, we have used the word "remarkable" advisedly, for it would be difficult, indeed, to find a parallel anywhere to this effort to base a logical conclusion, which it was actually sought to give effect to by means of legislation, upon a barefaced series of *petitiones principii.*

Certainly, if the premises be assumed, any conclusion, no matter how false or absurd, may be reached in due form, and with all the pomp of logic. But knock away a single one of the assumptions of fact upon which this rhetorical edifice rests, and the whole structure comes toppling down upon the head of its ill-advised architect.

Unquestionably, if all the negro voters at the South are *ex vi termini* republicans; if, being republicans, they must also of necessity be zealous partisans, and so anxious for the success of their candidates that nothing short of the interposition of some insuperable obstacle can keep them from the polls; and finally, if in the nature of things this obstacle can be nothing else but democratic force or fraud, then Mr. Blaine has firm ground to stand upon, and, as soon as there is leisure from the more immediate and urgent business of President-making, it will be in order to hear him farther on his proposed remedy. But all the preliminary propositions this singular logician has spared himself the trouble of establishing, by the simple expedient of taking them for granted. Were the occasion less grave and the question less momentous, we might well be amused at this facile and airy method of reaching a conclusion on difficult and disputed points. Nevertheless, if we may judge by recent indications, it is one to which the country bids fair to become accustomed in the productions of its Conscript Fathers. Nay, should it continue as much in favor with prominent members

of the upper Chamber as the late exhibition at the New York Academy of Music would incline us to anticipate, it may even have the honor of going down to posterity in the history of false and vicious systems of logic under the title of *fallacia senatoria.**

There is another characteristic common to this whole class of productions, which it is still more difficult to treat with gravity. We mean the *naïveté* with which the Senator from Maine and his followers give utterance to their disappointment at the failure of negro suffrage to accomplish the party objects which were anticipated from it. The negroes having been given votes for the express purpose of loyally upholding republican ascendency, it is too bad that they should in some instances use them for its overthrow, in others abstain from using them at all, and thus permit the flank of the army they were stationed to guard to be successfully turned by the enemy. This is what certain leaders of the party, of whom Mr. Blaine may be considered a fitting representative, can by no means endure. It passes their powers of belief; they appeal to Heaven and Earth; they are sure that there must be an explanation; their calculations cannot have been thus falsified without some external interposition. Nor is this far to seek with these irate politicians. The southern whites, the ex-Confederates, the "unspeakable" democrats, have wrought this evil in the land, and for the evil there must and shall be a remedy; the negroes shall be somehow brought back to their allegiance, or deprived of the power to injure their benefactors further, in spite of the Constitution of the country and of human nature alike.

A few words as to the elaborate array of figures by the aid of which Mr. Blaine has sought to introduce a certain air of sober and business-like calculation into the midst of the sensational rants which form the staple of this curious harangue. For the figures themselves we refer the reader who may think it worth his while to examine them, to the *Congressional*

* The terms employed here are used in their ordinary and conversational, not in their technical, sense. Strictly speaking, of course logic is not concerned with the correctness or incorrectness of premises.

Record. They could hardly impose upon the least perspicacious intellect, unless it were in an attitude of eager anxiety to be deluded, and have long since received a much fuller and more serious answer at other hands than they were at all entitled to.

But while he was upon this subject, it might have been well for the Senator from Maine to cast a glance in a different direction. Would he have found no anomalies in representation nearer home? Was he aware, for example, that in the Forty-fifth Congress, taking the six New England States together, it required more than three times as many votes to send a democrat to the House of Representatives from that division of the Union, as it did to send a republican? We are not now considering the fairness of the standard, but it is one to which he, at least, cannot consistently object. In like manner, more than two-thirds of the representatives in that body from the State of Indiana were republicans, though the democratic vote in the State exceeded the republican by more than five thousand. Again, the Massachusetts republicans with considerably less than three-fifths—in fact not much over one-half—of the votes cast at the election of 1878, have ten out of eleven members in the present Congress, while the Indiana democrats, with a majority of several thousands over their republican opponents, have only six out of thirteen. In the eminently republican State of Vermont, at the same election, the average number of votes to each Congressional district was only 16,358, while in the eminently un-republican State of South Carolina, in spite of the reign of terror that we are assured existed there, it was 34,439, or more than twice as great. In democratic Florida it was 19,549, while in republican Rhode Island, with the same number of districts but a considerably larger population by the Census of 1870, it was only 9,198. Indeed, in the Presidential election of 1872 Rhode Island polled but 18,994 votes, or not quite one to every eleven of her population; while even in the exciting struggle of 1876 her vote was only 26,627, or about one to every nine of her probable population at that time. Yet we by no means propose to eject her from the Union and govern her as a Military District until she shall have framed a con-

stitution "truly republican" in the sense of the dominant party in Congress, whether it chance to be democratic or republican. On the contrary, we should strenuously resist such a proposition, from whatever source it might come.

Seriously speaking, we do not intend that our discussion of this question shall degenerate into recrimination, however just or well-founded; and without going further, the instances we have brought forward are abundantly sufficient to indicate the results to which Mr. Blaine's method of reasoning would lead, even if there were—which we do not for a moment admit—any basis of truth in his facts. At present, we submit, he might find ample occupation for his reforming powers at home. Nevertheless, if he conceives himself to have any effective plan for the better protection of the rights of minorities, by all means let him come forward and be heard. It is an object in the highest degree desirable, and it is, of course, not absolutely impossible that light should arise even from the most unpromising quarter.

For the rest, we must beg pardon of our readers for having detained them so long over what was, in the beginning, but a piece of sensational clap-trap at best, and is already, despite the exciting nature of the subject, wellnigh forgotten. In truth, this ludicrous spectacle of a wrathful engineer "hoist with his own petard," and utterly unable to restrain the expression of his disappointment and rage, is but little suited to the gravity of the subject. Our excuse must be that it is rather as the utterance of perhaps the most conspicuous representative of extreme sectionalism now remaining on the stage than on account of any force or even plausibility in the speech itself, that we have thought it worthy of a passing notice.

Leaving this, and turning to the Report of the Committee formed under the resolution of its author, we find it not far different from what might have been expected from the circumstances of its origin. For, as courts-martial are said to be organized to convict, so legislative committees on party questions are raised for objects equally well understood on all sides, and rarely fail to serve the purpose of their authors.

Given the names of the members, and the general tone, nay, sometimes the very phraseology of the Report may be anticipated with reasonable certainty, so that the public has quite acquired the habit of looking forward to the result of their labors with stolid indifference.

Nothing is better known than the "usual and orderly parts" of a Congressional Report.

First comes the presentation of the views of the majority, with more or less of ability, the bringing forward, and giving aid and comfort to their own witnesses, the relentless snubbing of their opponents' witnesses somewhat after the fashion of the distinguished counsel in the *cause célèbre* of Bardell *vs.* Pickwick. In the Minority Report the same process is repeated *mutatis mutandis*, and then on each side there is an expression of surprise, more or less veiled or emphatic, as the writers incline to courtesy or severity, at the unjust judgment, incorrect statements and generally shameless partisanship of the other.

Such, with slight variations, and a few honorable exceptions, is the history of investigating committees. It is no subject for wonder, then, that they generally leave the matter very much where they found it, partisans on each side looking into the report of their party friends to sustain their own previous impressions, while few indeed ever so much as think of reading the published evidence for themselves.

If, however, departing for once from this time-honored and tempting rule for dealing with such documents, the investigator turns from the Majority Report of the well-known Teller Committee to the voluminous testimony that accompanies it, he finds his path beset by difficulties at every step. He might indeed discover amidst this bulky mass testimony and to spare on almost any side of any question; but to bring this chaos to something like order, to reconcile inconsistencies, to reduce exaggerations, to reject impossibilities, to weigh the credibility of conflicting statements, to discriminate between honesty—heated, stupid, and prejudiced,—and wilful, often artfully constructed, falsehood, here lies the difficulty of the task. In the midst of this shifting quicksand it seems impossible to find firm ground for the feet. Whom are we to

believe? And even where the evidence appears to be honest, how far must we allow for prejudice, exaggeration, and inaccuracy?

Some of these witnesses seem to be quite of the mind of poor Peter Peebles in *Redgauntlet*. "I will swear to anything," said Peter. All is fair when it comes to an oath *ad litem*. Others have no conception of the difference between knowledge and hearsay, surmise and fact, and especially no accurate appreciation of numbers or distance.

It is manifestly impossible that evidence of this nature can be fairly judged except by constant reference to the peculiar character of the negro witnesses, and the degree of intelligence and culture at which they have arrived. Even among those whose statements are evidently untruthful, there is at least as much of the spirit of Munchausen as of Oates; and it would be hard for any one not thoroughly acquainted with the peculiarities of this singular race to imagine the various motives, far distant from deliberate malignity, which render their representations completely unreliable.

First, there is on the part of the person testifying a complete incapacity to appreciate the gravity of the position in which he stands; then, an eager longing to create a sensation, and be the hero of a story; and lastly, ludicrous as it sounds, a good-natured desire not to disappoint the expectations of those who have paid him the compliment of bringing him forward to testify. Any one accustomed to the task of adjusting their private differences will at once recognize the correctness of this description. If, then, in addition, we consider the looseness, the inaccuracy, the constant wandering from the point common to unenlightened witnesses of every race, the extreme caution with which this testimony should be received will be abundantly clear. Strange, indeed, if it should be made the ground for "drawing up an indictment," nay for proposing a bill of "pains and penalties," against "a whole people!"

As might have been confidently predicted, this imposing array of evidence shrinks and dwindles visibly in the furnace of judicial investigation. Let the candid reader be at

the pains of comparing for himself a case as it appears in the Teller Report and in the proceedings before the United States Courts. We are fully aware that a legal acquittal is by no means always equivalent to a moral verdict of "not guilty," but in these cases it must be recollected that the whole advantage, not only with the court, but, through the operation of the test-oath, with the jury also, was on the side of the prosecution. Under such circumstances the complete breakdown and virtual abandonment of the cases speak in a language the significance of which can hardly require enforcement.

It is, however, neither from the Report of the Senate Committee nor from the late proceedings in Louisiana and South Carolina that an entirely correct impression can be derived of the status of the franchise in the South generally, or even in those particular States. In their several ways they are important factors in the problem, but the investigation, to be satisfactory, must take a far wider range than this, and draw materials from a great variety of other sources, documentary and personal. Difficult and delicate as the task unquestionably is, we trust that it may not be impossible, by thus carefully collecting and comparing evidence, accepting the statements of even the most trustworthy partisans with extreme caution, and endeavoring, wherever possible, to make opposite errors correct each other, to arrive at least at the broad facts, the substantial truth of the case. We have accordingly taken pains to collect, not only from public journals and documents, but from private sources of undoubted reliability, a vast mass of material from which the conclusions that follow have been derived.

And just here we desire to say emphatically that so far from feeling any disposition to defend the use of violence or fraud in election contests, such acts in any locality and on either side meet our heartiest disapproval. Nor do we think, as regards the South itself, that a deadlier injury could be inflicted upon the white inhabitants of that section than by the adoption of a system of cruelty and oppression towards the colored voter.

Looked at from the lowest stand-point, and with a view

solely to the material welfare of the southern whites, "outrages," where they actually occur, are simply stupendous blunders; and when their baneful effect upon every interest of the community is duly considered, the injury done to the Caucasian will appear only less flagrant than that to the African race. All we claim is, that the facts shall be first carefully ascertained, and then that a rule of impartial application shall be adopted and enforced without discrimination as to parties or sections.

This will not at all interfere with the drawing of proper distinctions. Undoubtedly there may be here, as in all other cases, mitigating circumstances, such as great and long-continued provocation, the apparent closing of all legitimate avenues of escape from intolerable oppression under the forms of law, a natural and reasonable apprehension of grave impending calamities. These furnish strong, and sometimes almost irresistible temptations, and no just or discerning judge acquainted with human nature would fail to allow them proper weight in apportioning the measure of blame due to faulty human action. Such a judge, while condemning with just severity the "civilized bulldozing" which was almost openly avowed in Massachusetts during the gubernatorial canvass of 1878, would recognize the extreme pressure brought to bear upon even the most scrupulous conscience by the bare possibility of such degradation as would have been involved in the election of Gen. Butler to the chief magistracy of a civilized community, and would admit that then, if ever, the straining of "legitimate influence" beyond legitimate bounds might have seemed to a panic-stricken patriot not wholly inexcusable.

Having premised so much in order that our future utterances may not be open to misconstruction, we shall now consider the results to which, as we conceive, a fair examination of this much debated question leads.

The phenomenon which strikes us most forcibly on a first view of the subject is the complete disappointment of the anticipations entertained on every side as to the effect of negro enfranchisement. A few years ago, the republicans were

urging the measure with clamorous eagerness, confident that it would secure to them for an indefinite period the control of the Federal Government and the absolute mastery of the Southern States. The democrats, on the other hand, were struggling against it with desperate energy, as an earnest of their long exclusion from power, while the southern whites regarded it with a loathing and dread which can hardly be measured by members of differently situated and homogeneous communities. A few, but very few, saw somewhat further, yet even they were overborne by the resistless tide. And now the position of the parties is to a great extent reversed. Like the fencers in the play, they have changed rapiers; the poisoned weapon is in the hand of the combatant so lately exposed to its thrusts, while his opponent loudly complains that an exchange so disastrous to himself could not have been accomplished save by foul means. The complaint is not unnatural and deserves a thorough examination.

Certainly, at first sight, there is something very surprising in the fact that the weight of negro suffrage should have been thus early turned against the party by which it was bestowed, and the suspicion readily suggests itself that this must have been brought about by unfair means. And yet the more closely it is investigated, the more evident it becomes that, as regards far the larger portion of the South, there is absolutely no basis whatever for this hypothesis. So far, indeed, from this being the case, the verdict of any candid enquirer would unquestionably be that the freedom and peacefulness with which the newly-acquired privilege is habitually exercised is, under all the circumstances, nothing short of wonderful.

If this be the case—and it is fully proved, not only by the most unimpeachable testimony but by the best possible evidence, the peaceful and orderly condition of society,—it may fairly be asked what, then, has produced so striking a political change in that region? The wonder at first not unnaturally excited by this will, we are persuaded, on reflection vanish.

To recur to history, what single instance can be given in which revolutions, or extensions of the suffrage, have not sooner or later inured to the benefit of the party which at

first opposed them? If they know how to wait, and to adapt themselves to irreversible changes, the inevitable reaction is sure to replace them in power. True, the backward swing of the pendulum has come in this case sooner than was expected on either side, but for this the republicans at the South have themselves to thank. Nor can they with reason complain of the shortness of their term of power. It was in effect considerable; it would doubtless have been much more so but for the insatiable rapacity, the shameless indecency of their own conduct, as fully established by the reluctant testimony of their party friends.

The more we ponder this remarkable change, the easier we find it to account for it by the operation of natural laws. Imagine nearly a million of men suddenly discharged from servitude, and almost immediately clothed with the elective franchise, not only, be it remembered, profoundly ignorant of the whole subject of politics, but incapable from the degree of enlightenment which they possessed of even comprehending its most elementary facts and phrases. It is a mere abuse of language to talk of these men having political convictions or voting in accordance with them. Being utterly incapable of using for themselves the privilege with which they had been endowed, the only real question was, who should use it for them?

At first, but one answer was possible. Not only had the republicans every advantage from their position as the grantors of the very boon which they were now asking their beneficiaries to use according to their wishes and advice, but in truth very many of the new voters believed implicitly that they had no choice but to hand in whatever "piece of paper," as they called election-tickets, the agent of the Freedmen's Bureau had given them. Such were the circumstances under which the solid negro vote, reinforced by an insignificant segment of native whites and a few immigrants, for the most part without either property or character, obtained control of almost the entire South and inaugurated the era of what is known as "Carpet-Bag Government."

Then followed a desperate struggle on the part of the

southern whites to release themselves from this intolerable bondage, in the beginning of which the negro element was almost to a man against them. Yet, within a comparatively brief period, break after break was made in the solid phalanx, and State after State passed from the control of the then dominant party.

To this result various causes conduced. In the first place, the negroes' hopes of some palpable personal advantage, which usually took the shape of a division of their former masters' property among them, were repeatedly disappointed; and this not a few of them regarded—whether justly or unjustly it is not to our present purpose to inquire—as a wilful deception and breach of faith on the part of their white allies. In the next, the wide-spread distress, necessarily affecting all classes in turn, which resulted from the gross corruption, inefficiency and extravagance of the State administrations, occasioned increasing dissatisfaction from year to year.

Moreover, as the novelty of the boons of freedom and suffrage wore off, though still highly prized they began to be viewed somewhat more soberly. It was perceived that the former might coexist with great poverty and hardship, and that the latter conferred no immediate personal advantage whatever on its possessor. Nor did it escape the notice of the blacks that, however important their services on the day of battle, the fruits of victory were seldom theirs, and that even where, in some exceptional localities, they obtained a larger share of the spoils, the number thus favored bore a lamentably small proportion to the whole body. Thus the zeal of these new recruits to the republican standard began to grow cold, and from coldness there was but a step to disaffection. Meanwhile, causes of a different kind were working simultaneously in the same direction.

In the midst of their temporary estrangement the former owner still retained a strong influence over his emancipated slave. A kindly sentiment, latent indeed, and scarcely recognized, drew them together, and this was constantly and effectively aided by the sense of self-interest, the urgent need which each had of the other. Their business relations, their

domestic life, their common pursuits were cementing forces in daily operation, while the political contests that separated them were of comparatively rare occurrence. Besides, the whites of the South were not long in recognizing that the assistance of the negro was necessary to their liberation from a ruinous and degrading yoke, and once convinced of this, they bent every energy to the task of securing it. At first, almost everything was against them, yet the once apparently hopeless enterprise has been accomplished with marvellous completeness and success.

We have not space to tell in detail how this was effected, how the close every-day intercourse gradually availed, first, to soften the rancor of party feeling, and then to incline the inferior of the two races to abandon the unequal contest with an adversary whose superior intelligence and enlightenment were acknowledged, and whose justice and humanity, satisfactorily tested in private affairs, it was hard to discredit as soon as the question was transferred to the public arena. From the very necessity of the case, moreover, the negroes being themselves incapable of filling the local offices, these latter came to be held by native whites. Every motive of policy and humanity concurred to stimulate those occupying such positions to a rigid observance of fairness as well as to a conciliatory demeanor towards the colored race; and this was the most convincing of answers to the agitators who were constantly assuring them that their comfort, their freedom, their very existence would be imperilled by intrusting power to their former masters.

Nor did the southerners rest their case here, strong as was the silent influence of action. They tried in turn every resource of persuasion and argument, taxing their ingenuity to clothe them in words that should be intelligible, and put them in a form that should be attractive to "the dull cold ear" of their auditors. Ceaselessly, unweariedly, by day and night, in field and workshop, on the hustings and by the fireside, this contest was ever going on. Meanwhile, the blunders and dissensions on the other side were helping their cause incalculably. The leaders quarrelled among themselves, the

followers denounced and revolted against the leaders. Some of these latter decamped to secure their booty, others to avoid detection and punishment. Thus in the very heat of the conflict the rank and file were often left without officers, and complete disintegration ensued. The inevitable result was thus somewhat hastened, but it was merely a question of time, at all events.

Obviously, with a rude, uncultured people what is present and palpable will have far greater weight than the distant and indirect, however important. The latter requires too long-sustained an effort of the imagination to comprehend and realize. So it happened that the southern whites, with whom the blacks came daily in contact at a hundred points, in spite of all their antagonists' efforts advanced steadily in regaining their lost influence. Nor was this accomplished only of set purpose, and by laborious effort. Undesignedly, and even unconsciously, by kind offices in sickness, by advice in business, by courtesy and good humor in the ordinary intercourse of life, the work was furthered. Again, within the past few years the negro himself has taken some steps, albeit slow and halting, in political education. By dint of constant dinning into his ear, he has been made to comprehend something of what was a sealed book to him before. He is learning, for example, as a plain practical matter of fact, that it is impossible permanently to divorce his interests from those of the white co-occupants of the same territory. In like manner, the knowledge of a few simple historical facts is slowly finding its way to his understanding. He has been told in every form of words that could be imagined as likely to convey it to his apprehension, that the people of the South, so far from being responsible for the forcible introduction of his race into their midst, made repeated though vain attempts to prevent or check it; that climatic considerations were the effective cause of the abolition of slavery at the North; that the New England States in the Convention of 1787 favored the longer continuance of the slave-trade, while two of the Southern States, and notably Virginia the oldest, largest, and most influential of them all, opposed it in vain; that, according to the reiterated

official declarations of the Federal Government, the late war was not undertaken with any purpose of interfering with slavery in the States; that the Emancipation Proclamation was simply an extreme war-measure, adopted as a *dernier ressort*, after having been previously considered and rejected, and tending infallibly, had it been acted on at the time, to involve their race in the most fearful calamities; and finally, that as soon as indications appeared that the suffrage lately conferred might be used to the disadvantage of the republican party, a murmur arose from their ranks demanding its withdrawal.

As these are plain facts of history, every advance that the freedman makes in intelligence serves to fix them more firmly in his mind. And this lodgement once effected, there results, naturally enough, a disposition to suspect that he has, perhaps, no such great cause for gratitude to the republicans after all, and that the best advisers for him in public as in private matters may be found among his white neighbors and employers. Undoubtedly, also, the man of property and intelligence at the South has, as such, considerable weight with his tenants and laborers in political as in other questions; but this, whether desirable or not, is certainly by no means peculiar to that region. On the contrary, we are convinced that it obtains to a much more limited extent there than in most communities governed by the machinery of popular elections.

To such causes as those which we have rather glanced at than detailed in the preceding pages, there is overwhelming evidence that the late political revolution should, in far the greater part of the South, be unhesitatingly attributed. No impartial mind will, on investigation, retain any doubt of this, in spite of the blood-curdling letters of "intelligent and reliable" correspondents who manufacture martyrs to order out of quiet individuals comfortably unconscious of the fiery crown thus unceremoniously thrust upon them. In that portion of the South with which the writer is most familiar, "Ku-Kluxism" and "bulldozing" have never had any existence. Within a radius of five miles around him there are,

at present, thirty or forty colored landholders who would never dream of being in at all greater danger, on account of their political sentiments, than the largest white proprietor in the land. There were, indeed, at one time attempts on the part of the blacks to coerce all the members of their own race into the solid support of the republican party, but these are fast losing their effect and falling into disuse.

Meanwhile, in his own Congressional district, and in elections singularly free from all suspicion of fraud or violence, such changes have taken place in the colored vote as to substitute a republican majority of nearly four hundred in 1872 by a democratic majority of about three hundred in 1874, and of over three thousand in 1876. In one of the supposed hopelessly "black counties" he has seen the republican majority reduced gradually by fair and peaceful means, until at the State election of 1877 a democratic member was returned to the House of Delegates, numbers of the colored voters freely and heartily supporting him. The last elections, Federal and State, are not here referred to, because, taking place under exceptional circumstances, and turning on special issues, they do not afford a just standard of comparison. The cases given are fair illustrations, on a small scale, of what has been taking place throughout the South.

There are two additional reasons for the relative falling off in the negro vote, of late, which should be briefly noticed. They are the existence of a law in some of the States, requiring the prepayment of the poll-tax as a requisite to voting, and the decline in certain localities of the negro population as compared with the white. The first, though of equal application to both races, through his own action, or rather inaction, affects the negro most sensibly; the second suggests some startling reflections as to a possible solution of the problem now so hotly debated. A glance at the death-rates of some of our large cities, and a comparison of the natural increase of the two races now and before the war, will throw much light upon this deeply interesting question. We are not in possession of sufficient data to pursue the subject further here, but will venture the remark, in passing, that it is much to be regretted that it

cannot be rescued from the domain of sentiment and relegated to that of science, where it properly belongs.

We have now sufficiently conveyed our impression of the conditions under which the franchise is exercised at the South as a general rule, an impression the correctness of which we have taken great pains to verify by the most trustworthy private information in addition to that which is accessible to the general public. It is, indeed, scarcely impugned from any quarter worthy of serious notice, and if it were, a single glance at patent facts would be ample to vindicate it. The best possible refutation of the charge that the South is a sort of bloody chaos, a seething whirlpool of anarchy and crime, is to be found in her immense and constantly increasing products, in her millions of bales of cotton; in her thousands upon thousands of hogsheads of tobacco and sugar and rice; in her vast droves of cattle; in the lines of railways and of steamers that are engaged in supplying the needs of her traffic; in the wharves, and warehouses that are filled to overflowing with the varied fruits of her industry. Of all these things we may, on a future occasion, speak at length; for the present, it is enough to point out that they are hardly the characteristics of a

"——— purple land, where law secures not life."

Substantially, then, the field is narrowed to certain exceptional localities within the limits of a few States,—seven Congressional districts, we believe, if the President's estimate, which will scarcely be considered too low, may be taken. That irregularities and abuses in the conduct of elections have occurred here to a greater extent than elsewhere in the South —perhaps even occasional acts of violence, though these last have been peculiarly and most grossly exaggerated—we can readily believe, and they are deplored and regretted by none more heartily than ourselves. But it will be observed that "the area of disturbance" lies in the very States and localities in which carpet-bag government lasted longest and developed its peculiar characteristics most freely. Just here may be found the real explanation of whatever of the alleged disorders remain as a residuum of truth, after the vast mass of misstatements and exaggerations has been properly corrected and

reduced. They are the product of an era of no-government, or rather of elaborate misgovernment, when society was practically dissolved, and men lost the habit of looking to the organized force of the community to protect them and learned to depend on themselves alone. The people were frightfully oppressed; they were outraged, insulted, reduced to destitution, wellnigh to starvation. The memory of all this is burned deeply into their minds, and has given them the intensest dread of ever falling under a similar yoke, and an unconquerable loathing for that political organization under the auspices of which these wrongs were perpetrated. Persons accustomed only to the party conflicts of communities in the main well-governed, can form no idea of the strength of this feeling. It is in the nature of a panic; it does not pause to reason or investigate, nor does it disappear immediately with the danger that produced it.

During this wretched period, animosities, race and individual, were inflamed to such a degree as to leave behind them a rich legacy of bitterness, displaying itself in feuds and outbreaks often wholly unconnected with politics, and yet which are invariably referred maliciously, or unthinkingly, to this one unfailing source of everything good, bad, or indifferent that happens at the South. That these are by no means exclusively grounded on political causes, appears from the fact that they frequently take place between members of the same party, and very often have their origin in infractions of the rights of property.

Tried in the crucible of a searching investigation, most of these purely political outrages have been found to disappear. For those that remain, strongly and unequivocally as they should be condemned, the authors of the original wrong must be held primarily responsible. Indeed, when all the previous circumstances are fairly considered, we think the wonder will rather be, that a much greater amount both of fraud and violence than there is the slightest satisfactory evidence to establish does not exist in that portion of the South. And even accepting the heated statements of partisans to a far greater extent than is at all admissible, it would not be hard to find parallels

for them in cases admitting of no such pleas in extenuation.

Without recurring to the history of nations separated from us by so great a distance of time and manners as ancient Greece and Rome or mediæval Italy, a glance at the evidence taken before the Hartington Committee of the British House of Commons in 1869 will satisfy the most prejudiced that fraud and intimidation are by no means plants of distinctively southern growth. In truth, there is no necessity for leaving our own shores or going back farther than a generation to find that, however shocking, there is nothing unprecedented in such occurrences. Have "roughs," "repeaters" and "ballot-box-stuffers" and all lawless and violent conduct at elections been happily unknown among us until within the past few years? Were there no stories of "outrages" in 1844, when there was not a negro voter in the land? Have Webster's indignant denunciations of "the abominable frauds, the outrageous flagrant perjuries which are notoriously perpetrated in all the great cities" been so soon forgotten? And of late, have all the States, save those of the South, been absolutely free from such charges? To take an impartial, or rather a most favorable witness, what does Sir Charles Dilke say in his evidence before the Hartington Committee as to the way in which votes are obtained in the cities of Boston and New York? And what, in spite of the strongest prepossessions, must he have said, had the facts been within his knowledge, of the new and improved methods employed of late under the enlightened sway of "special deputy-marshals" in St. Louis, in New York, in Philadelphia? What of the recent ingenious "colonization scheme?" And if we come to the matter of race animosity and oppression, what shall be said of the "hoodlum" outrages in California, or is not the Chinaman as much "a man and a brother" as the negro?

In view of all the facts, an attitude of horror-stricken wonder at the disorders in the South is utterly untenable and even ridiculous. They should be visited, according to their kind and degree, with a due proportion of censure, but there should be one weight and one measure for the whole country. Nor must the peculiar circumstances in which they originated

be forgotten. They are the *sequela* of reconstruction. A terrible tempest has swept over the ocean; its violence has greatly abated:

> Defluit saxis agitatus humor,
> Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes.

But no reasonable observer will expect an immediate return to profound calm. The reproductive power of wrong is not yet exhausted, but it is rapidly wearing out. Its complete extinction must be sought, not in renewed misgovernment, in fresh lawlessness, and disregard of constitutional restraints, but in the certain and steady operation of natural causes. These will assuredly put an end to it, if not unwisely kept alive by external interference.

Already the salutary work has advanced far towards accomplishment, but every new act of injustice or word of sectional bitterness serves to retard it. Whenever the removal of outside pressure shall allow a redivision of parties, not by races but on political lines, to take place, the active bidding between the whites for the colored vote will effectually prevent the use of fraud or intimidation against the negroes as a race. That we are speedily to see the discontinuance of such practices altogether in any section, or among any constituency, experience does not warrant us in hoping.

We had intended in this connection to say something of the so-called negro exodus, to attempt to point out its real causes, and to forecast some of its results, but our limits imperatively forbid. We leave it, therefore, with the single remark that, while it may be a cause of temporary loss and inconvenience to the whites, by far its most serious consequences must ultimately fall on the heads of that unfortunate race which seems destined to be made the subject of all manner of experiments and the dupe of all manner of delusions.

WILLIAM BAIRD.

Art. V.—President Porter on Mill.

The President of Yale has within the past few years been devoting some of his leisure to reviews, ostensibly of the works but really of the characters of a number of the leading thinkers of recent times, with the intent apparently of checking, so far as his powers and influence allow, the course of that progressive scientific thought which has been the characteristic of the latter portion of the present century down to date. A recently published article on *The Newest Atheism* displays a singular want of knowledge or want of candor respecting the life and work of the late William Kingdon Clifford, one of the most brilliant and at the same time one of the most cautious thinkers of the present generation. A former essay, entitled *Professor Tyndall's Latest Deliverance*, and another reviewing Professor Huxley on Hume, deal with both those eminent scientists in a manner which is certainly exceptionable, to say nothing of the matter of his criticisms on the merits. The series was begun by the issue of two essays on John Stuart Mill as a philosopher and as a religious philosopher, which were subsequently published in book form with several others by different authors under the title of *Atlas Essays*.

It might reasonably be expected that President Porter's position, scholarship and literary character would ensure that what he might write would be a careful, fair, and just analysis of the characteristics of the author he should choose to review, and would exhibit reliable and accurate statements concerning the man and his traits. It also might be considered that President Porter would be alive to the fact that it is incumbent (most of all in the criticism of individuals) upon any writer or speaker occupying a place of prominence to be somewhat solicitous to form accurate judgments, so far as in him lies, in order that

the influence derived from the eminence of the critic within any circle should not be exerted in a direction either contrary to truth or tending to give an inadequate or one-sided view of facts or character. Fortunately or unfortunately, it is still true that with the majority of people the value of statements or arguments does not depend so much upon their intrinsic merit as upon the reputation of him who advances or makes use of them. The greater that reputation, the stronger his words seem and the sounder his judgments.

In view of these facts the wonder is how, in the half-dozen essays we have spoken of, so many absolutely erroneous impressions should have been given, and how the writer should have been able to fall into such hideous misconceptions of men, of society, and of science. In the limits of a single article it is not possible adequately to review all of these essays. I shall, therefore, have to content myself for the present with taking one or two as specimens, leaving to the intelligent reader the critical examination of the others. And since to the general student the life and character of Mill are of perhaps the most interest, and to the earnest man his name and fame are most precious, while in criticisms of that philosopher President Porter has displayed probably the greatest amount of ignorance as well as injustice shown in any of his reviews—I will select the two essays on John Stuart Mill for such examination as present limits will allow. It is my purpose to expose some errors and prejudices and supply some omissions of the reviewer respecting Mill's general philosophical character, leaving specific philosophical questions at issue between the English writer and his critic to be argued and settled in other ways. And, inasmuch as the entire foundation for President Porter's second article on Mill is contained in the first—and the mistakes of the second are but repetitions of the errors of the first—our notice may be directed more to the details of that paper than to those of the second.

Very correctly and properly, President Porter endeavors to throw light upon Mill's character as a philosopher by showing the natural bent of his mind as determined by the circumstances of his early training, and thus following the

order of Mill's *Autobiography*, which furnishes the text for many of President Porter's comments, enlarges to some extent upon the characteristics of the elder Mill and their impression upon the early life of the son; thus the biasses of the latter can the better be understood, and the causes which controlled his development can the better be observed. By showing the way in which his opinions grew, President Porter thinks that his idiosyncracies may be explained and even his philosophy judged with greater accuracy. Granting the force of the idea, it must not be forgotten, nevertheless, that in order to arrive at a correct judgment in regard to the estimate itself which is made by one man of another, it is also and equally necessary to apprehend the bias of the one reviewing. As constituting the "bias," we ought to include both the habits of mind and the inclinations and propensities forming and resulting from those habits. Sometimes, from the text of a published article before us, we are able to discover the mental bias of its writer, but in order to understand the same fully, it is necessary to learn his mental character from previously expressed ideas, from his occupation in life, his avocations, his education and habits of all sorts. Not infrequently people, contending in defence of some favorite or of his opinions, claim that he is entirely unbiassed. Exactly what they mean it would be difficult to determine so as to avoid convicting them of making a statement absurd in itself, unless we allow that previous habits of life and thought have no influence whatever upon mind and character. The meaning generally intended probably is, that spite of his bias, his judgment is a fair and correct one. It is greatly to be desired that if people do intend this they should say what they mean; for the exaggerated or meaningless remark just criticised always does damage. If either a writer or some zealous friend endeavors to remove all suspicion of prejudice and to prevent all attempts to discover bias, when it *is* discovered, as it almost invariably is, enough disgust is experienced by the person discovering to set him far more strongly against both writer and opinions than if the bias had been stated freely and allowed. Much the more honest and in all respects the most satisfactory course is to ascertain, as

accurately as circumstances will allow, the natural inclinations and acquired prejudices of a writer, and give them a fair and reasonable consideration in explaining and criticising his views. Hence we need not quarrel with President Porter on account of what he has attempted to do in this line with reference to Mr. Mill; but it is equally important that we do the like in the case of President Porter himself, though as briefly as possible.

There frequently occur in the articles we are noticing allusions to what the author calls the anti-theistic prejudices of Mr. Mill, referring to what President Porter conceives to be his narrow and partisan opposition to Christianity. Moreover, there is given in one place a picture of James Mill as a violent hater of "all questions which naturally suggest even those intellectual or scientific relations which lead to God. * * * He eminently exemplified the truth that atheism necessarily narrows the intellect and shuts it down to a limited sphere of thought and inquiry." This is found in connection with the further statement that John Stuart Mill was destined and trained by his father to propagate his father's creed. Unless it be taken with considerable qualification, I must confess my inability to discover warrant for this latter assertion, either in the *Autobiography* or in any of the published works or articles referring in any wise to the Mill family, to which I have had access. If James Mill had intended his son to be merely, or even principally, the advocate and propagandist of his own creed, it is quite inconceivable why he should have been so sedulous to develop in the boy habits of such careful and patient thinking, or so assiduous in his endeavors to create such a self-reliance and independence as President Porter subsequently bears ample witness to. Without stopping, however, to discuss this point, let us proceed to note that, to a philosopher, anti-theistic biasses are in themselves no greater hindrances to an investigation of truth than are theistic ones. There are all gradations of theistic and anti-theistic prejudices, and in their effect upon the judgment to blind and confuse it there are corresponding degrees of both. A bitter atheism and a bigoted theism equally interfere with a successful search for

truth. A persistent and obstinate refusal to recognize facts looking to the establishment of a religious faith or of a body of religious doctrine, and a dogmatic and intolerant denial of any good as possible to come directly from labors unenlightened by religious principles and uninspired by religious zeal, are alike damaging. And it must never be supposed that it is other than dishonest for an investigator who starts out with the professed idea of examining the grounds of our knowledge, and of constructing a philosophy of the human mind, to advertise an impartial exhibition of facts and then ignore or suppress those which are antagonistic to the thinker's preconceived theological notions. James Mill may have done this: whether his son has so acted or not may perhaps be considered farther on. But it will answer our purpose here to observe that if we regard the anti-theistic prejudices of Mr. Mill, we must not omit to consider that the prejudices of his reviewer (and probably our own) are eminently theistic.

President Porter is not only a divine, but also a practical teacher who has had large and successful experience in the class-room,—to whom respect and doubtless reverence have been freely and constantly accorded. Probably it has not been common for him to have his authority questioned, much less seriously impeached. Now it is almost a truism that out of such relations with others there usually grows an exaggerated idea of the importance of carrying respect and reverence to high and excessive degrees; and hence their absence, or even the absence of their forms, is more promptly noticed and more unfavorably criticised by those accustomed to the implicit and consequential deference of inferiors. To a lawyer, for example, and to many classes of business men, such a fine sense of propriety is ordinarily unknown, and to them what a teacher would be apt to consider a blunt and discourteous attack would seem no more than a decided but perfectly proper expression of difference. President Porter finds occasion to express himself with some emphasis upon what he esteems Mr. Mill's "supercilious," "ungenerous" and "depreciating" estimates of eminent men of his time, and specially instances Mill's treatment of Hamilton. Says

President Porter, alluding to the *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy:* "A superficial perusal of this critique will not fail to leave the impression that Mill's attitude toward Hamilton is supercilious and ungenerous, and that there was little evidence of any magnanimous appreciation of Hamilton's intellectual or personal superiority." Leaving the justice of this remark to a later consideration, it is only desired here to raise the question whether any explanation of President Porter's sensitiveness upon points like these may not be found in the natural tendency just suggested. And closely connected with this, comes in the other important element of natural sympathy arising between those of similar professions and occupations in life. It would be difficult for any one wholly to divest himself of this class feeling, however honestly he might strive to do so, and however fully he might think himself to have succeeded. If a student in President Porter's class were to criticise acutely and at all *con amore* the opinions of any distinguished teacher, especially if such a one held opinions with which President Porter happened to be in accord, there would be four chances out of five that the President would at least pass unfavorable judgment upon his pupil as a very "agile and confident thinker," and would regard him as wanting the spirit of reverential appreciation of a great mind! Therefore, it seems wise for us, when reading strictures upon Mill like that quoted in regard to his polemical examination of Hamilton, and most especially in that case, to remark the fact that President Porter is, by profession, a teacher.

Again, President Porter assumes to be a philosopher. Without pointing out specifically the differences between him and Mr. Mill, it may be said that their points of agreement are few and their points of difference manifold. President Porter never has been guilty of any sympathy with the associational psychology, its tendencies, or its postulates. He has repeatedly characterized this philosophy as "narrow and superficial," and has no affinity with it. It is hardly necessary then to say more upon this subject than to note President Porter's philosophical antagonism to Mill, and to call to mind

the fact that his critique is from the stand-point, not of a friend, but of an opponent.

These three are the principal sources of bias to which the author of the essay before us would be liable. Farther than to put him on his guard, it is not intended to prejudice the reader in advance against President Porter's observations, nor, under pretensions of justice to others, covertly to undermine the trustworthiness of his statements. It is only desired that his judgments be accurately and fairly weighed. In order to effect this, it is claimed that a knowledge of the author's natural or acquired tendencies and preferences is essential, and that these tendencies and preferences should be borne in mind in the process of criticism.

In the commencement of his discussion, President Porter distinctly announces his purpose to criticise Mill as a philosopher only and not as a man, exhibiting the various traits of his general character only so far as may be necessary to throw light upon his character as a philosopher. An examination of the succeeding pages of the first article reveals the presence of a large amount of comment and criticism upon those mental and moral characteristics of Mr. Mill which the critic conceives to have moulded his philosophical opinions. It is not then altogether with Mill's philosophy, its truth or falsity, that President Porter has to do, but also, and perhaps mainly, with Mill's philosophical character. Quite obviously, such a method of treatment as President Porter proposes will, in its employment, cause to be presented a more or less complete picture of the *man* as well as of the philosopher; for it is hardly to be supposed that a person could maintain one habit of mind for his public writings or speeches, and a contradictory or very widely different one for his words and acts in private life. Nor does President Porter deny such a consequence; but, on the contrary, often applies his judgments in both essays, without exception or reservation, to Mr. Mill's entire personal character, and frequently, when perhaps not designing to do this himself, by his broad and unqualified language makes it quite inevitable that the reader should do so.

The sources from which President Porter gathers those views

in regard to the elder Mill with which he prefaces his account of the mental development of the son cannot be certainly determined, inasmuch as he has not chosen to state them. But it is to be presumed that the basis, at least, of those views is to be found in the portraiture of James Mill given by John Stuart Mill in the *Autobiography*. And from the entire context in President Porter's essay we are led to suppose that the *Autobiography* itself gives the sanction to the reviewer's statements. At any rate, those statements are given with a positiveness which would cause us to infer that their truth was well known and universally acknowledged. President Porter says of the elder Mill:

"The truths in which he had any faith or zeal were also very scanty in number and somewhat narrow in their range. He believed very positively in matter and very hesitatingly in spirit. He believed very strongly in man and very feebly in God; very earnestly in human government and social organization and not at all in a divine Providence. He had a faith in democratic institutions which was almost fanatical and a hatred of every species of theocracy which was far more than fanatical in its positiveness and acrimony."

If this portraiture be a correct one, it seems that what James Mill did believe he believed with his whole soul—"positively," "strongly," "earnestly," fanatically, and more than fanatically. And since "matter" and "man" and "human government, and social organization" and "democratic institutions," and "the perfectibility of man through an enlightened self-interest, by means of popular government and universal education especially," * would seem to give room for truths and theories vast in number, and in extent wide as humanity and the material universe, it is very difficult to see how "the truths in which he had any faith or zeal were very scanty in number" and "narrow in their range." If President Porter had said that James Mill followed one method of philosophizing which many consider a narrow one with great zeal, and at times almost with apparent fanaticism, and was in all things a man of strong belief and prejudices—the very reverse of a characteristic skeptic—his statements might have been more correct.

* This follows the passage quoted.

There is in this part of President Porter's review a great deal of comment similar to what has been quoted, which contains some truth and omits things equally true, and which is more colored by what would seem, to many, the author's prejudices than is warranted by the facts stated either in the *Autobiography* or by good critics elsewhere. All those who knew James Mill seem to coincide in testifying to the fierceness of his zeal for his own opinions, and against those of his antagonists; but, unlike President Porter, most of them show traits that greatly and favorably counterbalance this one, or confirm the existence of controlling ends which limited and confined that enthusiasm to a considerable extent. Mr. Grote, in a letter to Mr. G. W. Norman,* speaks thus:

"I have met Mill often at his house and hope to derive great pleasure and instruction from his acquaintance, as he is a very profound thinking man and seems well disposed to communicate as well as clear and intelligible in his manner. His mind has indeed all that cynicism and asperity which belong to the Benthamic school; and what I chiefly dislike in him is the readiness and seeming preference with which he dwells on the *faults and defects* of others, even of the greatest men."

In a passage occurring in close proximity to this letter, Mrs. Grote remarks of the elder Mill:

"This able dogmatist exercised considerable influence over other young men of that day as well as over Grote. He was indeed a propagandist of a high order, equally master of the pen and of speech. Moreover, he possessed the faculty of kindling in his auditors the generous impulses toward the popular side, both in politics and social theories; leading them, at the same time, to regard the cultivation of individual affections and sympathies as destructive of lofty aims, and indubitably hurtful to the mental character."

There is one remark of President Porter made in this connection, which I hardly feel at liberty to pass over, although in order to correct it by exhibiting what I conceive is a more just judgment, an extended extract may be necessary. President Porter goes on to say, in language of which a portion has been quoted before:

"Mr. James Mill was an anti-theist, not so much so from intellectual conviction as from passionate dislike to all questions

* *Personal Life of George Grote*, by Mrs. Grote, p. 21.

which naturally suggest even those intellectual or scientific relations which lead to God. He was a half-Manichean which, for a mind trained like his, was simply to accept the first make-shift by which to dispose of any questionings of thoughts which might emerge above the horizon of his political and economic dogmas."

The last sentence is the one to which I take exception; and lest the reader may too hastily receive from this an impression possibly (and to me it seems undoubtedly) erroneous, it is advisable to place beside the passage some of the remarks made upon James Mill in the *Autobiography*, with which citations will be concluded all we need to notice of President Porter's views of the character of that philosopher. I think these and the passages quoted from Mrs. Grote's work, as well as others which could be produced from the same and from other sources, indicate James Mill to have been quite the contrary of what is asserted and implied in the last sentence of the above quotation; and the whole, it is believed, will give a much fairer presentation of him than we can get from President Porter. Says the *Autobiography:*

"My father, educated in the creed of Scotch Presbyterianism, had by his own studies and reflections been early led to reject not only the belief in revelation, but the foundation of what is commonly called Natural Religion. * * * He considered Butler's argument as conclusive against the only opponents for whom it was intended. Those who admit an omnipotent as well as perfectly just and benevolent Maker and Ruler of such a world as this can say little against Christianity, but what can, with at least equal force, be retorted against themselves. Finding, therefore, no halting place in Deism, he remained in a state of perplexity until, doubtless after many struggles, he yielded to the conviction that concerning the origin of things nothing was known. This is the only correct statement of his opinion; for dogmatic atheism he looked upon as absurd; as most of those whom the world has considered atheists have always done. * * * It would have been wholly inconsistent with my father's ideas of duty to allow me to acquire impressions contrary to his convictions and feelings respecting religion; and he impressed upon me, from the first, that the manner in which the world came into existence was a subject upon which nothing was known. * * * He, at the same time, took care that I should be acquainted with what had been thought by mankind on these impenetrable problems. I have mentioned at how early an age he made me a reader of ecclesiastical history; and he taught me

to take the strongest interest in the Reformation as the great and decisive contest against priestly tyranny for liberty of thought. * * * Right and wrong, good and bad, he regarded as qualities solely of conduct—of acts and omissions; there being no feeling which may not lead, and does not frequently lead, either to good or bad actions; conscience itself, the very desire to act right, often leading people to act wrong. * * * But though he did not allow honesty of purpose to soften his disapprobation of actions, it had its full effect on his estimation of characters. No one prized conscientiousness and rectitude of intention more highly, or was more incapable of valuing any person in whom he did not feel an assurance of it."* "Being not only a man whom nothing would have induced to write against his convictions, but one who invariably threw into everything he wrote so much of his convictions as he thought the circumstances would in any way permit; being, it must also be said, one who never did anything negligently; never undertook any task, literary or other, on which he did not conscientiously bestow all the labor necessary to performing it adequately."†

Dr. Porter comments quite freely upon the unfavorable effect which the peculiar system of training, to which the younger Mill was subjected by his father, had upon the former; and refers very many unfortunate traits of character, which he believes himself entitled to say existed in the son, to the unwholesome influence of that severe and isolated discipline which he received in his early years. Indeed, President Porter seems to have had more than a suspicion that young Mill must have had a natural hebetude of judgment or sensibility to allow himself to be so outraged!

"No boy," he says, "not possessed of original obtuseness of judgment or sensibility—one or both—would have tamely submitted to such an isolation from the rest of mankind. No boy who could allow himself to be passively moulded by it, could possibly escape from one-sided views of man, of nature, and of society, or fail to accept the fancies or conclusions of bookish and secluded theorists in place of those corrected judgments, which the experience of life and men alone can furnish."

There are a number of passages similar to this, which give the impression that young Mill was trained up in utter seclusion, not allowed the usual recreations and amusements of boys, but forced to grow up to manhood with his mind pressed into and shaped by the mould which his father made for him.

* *Autobiography*, pp. 39-50. † *Ib.*, p. 4.

But a reference to the *Autobiography* alone, to say nothing of other authorities, reveals considerable exaggeration in these accounts, and an omission to take note of some facts that would detract from the strength of the reviewer's argument. During the childhood of Mill, before his thirteenth year, his family lived in considerable seclusion. After that time, his father became an active business man, and in ways of business was brought daily into contact with the world. In the family of a man in such circumstances there must have been many opportunities to meet and to observe men if not boys, and to become tolerably familiar with practical life, especially as the father was an exceptionally practical man, and his influence and example in the matters of practical life must have impressed themselves upon the son.* Moreover, we have from the pen of the autobiographer accounts of his frequent meeting with eminent men at his father's house and elsewhere. At quite an early age he had seen Bentham, and Ricardo, and Hume, and also, a little later, Grote. Mrs. Grote speaks of John Mill, at his age of twelve, as being often in company with his father, but generally noticeable for his silent and quiet manner,—"being somewhat repressed by the elder Mill." Though he was a bookish child, his early associations could not well have been farther removed than they were from the immediate influence of "bookish and secluded theorists." The education his father gave him was little calculated to develop a one-sided culture, except perhaps in the matter of religion. President Porter might have argued that this absence of religious training alone would give the boy a one-sided culture, but does not make such an argument in this place, his inferences being drawn wholly from the mere method of Mill's early training. Least of all could this course of instruction have created a blind confidence in *anybody's* opinions.

The immense amount of study devoted during childhood

* Mr. James Mill was the architect of his own fortunes; never was in debt, and supported a large family by his own exertions. A critic in *Fraser's Magazine* says that he was very "unpractical," but only instances one or two of his published works to prove the assertion. Bentham entrusted his business affairs at one time almost entirely to Mill, because of the latter's singular ability in that direction.

to Greek and Latin classical authors would be likely, if the argument for the broadening influence of classical studies is good for anything, to lay the foundations of a tolerably broad culture; while the unrelenting severity of the drill in logic which he received would be a pretty effectual safeguard against his receiving ill-substantiated assertions and general or vague opinions, or those held through prejudice or mere custom. Besides, he went through a very thorough course of historical reading, and to some extent read works of fiction and poetry. Those legendary tales which are so fascinating to children were not neglected, though sparingly read. At the age of fourteen he made a tour of France, attended lectures on special subjects, formed the personal acquaintance of some distinguished men, and had ample opportunity to observe men and manners. At sixteen he was largely instrumental in establishing a remarkable debating society, in which he took prominent part as a debater, and where he had opportunity, well improved, to measure his strength with other boys as well as to derive benefit from a familiar association with them. Yet we find President Porter regretting that he never had been forced "to confront his pretensions with the judgment of his peers and to measure his intellectual strength in debate and conference." At the age of seventeen, young Mill commenced an active business-life as a clerk in the India House, at which age he hardly could fail to be impressed by all his surroundings, and when his character and habits of life, his tastes and ideas could by no means have been fully settled. Still further, in the years when he was most directly under his father's control liberty was allowed him to pursue studies of his own choice and to gain for himself discipline by writing. Of this liberty he took full advantage, and what he wrote, his father never asked to see. Later, he tells us that his chosen recreation in his vacations from the India House was long pedestrian tours with selected friends—another indication that he was by no means cut off from the influences of companionship or youthful friendships. Nor is it to be supposed that his mother had no share in determining his character, mental or moral. Mr. Mill, in his *Autobiography*, does not allude to maternal

influence, very likely because he supposed the ordinary power of mothers would be taken for granted, and there was in her training nothing special or extraordinary; perhaps because it was insignificant, or he thought it insignificant, as moulding his character when compared with his father's influence. Mr. Mill does not pretend to give a record of his personal life, but only a history of his mental growth and what was connected therewith. But the fact that his mother is not spoken of by him in his *Autobiography* does not warrant us in assuming that she was a nonentity so far as influence on his life was concerned.

So much for President Porter's assertions and innuendoes in relation to the early training of John Stuart Mill. A word, now, upon the question of the actual existence of some of those traits like obtuseness, conceit, perversity of apprehension and others which President Porter believes he possessed as derived from the ill-advised course of his early education. His reviewer considers Mill to have been "persistently obstinate;" "entirely incapable of looking at a subject from the standpoint of another mind," "a narrow and splenetic dogmatist;" "had never the capacity to look at any argument from any other point of view than that which his own philosophy permitted;" "to have lacked in great measure the capacity to be suspicious of his own positions, or to act the part of a critic upon himself;" his mind "plastic in the hands of others, but unchangeable when left to itself;" "ready to receive impressions and yet persistent to retain them;" "claimed to be so progressive and yet made so little progress." Whatever actually may have been the capacity of Mr. Mill to understand himself, his own acts and motives, he evidently tried to be both appreciative of others and progressive in his own opinions, and thought he had "a mind which was always pressing forward, equally ready to learn and to unlearn either from its own thoughts or from those of others." *

On reading the foregoing asseverations of President Porter, a person cannot help wondering how such a view of Mr. Mill can be reconciled with those other statements wherein stress is

* *Autobiography*, p. 2.

laid upon his peculiarities as a remarkably patient and thorough, as well as acute, analyst. How a man could be persistent to retain impressions, unchangeable when left to himself, and without capacity to be suspicious of his own positions, and at the same time a person with habits of such unwearied and thorough analysis of most questions presented to his mind, is not so obvious as to require no explanation. Perhaps President Porter means that he was only a patient analyzer of opinions against which he had a prejudice, and was disposed to retain persistently impressions once favorably received without analysis: but in such a case he would not be a thorough analyst. Or perhaps President Porter would imply that when, after examination, he once arrived at conclusions, he was obstinate in retaining them. If this be the reviewer's meaning, what is the propriety of setting so little value upon the processes of investigation and analysis by which this so patient and acute analyst and logician arrived at his conclusions, if he was indeed an investigator of such high order? And if he was, why should he not have been obstinate in retaining his conclusions when he reached them? I am sure no fault can be found with a man for adhering to his convictions, especially when those convictions have been reached through a degree of careful study which only few men ever give to any subject. What could President Porter expect, but that a scholar and a thinker would and should be persistent to retain his conclusions, when those conclusions by which he is known to the world, having undergone the growth, modification, correction and settlement of at least twenty years' thought and experience of active life, are published after the author has reached thirty-five years of age? That there were such changes and modifications Dr. Porter (coincidently with the critic in *Fraser's*) admits and avers, even to the extent of charging, in another part of the same paper, "a hazy and unsettled mind which was determined to adhere to its original bent even against its underlying convictions that its grounds might not have been thoroughly examined or were not thoroughly trustworthy."

How a mind "incapable of looking at a subject from the

stand-point of another mind" and without "the capacity to be suspicious of its own positions" ever could become "unsettled" or have "underlying convictions that its grounds might not have been thoroughly examined or were not thoroughly trustworthy," is another of those unique problems with which President Porter seems so fond of perplexing his readers. Mr. Mill himself supposed he had a mind so ready to apprehend the arguments and ideas of other people, that he says, had it not been for his wife's influence there would have been danger of his yielding too much to the influence of thinkers opposed to him. * But, not to take Mill's estimate of himself, judging from evidence his works afford, there is scarcely a controversialist known to history who has shown a greater capacity for placing himself in the position of another mind, to grasp subjects from another's point of view. The instances in which he misstates the position of antagonists are rare, and the cases in which he fails to apprehend his opponent's apparent meaning still rarer; though, acute and fundamental as he was in analyzing the arguments of others, he was as unsparing in his exposure of what he deemed their errors. Men, when they are cornered in an argument, are very apt to say they did not mean thus and thus. Perhaps they did not see before what was involved in their ideas; but when they have come to see it and have shifted their ground, modifying their opinion or the expression of it, to say they were not understood is only an evasion. To be sure, now that they have found a better statement, or think they have, or have abandoned the former,—judged by their changed position they *are* not understood, but they have no right to claim that originally they were misunderstood. They were understood and exposed, and that is what makes them so sensitive.

* "There was a moment in my mental progress when I might easily have fallen into a tendency toward over government both social and political; as there was also a moment when by reaction from a contrary excess I might have become a less thorough radical and democrat than I am. In both these points as in many others she benefited me by keeping me right when I was right as by leading me to new truths and ridding me of errors. My great readiness and eagerness to learn from everybody and to make room in my opinions for every new acquisition by adjusting the old and the new to one another, might, but for her steadying influence, have reduced me into modifying my early opinions too much."—*Autobiography*, p. 252.

I am quite aware that what has just been said in regard to the powers of Mr. Mill to grasp the ideas of opponents and put himself in their place is assertion and not proof; but inasmuch as there are only assertions to contend against, from a tolerably thorough acquaintance with Mr. Mill's works and with the philosophical opinions which he opposes, it may not be hazardous to make those affirmations. When President Porter adduces cases to prove his declarations, it will be time enough to examine particular instances of agreement or disagreement between the real opinions of philosophers and Mr. Mill's representations of those opinions. Of course, it is not altogether possible for a man to enter fully into the spirit of a method of philosophizing totally different from his own; and since language is imperfect and people sometimes cannot and often do not express exactly what they mean or all they mean, a completely adequate comprehension of an opponent is not usually practicable. But it is competent to examine carefully and fairly the words of antagonists, and by thorough analysis to find out what *those words* mean, without perverting their meaning. This Mr. Mill has done with a degree of candor and faithfulness rarely equalled.

We now turn very naturally to resume our consideration of those charges of "conceit," "ungenerous" and "supercilious" treatment of eminent men, "lack of reverence for the gifted minds of the past," and "want of affectionate sympathy and reverential appreciation of contemporaries"—all of which President Porter brings to Mr. Mill's door. It will be recollected that these accusations are enforced by a reference to Sir William Hamilton, one passage of which has already been quoted, and another of which is the following:

"It is not surprising [in view of the flattery lavished upon Mill] that when he gave himself deliberately to the work of criticising and refuting the metaphysician who had been foremost in reputation in Great Britain, he should have assumed airs which his own well-schooled habits of decorum did not altogether conceal, and should have presumed not a little upon his own inattention, or that of the public, to the defects of his own philosophical system in which he had learned by the deference of others to place such implicit and presumptuous confidence."

In this passage the critic seems to regard Mill's mind as quite the reverse of "hazy and unsettled;" and moreover supposes another source of that implicit confidence in his own philosophical system than early-formed habits of dogmatic reliance on his own conclusions, unchangeableness of mind and persistent obstinacy. In regard to those strictures on Hamilton which it may be supposed gave rise to President Porter's remark, the impression, as I conceive, which one who is not frightened at the very idea of expressing a difference of opinion would derive from reading his book, is one of a very complete and penetrating investigation into the meaning of some important principles and hypotheses of Sir William Hamilton's philosophy, and with it of a sharp and sometimes caustic expression of the defects which the examiner found. Yet I have never seen anywhere in the book evidence of putting on "airs," or of supercilious or conceited reliance upon the author's own superiority. At the risk of being charged with tediousness, I will here quote portions of Mr. Mill's own account of the circumstances which led to the examination of Sir W. Hamilton's philosophy, attaching disconnected passages to give a more condensed form than the pages of the *Autobiography* present, but still in such a manner as to exhibit Mr. Mill's own story in all its important details. This account, as it seems to me, gives an ample explanation of all that requires explanation or apology in regard to that work upon Hamilton to which President Porter makes reference.

"In particular I have long felt that the prevailing tendency to regard all the marked distinctions of human character as innate and in the main indelible, and to ignore the irresistible proofs that by far the greater part of those differences * * * are such as not only might but naturally would be produced by differences in circumstances, is one of the chief hindrances to the rational treatment of great social questions and one of the greatest stumbling-blocks to human improvement. * * * Considering then the writings and fame of Sir W. Hamilton as the great fortress of the intuitional philosophy in this country, a fortress the more formidable from the imposing character and the in many respects great personal merits and mental endowments of the man, I thought it might be a real service to philosophy to attempt a thorough examination of all his most important doctrines and an estimate of his general claims to eminence as a philosopher, and I was con-

firmed in this resolution by observing that in the writings of at least one, and him one of the ablest of Sir W. Hamilton's followers, his peculiar doctrines were made the justification of a view of religion which I hold to be profoundly immoral—that it is our duty to bow down in worship before a Being whose moral attributes are affirmed to be unknowable by us, and to be perhaps extremely different from those which, when we are speaking of our fellow-creatures, we call by the same names. As I advanced in my task, the damage to Sir W. Hamilton's reputation became greater than I at first expected, through the almost incredible multitude of inconsistencies which showed themselves on comparing different passages with one another. It was my business, however, to show things exactly as they were and I did not flinch from it. I endeavored always to treat the philosopher whom I criticised, with the most scrupulous fairness, and I knew that he had abundance of disciples and admirers to correct me if I ever unintentionally did him injustice. * * * On the whole the book has done its work: it has shown the weak side of Sir William Hamilton and has reduced his too great philosophical reputation within more moderate bounds; and by some of its discussions, as well as by two expository chapters on the notions of matter and of the mind, it has perhaps thrown additional light on some of the disputed questions in the domain of psychology and metaphysics."*

While it is undoubtedly true, as President Porter suggests, that Hamilton wrote his lectures under some disadvantages and therefore is not to be considered as morally culpable for imperfections and inaccuracies, it would be a strange argument that because excuse can be found for a failure, complete or partial, it is therefore to be concluded that there is no failure at all, and that it is "ungenerous" to attempt to discover one. A member of Congress intending to speak on the currency question, amid the pressure of other duties and on account of ill-health may have made an inadequate preparation and may have fallen into mistakes of fact or drawn unwarranted conclusions; but is it not legitimate for his mistakes to be corrected and his fallacies to be exposed by another speaker? And is that speaker to be estopped from doing this effectively by a fear that to do so will indicate a want of "any magnanimous appreciation" of the other's "intellectual or personal superiority?" And are "appreciation of superiority," "generosity," and "respect," traits so uncommon that a person,

* *Autobiography*, pp. 274—276.

when speaking or writing, is obliged to dwell upon them constantly, lest, in the absence of their expression, it will be presumed that they are absent in mind and heart?

At this moment of writing, no other one of the "gifted minds of the past" is recalled toward whom Mr. Mill might have been suspected of entertaining any more irreverence than people ordinarily entertain in their varying judgments of greatness and littleness. Among contemporaries, the most notable opponent was Dr. Whewell, with whom he was very frequently at variance. In a controversial article published in the *Westminster Review* for October, 1852, and afterwards in a volume of *Dissertations and Discussions*, Mr. Mill reviews two works of Dr. Whewell on moral philosophy, and handles them rather severely. For his "asperity of tone" he apologizes in the preface to the *Dissertations and Discussions*, on the ground that, in what may be supposed to be this article and in one other of the same series, he was defending maligned doctrines, and individuals misrepresented and needing emphatic defence; also on the ground that his adversaries, "men not themselves remarkable for mild treatment of opponents," are quite capable of holding their own in any form of reviewing or pamphleteering polemics. But in general, when Mill makes allusion to Dr. Whewell, it is with expressions of consideration, of praise and even of thanks, unmistakably generous and sincere. In the *System of Logic*, in passages too numerous to quote, and more than once, though not so pointedly, in the *Autobiography*, has he borne witness in terms indicative of strong feeling to the high opinion he holds of that philosopher and of his own obligations to him.*

Of the judgments passed in the *Autobiography* upon various men of Mill's times, it would not be rash to suppose that President Porter was especially disturbed by the remarks made upon Mr. Maurice, in whom Mill esteems that "there was more intellectual power wasted" than in any of his contemporaries. The reason why Mill considers it wasted is that Maurice possessed a "timidity of conscience combined

* See *System of Logic* (Harper's Ed., 1846), Pref., p. iv; also pp. 36, 103, 152-3, 161, 172, 178, 180, 297, 422, 426, 437. *Autobiography*, pp. 208, 223.

with original sensitiveness of temperament" which made him anxious to "prove to his own mind that the Church of England had known everything from the first and that all the truths on the ground of which the Church and orthodoxy have been attacked (many of which he saw as clearly as any one) are not only consistent with the Thirty-nine Articles, but are better understood and expressed in those Articles than by any one who rejects them." Undoubtedly, his reviewer would regard this as an instance where Mill's judgment was biassed by anti-Christian prejudice. But Mr. Mill also remarks: "I have so deep a respect for Maurice's character and purposes as well as for his great mental gifts that it is with some unwillingness I say anything which may seem to place him on a less high eminence than I would gladly be able to accord to him;" while in a subsequent passage Mill ranks him in regard to intellectual powers as greatly superior to Coleridge. Perhaps President Porter would hold this to be one of those "studiously paradoxical and depreciating" judgments of contemporaries that seem to impress themselves so strongly upon that gentleman's mind. But (taking Mr. Maurice as a fair illustration) when Mr. Mill says he has a deep respect for a man, what facts in Mill's character or life has President Porter found to warrant the supposition that, under cover of pretensions of esteem, he is principally endeavoring to indulge a cold and bitter cynicism?

As exhibiting a view entirely opposite, it would be well to note the uniform testimony of those who were brought into the closest personal relations with Mr. Mill, so far as they have given testimony. They bear witness to a very different personal character from that assumed by his critic, who so thoroughly abhors a "want of affectionate sympathy with and reverential appreciation of" gifted minds. H. R. Fox-Bourne, in a little sketch of Mill's life, which was afterwards published with others in a *Memorial Volume*,* in language touchingly affectionate bears witness to Mill's charity toward others and his modesty concerning his own attainments. "He never

* From this *Memorial Volume* most of the following quotations illustrating Mill's personal character are taken, as also are some others farther on.

boasted, and he despised no one." "His genial and graceful bearing towards every one who came near him must be within the knowledge of very many who will read these columns." W. T. Thornton tells us how, in the India House, for a year Mr. Mill preserved for him his position by assuming his duties, when he was compelled to relinquish them on account of physical weakness, and then asks: "Is it wonderful that such a man, supposed by those who did not know him to be cold, stern, and dry, should have been enthusiastically beloved by those who did?" "Differences of opinion," says Mr. Thornton, "we had in abundance; but my open avowal of them was always recognized by him as one of the strongest proofs of respect, and served to cement instead of weakening our attachment." Remarks Herbert Spencer: "A generosity that might almost be called romantic was obviously the feeling prompting sundry of those courses of action which have been commented upon as errors. * * * Mr. Mill was not one of those who, to sympathy with their fellow men in the abstract join indifference to them in the concrete. There came from him generous acts that corresponded with his generous sentiments. * * * Evidently, along with his own unswerving allegiance to truth, there was in Mr. Mill an unusual power of appreciating in others a like conscientiousness and so of suppressing any feeling of irritation produced by difference—suppressing it, not in appearance only but in reality, and that too under the most trying circumstances." These observations are enforced by instances amply corroborative, but which need not be cited here. And finally, in almost amusing contradiction of President Porter, we read the words of Henry Fawcett: "There is nothing so abhorrent to him as that bigotry which prevents a man appreciating what is just and true in the opinions of those who differ from him." "No more fitting homage can probably be offered to the memory of one to whom so many of us are bound by the strong ties of gratitude and affection, than if, profiting by his example, we endeavor to remember that above all things he was just to his opponents, that he appreciated opinions from which he differed, and that one of his highest claims to our admiration

was his general sympathy with all branches of knowledge."

These testimonials of friends certainly do not indicate any of that "cold and self-centred temper,"of which the critic seems to find evidence. And that he had so many friends who entertained such an enthusiastic admiration for him, is no mean proof that his temperament was quite the reverse. A large proportion of these criticisms, indeed, reminds one of some of those passed upon Theodore Parker, that cold and bloodless infidel who was wont to preach dire heresy, and violate the Sabbath by carrying loaves of bread to the starving poor!

It provokes a smile to see the almost querulous way in which President Porter complains of Mill's inability "to know when he was fairly refuted." Though the illustration be a very old one, and though the parallel can be carried no farther, nevertheless the *spirit* exhibited by the reviewer seems exactly the same as that of the one juryman inveighing against his eleven obstinate associates.

"Slow to be convinced," says he, "and * * * utterly insensible to the force of what seemed to others a conclusive demonstration that he was playing fast and loose with his own principles." "This essay [*i. e.* on *Nature*] seems to reflect the narrowest and the most acrid spirit of his unripe youth, as well as the bitterest prejudices against all who believe in God's goodness, which characterized his early manhood. It would seem that his temper must have been for the most part greatly disturbed, while he thought and wrote out this essay."

Without instituting any counter-inquiry as to the state of President Porter's digestion when he wrote out this criticism, and without comment upon the latter extract, I must be allowed to protest against the former. "*What seemed to others a conclusive demonstration*,"—to whom, pray? To what *others?* Do those who think with President Porter comprise all the *other* people in the world? And does that gentleman ignore the undoubtedly large number who agreed with Mill, and did not think he *was* refuted, or *was* "playing fast and loose with his own principles?" Or has the intuitional philosophy so thoroughly conquered its adversaries of the other school that Mr. Mill only remains, as a warning—

a lonely and unprotected forest pine, gaunt and grim, left standing after its fellows have been cut down, only to be pointed at as an object of wondering curiosity, and show by its contrast to the surroundings how complete has been the triumph of opposing forces? If not, why censure it as a reprehensible mental trait that he did not see his way clear to recede from positions carefully taken, and did not believe he was answered or overthrown? Condemn his opinions, if you will; call them false; controvert them by argument; refute them, if you can: but what possible reason can there be for lowering the worth of the man or the philosopher, not because the opinions are false, but because he held them conscientiously and, as he thought, intelligently? So to hold them was not a defect in Mr. Mill's intellectual or moral character; but his reviewer would, I can but think, lead most people to suppose that he so regards it.

In connection with these is another criticism that Dr. Porter makes upon Mill, which is the stock criticism of the vulgar upon philosophers; and it is, therefore, all the more surprising that it should be suggested by a cultured and scholarly man, especially as the assertion involved in it is not a true one. Says he:

"But the most signal and comprehensive defect in the intellectual character of Mr. Mill was his lack of common-sense, or his almost complete incapacity to judge of common things and common events and their relations to philosophic principles. This was not more apparent in his behavior in respect to some of the most obvious relations of human society and in his failure as a practical statesman, than it was in his discussion of fundamental truths in political and metaphysical philosophy."

The term *common-sense* is one of the most doubtful and ambiguous in use. It is not to be supposed that the critic intended here to employ it in any special sense, but rather in its loose popular signification of an ability to adapt one's self to existing circumstances, and to understand and deal with the ordinary practical affairs of life. If this surmise be the correct one, it might be permissible, perhaps, to raise the question whether it is common-sense at all that is brought into play in the discussion of fundamental truths of philosophy.

But if by common-sense is meant correct judgment of truths and principles, then the question is reopened as to what judgments are the correct ones; and until this be settled, it becomes a person to be careful about prematurely judging who has common-sense and who has not. Probably, however, President Porter's idea in the main is in accordance with the former supposition. Assuming this to be so, it is at least a little singular that a man destitute, or almost destitute, of capacity to judge of common things and common events, should have had those two peculiar and remarkable traits which President Porter considers to lie at the foundation of Mill's popularity and influence; or, indeed, that he should have had any popularity and influence at all:—

"The one was that he uniformly devoted himself to the discussion of subjects of practical and present interest; the other that he as uniformly aimed to discuss them in a style which could be readily apprehended and followed by intelligent men, and sedulously avoided the language and methods of the schools."

He studied for practical ends; his writings were timely in the sense of meeting a popular demand:

"Not only did Mr. Mill uniformly write upon topics of present interest, but he uniformly preferred the language of common life to the language of the schools."

Mr. Mill, then, according to his critic, studied for practical ends; used common language; won his popularity by what the people esteemed a successful dealing with practical topics, —and yet was without much common-sense or capacity to judge of common things and common events. Moreover, examining, irrespective of President Porter's statements, the facts of Mill's life, we are forced to a conclusion very different from the reviewer's, as quoted above.

Even if a lack of a sense of the humorous were a sure criterion by which to judge of the lack of common-sense, it is certain that President Porter could not substantiate his implications that Mill was destitute of such a sense. Indeed he does not *assert* that, but leaves it to be inferred. What he does say is:—"Scarcely a trace of humor is to be discerned in Mr. Mill's writings." But in order that such a statement may have any force, it must mean that Mr. Mill

himself had little sense of humor; for, that a man did not write in humorous language would not prove that he had no sense of humor. He might have spent his life in writing mathematical treatises, and if the world had only those treatises it might never know he was a humorous man, though in private life he were a veritable laughing philosopher. The most of Mill's works were scientific treatises in form, and in them humor would have been out of place, or at least not a necessary accompaniment. I do not discover in the *Human Intellect* very many traces of a sense of humor, but its author would regard it as very hard if therefore we were to argue that he had no common-sense! Nor would such an inference be justifiable if the essays we are reviewing had no such traces, though here they are found. Nor because, in Mr. Mill's reviews and discussions I do not discover indications of this sort, can I consider myself authorized to say such a thing of Mr. Mill. When an author essays to treat subjects in an argumentative way, there is certainly sufficient opportunity for revealing a capacity for humor if he chooses to avail himself thereof. But if he do so, he will be very apt to exhibit it in more or less direct ridicule of his antagonists, thus inclining readers to overlook the absence of sound reasons in the speaker and to underrate the strength of his opponent's reasons; and this is not a commendable method of warfare. Moreover, if a person becomes schooled in habits of logical thought and in the exercise of the ratiocinative processes of the mind, few will be disposed to deny that he diminishes somewhat his capacity for viewing things in humorous lights. If, therefore, it be asserted that a lack of humor indicates a lack of sense of humor, and thus a lack of common-sense, it must also be allowed that a cultivation of habits of logical thought diminishes a person's ability to understand common things and common events; and such a conclusion would not readily find favor. Undoubtedly, it does lessen in a degree the capacity to view common things and common events in their merely common aspects and relations by diminishing the tendency and the habit so to view them. But this hardly could be esteemed a disadvantage to a philosopher. Rather, I should say, it is a prime requisite to becoming a philosopher at all.

Any well-disciplined person, as appears from reasons already given, or others, could easily accustom himself in writing works of greater pretension, or in magazine and review articles, to treat subjects in a plain, critical, argumentative manner, and yet, as before said, be fully capable of appreciating humor and even of ordinarily looking at things in their humorous lights. It is hence entirely unsafe to infer from the absence of humor in Mr. Mill's writings that he was destitute of a sense of the humorous. To determine in regard to that, we can only resort to the philosopher's every-day life. I remember reading, when Mr. Mill was in the House of Commons, a letter from England, published in some New York paper, I think, in which the writer, speaking of Parliament and the characteristics of its members, alluded to Mr. Mill as keeping his immediate neighborhood in the House in a state of continual merriment by his witty remarks and humorous comments on what was passing. Mrs. Grote, in at least one instance, alludes to the playful ways of "John Mill;" and an English reviewer * speaks of the keen delight with which Mr. Mill entered into the pleasures of a continental excursion wherein he was the life and soul of the party. H. R. Fox-Bourne, in the sketch before quoted from, says: "We shall not here dilate upon those minor qualities of mind and heart that made Mr. Mill's society so charming to all who were fortunate enough to have any share in it." I have also, in a private letter from Miss Helen Taylor, step-daughter of Mr. Mill, in response to my specific inquiry, the following words:

"I can state at once that his sense of humor was remarkable and a constant characteristic, enlivening his conversation, which with his intimates was habitually cheerful. I think a perusal of his writings by any one whose sense of the value of words is keen, will be quite enough to furnish ample evidence of humor; it peeps out in sly hits at prevailing follies of thought, which, although often such as can only be appreciated by the highly trained mind, are not the less distinctly humorous in their character. It is difficult to read a dozen pages even of its most serious writings without coming across these evidences of his sense of the humorous in the intellectual and moral vagaries of mankind."

These instances are sufficient; and they render it incumbent

* In the *Westminster Review.*

upon us to make a more careful and thorough examination of the facts of Mr. Mill's life and personal character as set forth by those who knew him best, before we accept President Porter's conclusion that he had little sense of humor.

But, passing to more important evidences of the entire erroneousness of President Porter's criticism that Mill had no common-sense, I should like to inquire how it would be possible for a man nearly destitute of it to rise step by step from a mere clerkship to one of the highest positions in the India House. In this business, "for three and twenty years * * * he had * * * immediate charge of the political department and had written almost every 'political' despatch of any importance that conveyed the instructions of the merchant-princes of Leadenhall Street to their proconsuls in Asia." * A business success surely does not argue lack of common-sense; and in how many thousands of ways must Mill, in his position, have been forced to employ just those qualities which President Porter affirms he did not possess! How many times, then, must he have been obliged to subordinate his "theories" to the exigencies of the moment; and how fully he must have repressed his own "persistent obstinacy" and conformed his own will to the wishes and mandates of his employers! When he retired on a pension, strenuous efforts were made to induce him to return to the employment in which he had so distinguished himself. The success of Mr. Mill in the India House is in itself a sufficient answer to Dr. Porter's charge of a lack of common-sense.

Moreover, in Mr. Mill's writings, as Miss Taylor remarks, there is abundant evidence of just that ability to judge of practical things which his critic fails to discover. In the *System of Logic*, the course of the argument in some places deals largely with familiar facts, and aside from this proof that he had *knowledge* of common things, here and there scattered through the book will be noticed multitudes of side remarks and *obiter* criticisms that reveal a mind at least ordinarily capable of appreciating the relations of practical truths and common things. If President Porter desires specifications, let

* W. T. Thornton.

him reëxamine the chapters on terminology, nomenclature and classification, and the book on fallacies. And what indeed has been held by some competent critics to be the distinguishing merit of Mill's *Political Economy?* What, but that he has made it a work of practical applications of principles? "In Mill's exposition, the connection between principles and facts becomes clear and intelligible. The conditions and modes of action are exhibited by which human wants and desires—the motive powers of industry—come to issue in the actual phenomena of wealth, and political economy becomes a system of doctrines susceptible of direct application to human affairs." * Similar remarks have been made in relation, and are applicable, to the *Considerations on Representative Government*, and still more to another work to which we shall make allusion farther on.

Again, did it not require some sense to keep a man of great philosophical reputation from airing his ideas with considerable frequency in the House of Commons as one question and another came up for discussion? Was it evidence of little practical wisdom that, as he tells us, Mill determined to let alone what others were doing well, and that he conceived the use of his being in Parliament was "to do work which others were not able or not willing to do?" President Porter assumes Mill's failure as a practical statesman. If failure to be reelected to Parliament be failure as a statesman, then Mill certainly failed. If failure to secure the adoption of certain particular measures be such failure, he also failed. If failure to devote himself blindly and consistently to party interest be such failure, he undoubtedly failed, though President Porter considers him as being in his character "essentially partisan." If, however, a consistent and unwavering adherence to principle, to the extent of being willing to lose his seat rather than spend money or cater to the notions of his party in order to secure it; if being always listened to with respect in the House; if bringing by his advocacy some questions of material reform forcibly and prominently before the people; if calming down a mob of angry working-people to decency and

* Prof. J. C. Cairnes.

order; if doing thorough and effective work in committees; if being largely instrumental in occasioning a powerful attempt to bring to justice a barbarous territorial governor; if being so much in favor that, on defeat at Westminster, "three or four" constituencies desired to bring him forward as their candidate —if all these things may be taken as indications of success as a "practical statesman," we are entitled to receive them and may well hesitate before we agree with President Porter that here Mr. Mill failed.

It is quite useless to attempt dissociating President Porter's criticisms on Mill as a philosopher from implied criticisms upon Mill as a man. Interspersed with strictures upon Mill's philosophical methods, observations continually occur upon the personal character of the man, or assertions which, if they have any meaning at all, must be taken as criticisms upon his general character. And the quotations before given are amply sufficient to show that many of President Porter's remarks are not upon the philosophy, upon the defects of philosophical methods, or even upon the position and character of Mr. Mill as a philosopher; but upon the general character of his mental constitution which is inseparably associated with the general character of the man. But, in some portions of his essays, the critic enters more purely into discussions of what he esteems errors and defects in Mr. Mill's philosophy and philosophical methods; this is especially the case in the second paper, upon Mill considered as a religious philosopher. Many of these criticisms are worthy of attention and are entitled to respect as the fair criticisms of one of an opposite school. These it is not the purpose of this article to review; to review them with thoroughness would require a more extended discussion of both Mr. Mill's and President Porter's philosophies than our limits would allow. Indeed, had the latter confined himself to criticism of this sort, instead of making so many inconsistent and erroneous statements in regard to Mr. Mill's character and habits of mind; had he shown any "magnanimous appreciation" of Mr. Mill's "intellectual or personal superiority"; had he exhibited the spirit of "a broad-minded inquirer" and a "deep-minded inter-

preter" of human character; and had he not, "by his own showing," failed to free himself from the narrowness of that "dogmatic and ill-concealed contempt" in which he appears to hold those "speculations and faiths" which differ from his own, there would have been no motive to the writer of this present discussion to take his pen. Under such a purpose, therefore, as is here implied and has been elsewhere stated, there remains nothing more to do except to speak of some omissions which it is necessary to supply in order to correct, positively, the estimate President Porter seems to have made of Mr. Mill, in the belief that in supplying those omissions we shall discover the principal secret of the critic's failure to comprehend the power of that philosopher and his great merit.

President Porter has taken almost no account whatever of the importance of Mr. Mill's services as a political and social philosopher. One phase of these deserves preëminent mention, and there are other phases of no little consequence. The principle upon which the United States government was avowedly founded is the idea of liberty—an idea which is still supposed to lie at the foundations of our institutions, and which in every country in the civilized world is at least lurking in the minds of immense masses of the people. What liberty is, and what it means, have been and are questions as perplexing as important. Among every people on the face of the globe the idea of liberty is in process of evolution, and the problems of liberty are among most peoples already in process of discussion. In one place, the liberty of a single person only is acknowledged as a necessary principle; in another the liberty of a few is maintained. Among one people it is considered that one or a few have complete and unrestrained liberty; with another that they have only liberty to do some things. Some, in the more advanced nations, uphold the liberty of all alike to do certain things and no liberty to do others; and there have not been wanting those who have claimed that each man has liberty to do anything and everything that he may choose, provided he can physically accomplish it. While, under control of the idea of an extension of liberty, great progress

oftentimes has been made; in other cases, under plea of liberty, the most fatal and terrible consequences have ensued. Thus, to analyze and define the notion of liberty has been an exceedingly important subject of investigation and study. Christianity has been the most powerful instrument in disseminating the influence of a principle that promises satisfactorily to solve the questions connected with the limitations of liberty—that principle which the Golden Rule broadly enunciates, namely, that no man has a right to use his liberty to another's hurt. The language of the Golden Rule, to be sure, is that of a precept of duty; but liberty and duty are correlatives. Nevertheless, despite the progress of Christianity, there are many who not only will not accept principles that come from religion and religious teachers, but with whom the fact that they are associated with religious ideas stamps almost with infamy the principles themselves. In political and governmental management, religion and ideas clothed in the garb of religion, or advanced under religious auspices are not, as yet, specifically allowed weight. If a man without any collusion with religious movements, and much more, if considered in many respects hostile to present phases of religion, is able to proclaim in clear and convincing expositions and arguments a cardinal principle of truth which has been fought for and still is the battle-cry of religion, how valuable a service both to the cause of truth and the cause of religion is rendered!

Just such a service as this Mr. Mill has done in his strong advocacy of the principle of *nulli nocendum* as a limitation to the principle of liberty. Perhaps some would think that an advocacy or establishment of truth by an "atheist" would be worse than no advocacy or establishment of it at all; but it cannot be believed that many intelligent men still cling to that absurdity. Perhaps, too, some, and probably many, still doubting if any good can come out of the Nazareth of "infidelity," might consider that it would be useless for men to adopt such a principle unless they first saw it through the media of conversion to peculiar forms of belief. But it would be difficult to show that if the Golden Rule principle, as a

principle of liberty and duty, is to render mankind perfect, it makes a great deal of difference (except in the matter of ease or difficulty) by what road its practical adoption is reached, and still more difficult to show how a person coming to embrace that principle, theoretically and practically, and to rely on it as a rule of faith and practice, could be other than Christian so far forth as that principle covers the essential characteristics of Christianity. And indeed the union of the Christian and unchristian world can only occur by eliminating as non-essential a large portion of doctrines now held as essential by Christianity, and by discovering the principles which are necessary to the full development of humanity to its proper end. Once found and acknowledged, whether by secularism or by Christianity, upon them union can be effected. Since, however, there still exists a strong antagonism between searchers for truth through religion and searchers for truth outside of religion, so strong and bitter oftentimes that neither party will allow to the other merit for having attained any truth at all, or even for having any honest motives in its pursuit, it would seem to be of the highest importance that the principle of liberty should be so applied as to make possible a free and untrammelled search for truth to be prosecuted in any and all directions. In many places, it is permissible for a person to think what he pleases, but not to speak what he pleases, even if his words do not cause direct injury to others, or in any wise do others injustice. In some localities a person will not be subjected to bodily punishment if he expresses his opinions, but will be visited with social scorn and contumely, affecting him indirectly in many hurtful ways. But if truth is ever to be found and the world is to be unified under its influence, it is indispensable that men should be encouraged instead of being repressed in a thorough and earnest pursuit of knowledge. Socrates was right when he told the Athenians that, instead of condemning him, they ought to maintain him at public expense.

If, then, the foregoing considerations be not erroneous, when there arises one who sees their truth and, both by powerful words and influential example, is able to impress

their truth upon the world, the degree of importance of such a philosopher's labors is no inconsiderable one. This meed can be fairly awarded to John Stuart Mill, and in no one of the many directions in which he exerted his activity has he done more marked and more efficient service for humanity. And it is probably true that, as he himself affirms, with a single reservation his own and his wife's joint-essay on *Liberty* will be likely to survive longer than any other of his works. Survive why? "Why has Platonism survived?" asked the inquirer; and the critic replied: "Platonism is immortal because its principles are immortal in the human intellect and heart."

As closely connected with this subject may be noticed the signal value of Mr. Mill's views in regard to the emancipation of women. Whatever conclusion may be reached with regard to the reforms which it may be desirable to make in the present status of women, it is no less true that, as a fact, one-half of the human race is in a state of subjection. This fact cannot be ignored; and such a phenomenon in view of other applications of the doctrine of liberty is worthy of careful attention. Though it might seem a strange thing to one not bearing in mind the course of human history, it is generally hardest of all, not to effect reforms when they are started, but to get people seriously to ask the question whether there is any need of reform. Therefore, when Mr. Mill and his wife wrote the treatise on the *Subjection of Women*, which has been so extensively read; and when the former, by a motion to extend the suffrage to women, brought out eighty votes in the Commons in favor of that project, and thus convinced people that the question must be met and fairly debated, are we not to consider Mr. Mill as entitled to the commendation of truth-loving and earnest men?

No one who has given attention to the subjects connected with government can fail to be struck with the imperfections of past and existing systems of representation. The "tyranny of the majority" in the American system of government was adverted to as a probable danger to the Republic as early as the writings of De Tocqueville. Not less

now than at that time, both in England and America is this difficulty a real one in the administration of representative government. When, therefore, Mr. Hare suggested his plan of personal representation, for a mind like Mr. Mill's to seize the idea contained in that system and hold it up to the consideration of the world, and, moreover, to advance it to the notice of Parliament, was a service of no little value. Of modern political philosophers of great reputation, there is not one who has so clearly, so earnestly and so pointedly exposed the unreasonableness of the despotism of majorities—a despotism, not because they rule, but because they prevent minorities from being heard and from becoming majorities, and thus set themselves as barriers to progress.

It would not be difficult to cite many other of Mr. Mill's eminent contributions both to political and social science, and to political and social progress. His thoughts on non-intervention and on international morality; on the incompetency of law-makers and the remedy; on the iniquity of the slave-power; on some questions in jurisprudence and finance; and especially on the problems affecting political economy and the interests of the laboring classes, for breadth of view, for catholicity of sentiment as well as for acuteness of observation, of judgment, of reasoning, entitle their author to more than honorable mention in this great department of human thought and activity. And yet President Porter says:

> "This philosophy * * * was conceived in the spirit of partisanship and not of research. Mill was a well-trained logician, but not an accomplished philosopher. He was an effective advocate and a skilful expounder, but he was neither a broad-minded inquirer nor a deep-minded interpreter of the constitution of the universe or the soul of man."

It is certainly much to be wished that the reviewer had given us his ideas of what constitutes both "an accomplished philosopher" and "a broad-minded inquirer."

An examination of this branch of Mill's work in life thus still more unmistakably reveals the phase of his character as a universal philosopher which has been wholly overlooked or utterly ignored by President Porter, so far as the articles

before us indicate, excepting perhaps in the concluding paragraphs of the last one, where the reviewer seems to soften toward the reviewed. And in this omission, as it seems to me, may be discovered the source of nearly all the errors into which President Porter has fallen. He has taken no account whatever of the deep moral earnestness which pervaded John Stuart Mill's character—an earnestness exemplified alike in his study and investigation; in his writings and expositions; in his social, his business and his political life. He cannot understand how there is any commendable earnestness of life possible that is not associated with a religious purpose. He thinks Mill had not the redeeming quality of "an absorbing enthusiasm that caused him to forget himself in his interest for his cause." To many, and among them those who knew him best, it appeared that Mill's whole life was characterized by a devoted enthusiasm for the cause of human enlightenment and progress. "It might indeed have been supposed that even those who never enjoyed the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Mill would have been impressed with the nobility of his nature as indicated in his opinions and deeds. How entirely his public career has been determined by a pure and strong sympathy for his fellow men; how entirely this sympathy has subordinated all desires for personal advantage; how little even the fear of being injured in reputation or position has deterred him from taking the course which he thought equitable and generous—ought to be manifest to every antagonist, however bitter. * * * Extreme desire to further human welfare was that to which he sacrificed himself." * "He united in an extraordinary degree an intense delight in thinking for its own sake with an almost passionate desire to make his intellectual excursions contribute to the amelioration of the lot of mankind, especially the poorer and suffering part of mankind." † "We reverence that unfaltering fearlessness of spirit, that warmth of generous emotion, that guileless simplicity of nature that made his life

* *Memorial Volume.* Herbert Spencer, *Moral Character of J. S. Mill.*

† *Id.* W. A. Hunter, *His Studies in Morals and Jurisprudence.*

heroic. Neither insult, failure, nor abandonment could shake his sense of duty or touch his gentle and serene fortitude." *

It seems to me that one who reads more than superficially the history of Mill's life, whether penned by himself or written by friends or by foes, cannot avoid beholding, as the inspiring force of his whole life, a controlling, enthusiastic, persistent devotion to what he deemed the interest of mankind. This tremendous power of earnestness is sufficient to explain alike those qualities which gained him the approval of men and those which brought upon him their reprobation; and throws a vast deal of light upon those traits and acts in which a want of appreciation of this moral enthusiasm has caused blind critics to misunderstand him. A more thorough and discriminating examination of his character and life enables us to recognize as his animating spirit a loftiness of aim that passes ordinary experience—the same spirit that filled Paul as he preached to the scoffing Athenians from the Bema and that sent him on his gospel errand over unknown seas to unknown lands; the spirit that possessed Luther when he raised his voice against the corruption of the Church; the same that inspired Orange, and Washington, and Andrea Doria as they battled for human freedom or wrought to preserve it; the same that gave energy, life, and success to the labors of Kepler, Newton, or Harvey, or Stephenson; of Plato, of Locke, or of Kant; the same that gave glory to Demosthenes, to Olden-Barneveldt, to Fox, to Cobden and to Sumner—a spirit of moral earnestness directed for its end toward human welfare; even the martyr's spirit. And of such has all true greatness consisted since the world began; and from it have grown all great men in whatsoever degree they have been great; and from it alone can such ever grow, and they alone it is who will be called forever blessed.

"No Winter can their laurels fade."

It is certainly to be regretted that President Porter did not confine himself to a criticism of Mill's philosophy; or, if he went beyond this, that he could not recognize in Mill more

* *Memorial Volume.* Frederic Harrison, *His Relations to Positivism.*

noble and worthy intellectual and moral characteristics, when a closer study of the latter's life and works might have indicated them, and when the overwhelming testimony of those who knew him, freely and enthusiastically accords them.

DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON.

ART. VI.—VICTOR EMMANUEL AND ITALIAN UNIFICATION.

VICTOR EMMANUEL'S chief glory consists in his having founded Italian nationality. To recall the principal events that marked his reign is to write the fairest among the fair pages of the history of Italy. For the success of the great king in founding his country's nationality redounds not only to his honor, but also to that of the Italian people; since no single man, however great, succeeds in so bold and difficult an enterprise, unless he finds ready followers; while the best dispositions of the multitudes are insufficient, except there arises one who incarnates in himself the public feeling and carries it into action. In the present instance both king and people were truly worthy of each other, and the work which they accomplished together is one of the greatest triumphs of justice and civilization in modern times.

Owing to the union and confidence between king and people, that which barely thirty years ago was but a collective name—but a geographical term, as the old Austrian minister was wont to call it—is now a free and respected nation. That which now appears an almost natural fact seems but a dream if we go back in thought to the time when Victor Emmanuel ascended the throne of the small kingdom of Sardinia, and consider that Italy was then divided into seven States—some actually, others virtually, under a foreign yoke.

Such a fact is all the more striking, since Italy was the first in this century to constitute herself and to become a nation, according to the modern conception of nationality. The origin of the present era may well be carried back two centuries, when the treaty of peace of 1648 formally sanctioned the division of Europe into great autonomical and

independent States; still, this was far from being the consecration of the true idea of nationality. That which we now call *nationality* and which alone deserves the name, is the offspring of the present century.

The occasion which gave form and substance to the idea of nationality, matured little by little in the minds of the learned and vaguely conceived by the people, was the reaction against the universal monarchy which was attempted by Napoleon the First. Who has forgotten the prodigies of valor to which the Napoleonic invasion gave rise from one end of Europe to the other? Spain, in defending her nationality, showed herself once more in nearly her ancient greatness. The Germans rose like one man for the defence of their fatherland. During the occupation of Berlin by the French armies, Fichte uttered the discourse so full of patriotic fire in which he made appeal to German feeling as a hope of salvation. Truly, this feeling had a mighty awaking on the Rhine!

Italy, too, so long deprived of her nationality, bent an eager ear to the fascinating word. The Archduke John of Austria, calling the peoples to arms, said: "Milanese, Tuscans, Venetians, Piedmontese, and you all, inhabitants of the Peninsula, do you wish to be Italians? Do you wish for a constitution in conformity with nature herself, with your true political state; for a constitution which would make the Italian lands prosper, and would keep aloof from you every foreign army? Arm yourselves and fight against Napoleon!"

Bentinck, in 1813, visiting the Italian navies, held the same language. Nay, more; not content with words, he added a visible sign, and painted on the flag two hands clasped in token of friendship with the motto: *Independence of Italy.*

The Congress of Vienna crushed the hopes of Italy and replaced her under the tyranny of a native and a foreign yoke; but the national idea had penetrated into the hearts of the people, and slowly but deeply taken root. From that time there was a new breath of life, and the era of Italian resurrection began. The restoration of the old potentates was the signal for protestations and attempts at rising, which last, although smothered in blood by Austria, left indelible traces

of rancor and of hope. A net-work of secret societies was laid in the dark, and to the former ones was added that of the "Young Italy," with Giuseppe Mazzini at its head.

Certainly, one of the most striking and characteristic features of the Italian revolution is that Italy, which, with the exception of Piedmont, had no monarchical traditions but those of the various foreign yokes and knew no liberal aspirations but those nurtured by the radical sects and secret societies, should all at once have turned her thoughts on a monarchy, rested on it her dearest hopes and, closely allying herself with it, entrusted it with her future.

How can we deny that this fact does the greatest honor to Victor Emmanuel and to his dynasty? History tells us that the princes of the House of Savoy not only were in all ages a valiant race, but also that they were imbued with Italian feelings in times when it was dangerous for all, and more especially for princes, to profess such feelings.

During the three centuries of Italian decadence and of foreign preponderance in all Italy, that dynasty had trained its peoples to warlike pursuits, and cultivated their native qualities.

"In the western corner of Italy, beneath the hard Alps," writes Signor Minghetti, "a dynasty as ancient and illustrious as any other in Europe, celebrated for valor and for piety, after taking part in the most glorious enterprises of the Middle Ages in the East, gathered up, so to say, the wellnigh expiring Italian spirit, and with moral means and with military discipline began preparing from afar the advent of better times. As if the decadency of Italy was never to be entire, whilst the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis signs the end of the independence of the Italian States, Emmanuel Philibert wins the battle of Saint-Quentin and carries the seat of his States to Turin. From thence will one day be again undertaken the enterprise of the liberation of Italy, first under the form of a confederacy with Charles Albert, later under that of unity with Victor Emmanuel." *

It was always instinctive in the bold race of Berold the Saxon and Humbert Biancamano to advance slowly across the Alps and, penetrating further into Italy, found by the force of weapons, by treaties and by family alliances, a

* Minghetti, *Commemorazione di Vittorio Emanuele II.* 1879.

dominion which increased day by day. Victor Amadeus II, Charles Emmanuel III, Victor Emmanuel I, and others, came out of the varied fortune of war with an enlargement of territory, thus putting in practice the saying of Victor Amadeus I, that Italy was "an artichoke to be eaten leaf by leaf." Perhaps it was a sign of the predestination of that race to reign over the whole of Italy!

Notwithstanding this, we can safely affirm that before Charles Albert, and perhaps not even then, no prince of that House ever entertained the thought of uniting all Italy under his sceptre. This is beyond all doubt, if we consider the political state of Italy, nay, of Piedmont, at the beginning of this century. To carry out openly a national plan, even less ambitious than this, it was requisite to have the courage of going not only against Austria, but also against the deeply-rooted prejudices of the higher classes of the Italian populations, not excepting Piedmont. History would give us the lie, did we assert that the longing after liberty was general in Italy at the dawn of our century. Liberalism was not dead, but it fared as best it could, and contented itself with the homage done it by a few superior minds.

Charles Albert was the first to conceive the great plan of delivering Italy from foreign yoke, if not of forming her into one State. Unfortunately, the means failed him. He planned, he plotted, he fought. His ready will, his courage were to no purpose. He was ill-understood and ill-recompensed by men and by fortune; but history will say that all his life he had only one thought—the independence of Italy. "My fondest wish," wrote he to the Marquis of Villamarina, "besides that of procuring every kind of good to our country, is to see a spirit of dignity and of national independence develop itself, which would give us an immense force should we ever be so fortunate as to be called upon to defend our nationality." To Massimo d'Azeglio, who spoke of the hopes which he and others rested on him, Charles Albert answered: "On the very first occasion my life, that of my sons, my arms, my treasures, everything will be given for the Italian cause."

In 1842, a hymn written by order of the same Charles

Albert for the army had excited the animosity of the Austrians, and some of them behaved insolently towards the inhabitants of a Piedmontese frontier village. The syndic and the judge having been weak enough to send back to their officers the soldiers who were under arrest, Charles Albert showed the utmost disapprobation of their conduct as contrary to the national honor, and wrote:

"Had the officer, in case of a refusal, dared to carry out his threat, the syndic ought to have had all the bells rung and made the whole population arise, and fall upon the Germans; and, to speak of an impossibility, had he, in spite of this, been unable to succeed, oh! then, it is I who should have made the bells ring from the Tessin to the last village of Savoy, and immediately have put myself at the head of the army and of all men of heart, and have attacked, if an embassy was not sent to me to make excuses and to give me every desirable satisfaction. Our army is smaller than theirs, but I know the heart of our men; I should have raised the cry of the independence of Lombardy, and strong with the protection of God, I should have marched forward, and so am I still ready to do should it be necessary." *

To such a father was born, twenty-two years earlier, he who, uniting the constancy of Emmanuel Philibert to the boldness of Charles Emmanuel I, was the personification of the great Italian revolution, and well worthy of becoming the first King of Italy and of being called the Father of the Country.

The mere name of Victor Emmanuel recalls to mind the road trodden by Italy from Novara to Rome. However short by the number of years, this road is long if we consider the marvellous events which marked it; and it is rich in triumphs even more pacific than military, in precious conquests of civilization and social justice.

Victor Emmanuel was born on the 14th of March, 1820, when Charles Albert was but Prince of Carignano. It is well known that, a year later, this prince had to seek refuge with his father-in-law the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, owing to the failure of a liberal movement at the head of which he had put himself, and which had drawn down upon him the wrath of his uncle, King Charles Felix, the hatred of the retrogrades

* Ghiron: *Il Primo Rè d'Italia.*

and, still worse, the mistrust of the liberals.* Victor Emmanuel had, so to say, taken in the first breath of the Italian revolution and begun his life in the midst of the first reverses of fortune. At his very birth he had imbibed that ardent love for Italy, that lively faith in liberty, that steady attachment to liberal institutions, of which his whole life furnished so many and striking proofs.

For an Italian prince, more than for any other, to be a patriot meant to be a warrior. From his earliest years Victor Emmanuel was remarkable for his warlike tastes. At the age of eleven he presented his father with two essays, one in Italian on the command of armies (*del comando degli eserciti*), the other in French on the life of Amadeus VI, surnamed the *Conte Verde* (the Green Count).

Owing to the Duke of Savoy's ever-increasing passion for everything relating to a soldier's life, his youth passed nearly unnoticed and altogether strange to politics, with which in fact Charles Albert liked to occupy himself almost exclusively. His absence from Court and his long-acquired habit of living unfettered by etiquette were not without utility for the young prince; they contributed to develop in him those manly virtues which he possessed in germ to so high a degree, and gave him that exact knowledge of men and things for which he was so remarkable. At twenty-two years of age he married his first cousin, Maria Adelaide, daughter of the Archduke Regnier of Austria and of Eliza of Carignano, a princess well fitted by her virtues to enter the royal House of Savoy, which counts amongst its members many examples of sanctity.

In 1848 a breath of liberty and of new life seemed to come from the Vatican. Charles Albert, having gifted his people with liberal reforms and proclaimed the constitutional statute, understood the impossibility of stopping short, and in answer to the call of the Milanese, who had just risen, declared war upon Austria.

* The Piedmontese insurrection of 1821 was easily repressed, owing to its want of opinion and action; the same happened to the succeeding ones of Naples, Parma, Modena and, later, of the Romagna. But even these insurrections were not without utility to the Italian cause; the exiles and deaths which soon brought them to an end were far from valueless in keeping alight the flame of independence and preparing for its attainment.

Count Cesare Balbo, author of *Le Speranze d'Italia*, was at that great moment at the head of Charles Albert's first responsible ministry. The sitting at which the resolution of declaring war was taken, had been a long one. Balbo returned home amidst general applause. The crowd was dispersing in obedience to the minister's exhortations, when a person quickly stepped up to him. The person was so wrapped in a large mantle as to let only a part of his face be seen. Balbo turned towards him, saying: "What do you want with me?" The man, opening his mantle and stepping forward briskly answered: "Don't you recognize me? I come to beg you not to forget me when the companies of the army which is to cross the Ticino are formed." And with animated and anxious words he added: "Will I have a command? I beg of you, speak of it to my father immediately." It was Victor Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy. Balbo answered: "His Majesty intends giving a command to Your Highness. Be sure, the Duke of Savoy could not be, has not been, forgotten." The young prince shook hands with him heartily, wrapped himself again in his mantle and returned to the palace quite happy.

The Duke of Savoy, at the head of his corps, took part in the most important engagements of the first campaign. At Santa Lucia, at Goito as everywhere, he showed himself worthy of his ancestors. A year later, his father having decided on denouncing the armistice and trying again the fortune of war, the young duke returned to his post and showed himself no less valiant than in the first campaign. But fortune was contrary; the battle of Novara put an end to the war, which had lasted only three days. Having vainly courted death on the field of battle, Charles Albert, on the very evening of that terrible day called his sons and his generals around him, and accomplished the painful and solemn act of abdication, saying:

"It is now eighteen years that I have done the utmost in my power for the good of my people. It is most painful to me to see my hopes crushed, not so much for myself as for my country. I have not, as I would have wished, found death on the field of battle: perhaps my person is the sole obstacle to our obtaining

fair terms from our enemy. As no further means remain to us of carrying on hostilities, I at this very moment give up my crown in favor of my son, Victor Emmanuel, in the hope that he may be able to come to better agreements and procure the country an advantageous peace. Here is your king!"

At that moment the last King of Sardinia descended from the throne, and the first King of Italy ascended it.

It is no mere figure of speech to say that on the very evening of the terrible defeat at Novara, Victor Emmanuel despaired not of the future of Italy; nay, more, he had a lively faith in it. This fact is borne witness to by several persons of high position who had the good fortune of being present and treasuring up the first thoughts of the new sovereign on that very evening when Victor Emmanuel, having bowed to the King's will and listened with the utmost respect to his father's advice, started for Momo, a village where he spent that sad night. We need but cite a document, the authority of which was acknowledged by Victor Emmanuel himself. On the 23d of March, 1874, the twenty-fifth anniversary of Victor Emmanuel's ascending the throne, Count Vimercati, having previously obtained the King's permission, sent him a telegram recalling the words which he had heard from him that terrible evening, twenty-five years before. We here quote this interesting document as well as the King's answer; both are given in a book by Mr. Massari, who had them directly from Count Vimercati.*

"SIRE:—Twenty-five years ago, after an unfortunate campaign which led to your august Father's abdication on the sad evening of Novara, I had the honor of treasuring up your first thoughts as a king. I heard your words, which were the programme of twenty-five years of political and military struggles. 'I will keep intact,' said you, 'the institutions given by my father; I will hold high and firm the tricolored flag, the symbol of Italian nationality —which has been beaten now, but *which will triumph one day*. This triumph will henceforth be the aim of all my efforts.' These words, Sire, which are historical, which preceded the hopes of a whole nation,—allow me to remind you of them today, when the hopes are realized which you nourished then, notwithstanding all reverses."

* Massari: *La Vita ed il Regno di Vittorio Emanuele II.* 1878.

On the very same day Victor Emmanuel answered Count Vimercati as follows:

"I thank you for your amiable thought of recalling to me *the words which I said to you twenty-five years ago.* Never will I forget the brave soldiers who were under fire with me at that battle which was one of the *hottest;* and I keep with pleasure the remembrance of your valor. I am happy now to see my desires accomplished. I wish you every happiness."

The situation was a most difficult and gloomy one for the King. In Italy, and everywhere in Europe, the flame of liberty which had sprung up a year before had died out or been smothered in blood. Not only had the other princes of the Peninsula, faithless to their word, withdrawn the liberal Constitutions and gone over again to Austria, but the latter had in her favor nearly all the European Governments, which, taking advantage of the inexperience, the errors, and the excesses of the populations, had once more won the battle between liberty and despotism. Still more strange, at Berlin, at Frankfort and everywhere in Germany, the warmest liberals joined with the European reaction in acclaiming Marshal Radetzky's victories. At that time it was generally believed that the line of the Rhine was to be defended on the banks of the Ticino and of the Po.

But it was less difficult to withstand the threats and the promises of Austria, the reactionary wiles of the Italian and foreign governments, than to put an end to all divisions and to revive confidence. The enemies of liberty tried to convince the King that the constitutional *régime* had been the cause of the defeat, and that it was impossible to govern under such circumstances. On the other hand, the republicans, with Cernuschi, cried: "Rather the Austrians at Turin than the Piedmontese at Milan!"

The young king's difficulties were all the more serious, and consequently his merit was all the greater, that when he ascended the throne the national feeling had as yet taken but little root in the country, and notwithstanding this he was, and at every cost wished to remain, a constitutional king.

"It is not sufficiently known," says M. de la Rive in his *Life of Cavour*, "how much firmness and good faith was needed, on

one hand for Victor Emmanuel to resist the persuasions of a victorious enemy, on the other to repulse the disinterested, sincere and plausible solicitations of faithful counsellors and of fellow soldiers to whom the great defeat seemed at once the consequence and the natural end of a Constitution associated in their minds with all the ills which had befallen within a year."

But Victor Emmanuel, faithful to his oath before the Chambers, saw but Italy, thought but of her; his sole ambition was that of being called the Deliverer King. One of the conditions of peace to which he attached the greatest importance was that of extending the armistice to the natives of the other Italian States who had been implicated in the war. However convinced of his material weakness, he had declared to Marshal Radetzky that, rather than abandon the cause of those poor people, he would run the risk of a third war, or else, like his father, take the road to exile. The country was poor—but neither the King nor his government made any difficulties as to paying the seventy-five millions of war indemnity. They might perhaps have succeeded in diminishing this sum by several millions; but they trifled not with their honor in a question in which, however apparently one of mere detail, a great principle was engaged. Although natives of the other States, were they not Italians? Had they not fought side by side with the Piedmontese?

European diplomacy decided Austria to be in the right, and no doubt she was, if we judge her according to the principles then in force. The King of Piedmont's demand proceeded from a new principle, a principle as yet unwritten, but which already existed in the conscience of millions of Italians. From the moment that the clause in favor of the natives of each State was inserted into the conditions of the armistice, Piedmont became Italy—Piedmont was the refuge of all the emigrants, and there was prepared the future of the nation.

At the beginning of May of the same year, 1849, Victor Emmanuel for the first time charged Massimo d'Azeglio to form a new Cabinet, and entrusted him with the presidency of the Council and with the Foreign Department. This choice had a great significance both at home and abroad.

The Prime-Minister's first interview with the King was no less significant.

"This time," said Massimo d'Azeglio, "this time, Your Majesty, we have made a fiasco—the next we will do better." And the King exclaimed: "Certainly, we will do better!"*

If, on the one hand, both King and Minister thus expressed themselves in their intimate conversations, on the other. political necessity required the hastening of the conclusion of the peace negotiations which were proceeding slowly and with difficulty, owing to the exorbitant demands of the Austrian Government. These negotiations took a more favorable turn towards the end of June, thanks to the Cabinets of London and of Paris, whose kindly interference put an end to the occupation of Alessandria by the Austrians. The treaty of peace was signed at Milan, on the 6th of August, 1849. But Cesare Balbo, who had reminded the King a few months earlier that Piedmont did not conclude peace with Austria—only truces of ten years' duration, had been a true prophet. Less than ten years had passed, and the truce was already broken. The sacrifice which, in 1849, Victor Emmanuel had made out of love for Italy, whose real interests he divined, received its first recompense in 1859.

Even without entering into particulars, it were difficult to recall in narrow limits all that was achieved in this decade from 1849 to 1859 to affirm and to defend against all kinds of enemies liberal institutions in Piedmont, and to prepare the future of Italy. This short period represents the work of more than a century. They were years full of anxiety and bitterness for those who, deeply loving the great Italian cause, had reason to fear at every moment that it would be compromised by the ill-will of sects, or by the intolerance and excesses of parties. The young king had many an hour of deep anxiety. Never did he, however, lose the self-possession habitual to him, and that unerring *coup-d'œil* which always made him see the best resolution to be taken in the true interest of the country. Even in the very darkest days he had a deep respect, almost a *worship*, for all the liberties guaranteed by the statute—especially for the liberty of the press. He never allowed the slightest attempt against it, notwithstanding the

* Massari, *op. cit.*

apparent dangers at home and the difficulties abroad which it caused him. He knew, however, how to be severe even at the cost of his popularity, when the good of the country required it. His proclamation of the 20th of November, 1849, known as the Proclamation of Moncalieri after the name of the village where it was signed, is one of many documents which prove that when silence would have been dangerous Victor Emmanuel feared not to speak the whole truth to the country without undue sparing of the extreme parties that compromised all generous and popular efforts.

Twenty days elapsed between the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies and the new elections, days of great emotion for the King and the country; but the country responded fully to the confidence placed in it by its sovereign. Public opinion was greatly divided as to this proclamation, a proclamation which even later called forth unfavorable sentiments. Now, however, opinion is unanimous in declaring with Count Cavour, who liked to repeat it many years later, that the Proclamation of Moncalieri saved Piedmont, and with Piedmont, Italy. On the other hand, court intrigues and the manœuvres of the diplomats required all the King's foresight and energy. What painful moments for him when it was feared, when it was said already, that France would unite with Austria against liberty!

After Napoleon's *coup-d'état*, reaction waxed stronger in Europe; the King of Prussia took immediate advantage of it to enjoin on the young Italian king the abolition of constitutional guarantees. But Victor Emmanuel did not belie his noble character; his only answer to these threats was a despatch of the 10th of December, 1851, signed by Massimo d'Azeglio. We shall content ourselves with quoting only the beginning and the end:

"By an indirect but very respectable medium the sovereigns of Austria and of Prussia have given to the King, our August Sovereign, the advice of adopting the same line of policy as that of the other Italian States, making him understand, under the apparent form of a threat, that he might otherwise have cause to repent of his persistence in following his present system of policy. * * * His Majesty cannot refrain from remarking that the

political state of the countries governed by the two sovereigns who address this kind of summons, seems to him to demand counsels far more than to give them the right to offer any themselves. * * * The King added that, besides, he was master in his own States, that he did not interfere in what the other sovereigns thought fit to do, that he, on his side, wished to have perfect freedom of action; he again expressed his entire confidence in the efforts which he would continue to make for the wise and moderate course of his government."

At this time appeared the *Rinnovamento Civile d'Italia*, by the Abbé Gioberti. The *Coup-d'Etat* had just added importance to this book, which, deeply meditated in the great philosopher's melancholy solitude, was quite a political divination. The second volume was a prophecy. Speaking of the part played by Piedmont and its king, Gioberti sketched the plan and, relating beforehand what would happen, said:

"The cry of Italian unity, rendered more powerful by a strong army capable of making it live and of ruling it, and a generous appeal to the people and communes, will give the King of Sardinia a power superior to that of Charles Albert in the happiest days of the year 1848. * * * I should say that I utterly despair, were it not for the young prince who governs Piedmont. He vows that he loves liberty, and his fame for truthfulness gives value to his words. He loves glory, and what glory could be greater than that which would accrue to him who should give spirit and life to the first amongst nations?"

Victor Emmanuel, after reading these pages attentively, was several times heard to exclaim: "I am resolved on doing what Gioberti says. I am ready and decided. The future is in the hands of God!" Nearly a year later (on the 25th of October, 1852), died suddenly at Paris this man, whose encouragement and advice had always been so useful to the young king, and who, as a writer even more than as a minister, had done so much good to the Italian cause.

A week after Gioberti's death, Victor Emmanuel called Count Cavour to the head of the government. Two years before, on the 11th October, 1850, Cavour had for the first time entered the Cabinet as Minister of Agriculture and of Commerce. On that occasion the King said to d'Azeglio, who had proposed Cavour: "Take care what you are about;

Cavour will soon get the upperhand of you all. He will send you away, and he himself will be Prime-Minister."

By Cavour's nomination as Premier, a few days after Gioberti's death, the King intended proving to all Italy that the grand idea of the author of the *Rinnovamento* had not gone down into the grave with him. It was a bold and decisive step, but no less well-pondered than the others. Victor Emmanuel felt that all that had been done during the last four years by the other princes of Italy to stifle all patriotic feeling in the Peninsula, in the hope that Piedmont and its king would at last be swallowed up in the general reaction, had led principally to attracting towards the latter the eyes, the hearts and the aspirations of all Italian patriots. His fine intuition taught him that the time was come for giving up the policy of patient expectation, the prudent reserve which he had imposed upon himself, and for beginning the execution of Count de Cavour's bold plans.

From the first day that Cavour took the reins of government, his programme was *Italy and Victor Emmanuel.* The only means which he made use of to conceal the fact that he labored unceasingly for the realization of this programme was that of declaring it openly. He himself often exclaimed: "The more I speak the truth, the less is it believed:—this is the whole secret of my policy."

The formula "Italy and Victor Emmanuel" could easily be understood by the people, for it clearly defined what it contained: freedom from foreign intervention; the liberal constitution of the kingdom, and the sacrifice of municipal prejudices to the unity of the country. All this could be obtained only under the patronage of a king who, by his honesty and patriotism, had already known how to win the confidence of all Italians, and by the authority of his name and the ancient and respected escutcheon of his House was able to shield Italy against Europe, and induce the latter to keep silent when it was not inclined to approve.

Let us confess it: Victor Emmanuel was fortunate in being surrounded at the beginning of his reign, at his age and in such circumstances, by men such as Balbo, Pinelli, Gioberti,

d'Azeglio, Siccardi, Della Marmora, Cavour, to mention only the greatest; but these men, and more especially Cavour, had the still greater fortune to find a king of a type so rare, nay, unique in history, a king who greatly facilitated their task; who was ever ready to abide by all the consequences of the principle written on his banner, and who never refused to go where he was led by the logic of his preceding acts. The beacon which directed him amidst the heaving waves of the political ocean was the liberation of Italy. When the most prudent advised him to stop, his conscience bade him go forward with the boldest.

This is not the place for speaking of Count Cavour's home policy. It would lead us too far from the aim we have in view in these brief pages. Still, it is well to bear in mind that but for this wise and firm policy, which, by winning every day more and more the sympathies of all intelligent and liberal minds, inspired the enemies of liberal institutions with unwilling respect, never would Piedmont have attained the position which it was soon able to take in the face of Europe. The confidence secured from France and England, which was but the consequence of that far-sighted policy, induced those two powers to brave the ill-will of Austria and Germany by admitting, in 1855, small Piedmont into the alliance concluded with Turkey against Russia. On the fifteenth of the following month of August, the tricolored Italian flag with the Cross of Savoy waved on the same line with the French eagles and the British lions; and the Italian blood which reddened the waters of the Tchernaya signed the credentials with which Cavour presented himself at the Paris Congress in 1856 and pleaded the cause of Italy.

This was a master-stroke. Well could Cavour say in those very days before the Chamber of Deputies: "Now the cause of Italy is brought before the tribunal of public opinion, to which, according to a memorable saying of the French Emperor, belongs the passing of the final sentence. Perhaps the struggle will be long, but I feel confident that the final issue will be worthy of the justice of the cause."

History, when recalling the Congress of Paris, will

acknowledge in Victor Emmanuel and his able minister the merit of having succeeded in introducing before this European tribunal two great novelties: First, that the small States should be called upon to discuss side by side with the great, contrary to the traditions which had quite recently received a fresh sanction at Lubiana; second, that in a conflict between the people and the Government, the people may have right on their side.

We should be mistaken, did we think that in this decision to enter into the Anglo-French alliance, Victor Emmanuel played but the part usually reserved to constitutional kings. On the contrary, many documents and many important testimonies prove that the principal part was his. Massari* publishes the *résumé* of a confidential interview between Victor Emmanuel and the Duke de Grammont, the French Ambassador, concerning the negotiations for the alliance. By this *résumé*, communicated to Massari by the Duke himself, we learn that at a certain point of the conversation Victor Emmanuel said familiarly to M. de Grammont: "What do you mean by M. de Cavour's overtures? You see, my dear friend, we must call things by their name. There are no overtures of Cavour's, it is I who have spoken. I told him to offer you fifteen thousand men. It is all I can do at present, otherwise I should have said thirty thousand."

The victories of the allied armies in the Crimea afforded a ready occasion for Victor Emmanuel to visit Queen Victoria and the Emperor Napoleon. It was then that the latter one day asked his guest in the presence of d'Azeglio and Cavour: "What can we do for Italy?" It is of no importance to know whether the reply was given immediately or after having long thought about it, nor in what words it was couched. The Paris Congress of the following year and the war of 1859 prove that the offer was accepted by the King, and that his able minister took the greatest possible advantage of it for the Italian cause.

Cavour's bold words to Clarendon, his energetic protestations to Count Buol, must have seemed very rash to those who did not perceive that it was a king and a whole nation

* Massari, *op. cit.* p. 251.

that spoke by the minister's lips. The Crown Speech of the 10th of January, 1859, banished every misunderstanding and satisfied every impatience; it boldly declared Victor Emmanuel's determination to look upon the cause of all the Italians as his own. At Paris, nine days earlier, the Emperor Napoleon, when receiving the diplomatic corps at the Tuileries, had said to Baron Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador: "I regret that the relations between us should be so bad. Tell your sovereign, however, that my feelings towards him are unchanged."

These words were not uttered without a purpose; neither were the following, which Victor Emmanuel pronounced before Parliament, in vain:

"Our country, although small in extent, acquires credit in the councils of Europe, for she is great by the ideas that she represents, by the sympathies that she inspires. This condition is not without danger, for, although we respect treaties, we are in no wise insensible to the cries of pain which reach us from so many parts of Italy."

On the 20th of July, 1858, the Emperor Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel's Prime-Minister had had a secret interview at Plombières, and had spoken of Italian affairs; the alliance had been agreed upon that very day.

Things did not, however, proceed so smoothly as might be supposed. Indeed, there was a time in 1858 when the French Minister Walewski seemed to forget that Piedmont was a free and independent State. Cavour was obliged to remind him of it in the King's name. He wrote to the Marquis of Villamarina, Piedmontese Ambassador at Paris:

"Courage! continue to represent a generous king and a loyal government that, just as they will never ally themselves with disorder and revolution, will in no case allow themselves to be intimidated by the threats of their neighbors. Persevere in the diplomatic struggle! Charles Albert died at Oporto not to bow his head to Austria; our young king will go and die in America, or he will die not once but a hundred times at the foot of our Alps, rather than sully by a single spot the honor of his noble race!"

The treaty itself was signed on the 18th of January, 1859. On the very evening of that day General Niel, after an interview with Victor Emmanuel, did not seem convinced that war

would be the immediate consequence of the conclusion of the treaty. Without due consideration for his august interlocutor's feelings, he said: "Sire, you must wait!" The King looked at him, and slowly answered: "It is ten years that I wait, General!"

The die was cast. Victor Emmanuel shortly after made known to the army and to the people of Italy his resolution of going to war, and France signified to Austria her intention of looking upon any violation of the Piedmontese frontier as a declaration of war against France herself. Facts soon confirmed these threats. Napoleon III announced to France that he put himself at the head of his troops to go and defend the Italian cause. "Austria," said he in his proclamation, "has brought things to such a point that it is necessary she should rule to the Alps, or that Italy should be free to the Adriatic * * * We shall have at our frontiers a friendly people, who will owe us their independence. We do not go into Piedmont to foment disorders or to shake the power of the Pope, but to deliver her from foreign oppression and to etablish order based on legitimate and satisfied interests."

Victor Emmanuel, after proclaiming that he had but one ambition—that of being the *first soldier of Italian independence*—left Turin on the 1st of May to assume the command of the army. To General Garibaldi was entrusted the guidance of the volunteers, who from every province crowded to swell the ranks of the combatants. It would be wholly useless to speak again of Victor Emmanuel's military valor, when we recall to mind the part taken by him in the war of 1859. The remembrance of it is so deep and lively, and the fame so widely spread, as to render all repetition superfluous. Still, we cannot forbear recalling the King's answer to Senator Plezza, who was begging him, in the name of General Della Marmora, not to push on too far to the front, where he might be reached by the enemy's shots: "Tell those gentlemen that in a few days I shall have to send to death who knows how many thousand men; that I have not the courage to send others to death if I do not show that the cause is one which deserves that we should all of us go, and that, if necessary, I am ready to go myself."

The long-repressed animosity and jealousy of Germany and Russia; the internal war waged against the French Empire both by the radical and the clerical party; perhaps also other causes, which, however, are far from being ascertained,* obliged the Emperor of the French to bring the war to a hasty conclusion after the great victories of Solferino and San Martino, where side by side with the Piedmontese the valiant sons of France so generously shed their life-blood for the triumph of the Italian cause.

The Peace of Villafranca was a painful necessity which Victor Emmanuel could not possibly elude; but not even then did he relinquish any of the feelings which had always dictated his conduct.†

"What does Victor Emmanuel do," writes Minghetti, "before a peace which he can neither prevent nor refuse? Will he listen to the disdainful advice of Count de Cavour, who exhorts him to take the road to exile rather than put his signature to that fallacious treaty? A thousand conflicting feelings must have struggled in his mind; but the reason of State won the victory, and at that moment the King seems to us greater even than his great minister. He accepted, but on one condition: namely, that the princes of Central Italy should reënter their States by their own forces unassisted by foreign armies; he foresaw that in that way the struggle would not be avoided, but would only be transferred from northern to southern Italy. It was a new road open to fortune." ‡

The preliminaries of Villafranca were formally drawn up

* On the 11th of July, at Villafranca, Napoleon III and Francis-Joseph stipulated the following conditions of peace: Both sovereigns should favor the creation of a confederacy under the honorary presidency of the Pope; Venice should form part of the confederacy, remaining, however, under the Crown of the Austrian Empire; the Grand-Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena should reënter their States, proclaiming a general amnesty; the two emperors should ask the Pope to introduce into his States the necessary reforms; the Emperor of Austria should cede to the Emperor of the French his rights over Lombardy, which, in his turn, the Emperor of the French should cede to the King of Sardinia.

† Some light is thrown on the subject by the words which Napoleon himself addressed to the great bodies of State who, on his return to Paris, went to congratulate him on his victory:

"If I have come to a stop, it is not through lassitude nor through abandonment of the noble cause which I wanted to serve, but because in my heart something spoke still more imperiously—the interest of France. To serve Italian independence I waged war in spite of all Europe; as soon as the destinies of my country became endangered, I made peace."

‡ Minghetti: *Commemorazione di Vittorio Emanuele II.*

into a treaty of peace which was concluded at Zurich and signed on the 10th of September of the same year, 1859. It did not suffice, however, to have it written in that treaty that the fugitive princes should return to their States: Tuscany, Parma and Modena continued to govern themselves. The Powers, seing so much opposition to the dictates of diplomacy, proposed a congress the bases of which were indicated in a letter of Napoleon to Victor Emmanuel. This attempt having failed, the former States of Parma, Modena and the Romagna constituted themselves into one sole government known by the name of Emilia, awaiting, as did the Provisional Government of Tuscany, a favorable opportunity for their union with Piedmont. This state of things lasted ten months. Many were the blandishments, many the threats: Central Italy knew how to parry them by maintaining the severest public order at home, and by showing a practical good sense worthy of the greatest adepts in politics.

On the 16th of January, 1860, Cavour once more seized with a firm hand the reins of government. On the 20th of the same month he boldly proclaimed the statute of Charles Albert both in Emilia and in Tuscany, and called on these States to seal by a solemn *plebiscitum* their future destinies. This apparently strange act was supported by the adherence, at first secret but later expressed, of France and England. Indeed, both hastened to declare that, should the Assembly of the different Italian States vote in favor of annexation to Piedmont, they would, notwithstanding Austria's protests, make no opposition to the entrance of the Sardinian troops into those States.

What is all the more deserving of notice is that, even before this high support, even before Cavour's return to power, even amidst the most difficult circumstances, Victor Emmanuel's prudence was always accompanied by firmness and courage. This is proved by the following facts:

D'Azeglio, when recalled from Bologna, where he governed in the King's name, wrote: "Sire, I have disobeyed; call me before a council of war."—And Victor Emmanuel answered: "You have done very well." Farini was ordered to quit the

Government of Modena; instead of leaving, he showed himself on the balcony of the palace of the Dukes of Este and cried out: "Forward, with the star of Italy! The star has not signed the Peace of Villafranca!" And Cavour answered: "The Minister is dead, the friend applauds you." The Secretary-General of the Provisional Government of Tuscany, Celestino Bianchi, left Florence to go and agree at Turin upon what was to be done. The King immediately received him and asked: "What do people think of me in Tuscany?" "They always rely on Your Majesty's protection," answered the envoy. "I am truly glad of it," replied the King; "I could not bear to be for a single instant suspected of being capable, in order to take care of my own interests, of abandoning these good people in Tuscany and in the Duchies who have placed their confidence in me."

Another very characteristic incident: Marquis Joachim Pepoli had immediately gone to Turin to make known the painful condition of the population of Central Italy who were threatened by the danger of seeing the old tyrants reinstated by the foreign armies. Victor Emmanuel gave him a cordial welcome, and said to him that, above all, it was requisite not to lose faith. "I believe in your words, Sire," answered Pepoli, "but how can we provide for our wants without money and without credit." "My government," answered the King, "cannot give you open support by reason of the diplomatic agreement but too well-known to you. The House of Savoy is poor, so I cannot materially offer you the money you are in want of; I can give you only one thing, my signature. Try to provide with it for your wants and arm yourselves for the day of battle." Saying these words, he wrote his name on a sheet of paper which he gave to Pepoli.

On the 14th of March, Emilia (with 426,003 votes against 756), and two days later Tuscany (with 366,571 against 14,925) declared themselves for the annexation; and Victor Emmanuel, consistently with his programme and promises, accepted the result of the vote and proclaimed Tuscany and Emilia integral parts of his kingdom.

In April, 1860, a new Parliament composed of citizens of

all the other Italian provinces met at Turin, and the King began his Crown Speech with these memorable words:

"The last time that I opened Parliament in the midst of the sorrows of Italy and of the dangers of the State, my faith in divine justice encouraged me to hope in our future. In a very short time we have seen an invasion repulsed, Lombardy freed by the glorious deeds of the armies, Central Italy delivered by the wonderful virtue of the people; and now are assembled around me the representatives of the right and of the hopes of the nation."

This allusion to the right and to the hopes of the nation was not made in vain. A few months later the annexation of Umbria and of the Marches took place,* and that of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Garibaldi, giving up his republican aspirations, started with his volunteers for the island of Sicily to the cry of "Italy and Victor Emmanuel." The magic of this cry, joined to the name of the hero, worked miracles. One of the most striking characteristics of the Italian revolution was that the intelligent and honest conservatives understood at the right moment the necessity of becoming revolutionists, and the best amongst the revolutionists felt the necessity of becoming conservatives by accepting constitutional monarchy under the formula "Italy and Victor Emmanuel." There was no other means. Whoever desired national independence was led to desire equally the unity of the nation under the sceptre of the dynasty that had become the promoter of that independence. This was the feeling which, on more than one occasion, prevented conflicts between Garibaldi and the King's Government—conflicts which would have proved fatal to the national cause. At the time of which we are speaking, such was especially the case. Garibaldi, pursuing his route, had entered Naples. Capua and Gaeta still held out, but their fall was only a question of time, and the deliverance of the continental and insular provinces of the south could be looked upon as definitive. Was the annexation

* After Victor Emmanuel's entrance into Ancona, the representatives of the foreign States were recalled from Turin and the Prussian Government more particularly expressed its disapprobation. It was then that Cavour said to the King: "What is to be done? They do not wish to understand us. The day will come when they will understand and judge us rightly." "Courage," said the King, "let us do our duty, and go on boldly."

of these provinces to be proclaimed immediately, or was it to be deferred? Garibaldi was of the latter opinion, and he asked the King to confer on him for two years the dictatorship of these provinces. The King was not inclined to grant him his request; he proposed to abide by the decision of Parliament. Parliament was solemnly called; it almost unanimously approved conferring on the King full power to accept the fresh annexation, without any need of special legislative measures. Garibaldi, vying with the King in his deference to the verdict of the nation's representatives, immediately desisted.

On the 7th of November, Victor Emmanuel, preceded by a *plebiscitum* of 1,772,719 votes, entered Naples; he had at his side Garibaldi and the two other principal authors of the union of the southern provinces to the new kingdom,—Giorgio Pallavicino and Antonio Mordini. His proclamation to the Neapolitan and Sicilian populations begins as follows:

"The universal suffrage gives me sovereign power in these noble provinces. I accept the high decree of the national will, not out of an ambition to reign, but from my conscience as an Italian."

Three months later a new Parliament met. It "conferred on Victor Emmanuel and his successors the title of "King of Italy."

But such a title did not entirely answer to the reality so long as there existed a Pontifical State, however reduced in proportions, and so long as Venice groaned under a foreign yoke. On the 11th of October, 1860, Cavour for the first time brought before the Chamber of Deputies the question of Rome as capital of Italy.

"During the last twelve years," said he, "the fixed star of Victor Emmanuel was the aspiration after national independence. What will be this star as regards Rome? Our star, I say it to you openly, is to do in such wise as to make the Eternal City, over which twenty-five centuries have accumulated every kind of glory, become the splendid capital of the Kingdom of Italy."

From that day Victor Emmanuel did not, for a single instant, lose sight of this great end. He was a sincere Catholic and deeply grateful to France; to go to Rome he would have to displease the Pope and the Emperor of the French.* Any

* Historical truth requires us to bear in mind that, if Napoleon was averse to the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy, it was not owing to his

other king would have hesitated. But with Victor Emmanuel his duties as a constitutional king were above every other consideration. True, Cavour had spoken of purely *moral means:* but how to assure one's self that Cavour's good intentions would never be outstripped by events?

Events are sometimes stronger than the will of man. From the day of Cavour's death, all idea of reconciliation between the Pontifical and the Italian Government had become more and more hopeless. Things had reached such a point that Italy was either to fall to pieces again, or to be joined to her natural capital, Rome. The study of the development of the Roman question took birth with the Italian question. It is a complex one, as is always the case when in the midst of facts we must look for principles.

On the 4th of January, 1861, Cavour wrote to Count Vimercati at Paris:

"The King and the Ministry are perfectly agreed as to the system to be followed at home and abroad. The King does not look upon his part as ended; he knows that he must labor to establish on a solid basis the independence and unity of Italy. Now this end will be reached only when the question of Rome will have had a complete solution in conformity with the wishes of the Italians."

Cavour took advantage of his sovereign's wonderful prestige to allay little by little the suspicions of Prussia, and, by winning her over to his side, to prepare that other alliance which death prevented his concluding himself, but which was happily formed in 1866.

One of the fruits of Cavour's policy was precisely the alliance concluded between two governments hitherto always

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private feelings. The Convention of September, 1864, which, with the transfer of the capital from Turin to Florence, signified a tacit renunciation of Rome; the battle of Mentana in 1867, when Garibaldi's bold attempt was repulsed by the French troops; and all the other efforts to secure Rome to the Pope, were forced upon Napoleon by the implacable hostility nurtured against the Empire by the leaders of the clerical party, and also by M. Thiers. Napoleon's liberal foreign policy was stigmatized by Thiers in December, 1867, in these memorable words: "The result of the policy of France is to be seen in Germany. Two unities, one made, the other allowed to be made, which join hands over the Alps, and lay down as a condition of peace that you will let them reach their accomplishment. * * * In Europe there is an European equilibrium; it is in the name of this principle that we have a right not to create by our side powers of twenty-five millions of souls."

at variance. We must bear in mind that in Germany, at that time, it was necessary to draw a distinction between the nation and its rulers; that the liberal principles of the Prussian Government are of a far later date. Bismarck is but a disciple of Cavour; he came forward and proposed to himself the realization of German unity after he had seen Cavour's success, notwithstanding far less favorable circumstances, and the necessity of employing means still more audacious.

It is a general opinion that this alliance not only facilitated to Italy her deliverance of Venice, but also permitted her going to Rome four years later. The state of isolation in which Prussia found herself in 1866, when, impelled by inexorable necessity, she declared war upon Austria, led the Berlin Cabinet to enter into an alliance with Italy. This alliance, however useful to Italy, was not less so to Prussia. Had the latter not had the support of Italy, and the no less important one of France, Sadowa would never have been possible. Both Italy and France contributed to that victory; a victory which facilitated the war of 1870 and led to the Empire of Germany.

As far back as 1858, Cavour had foreseen the future alliance of Italy with Prussia. On the very morrow of the failure of Marquis Pepoli's mission to Berlin, disheartened by it, he uttered the following prophetic words: "What cannot be concluded today will be concluded to-morrow. Prussia is inevitably drawn into the orbit of the idea of nationality. The alliance of Prussia with aggrandized Piedmont is written in the future book of history."

The same prophetic spirit inspired Cavour's reply to the Prussian Ambassador, Brassier de St. Simon, who read to him in October, 1860, a note from his Government expressing the greatest disapprobation of the entrance into the Marches and into the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. "I am sorry," said Cavour, "to be blamed; but I console myself with the thought that Piedmont is setting an example which, in a short time, Prussia will probably be very happy to follow."

To Count Schleinitz, Bismarck's predecessor, he wrote:

"In Italy the monarchical principle, before being trampled upon by popular vengeance, had been effaced from the hearts.

We have raised and purified this principle by having it consecrated by the national will." *

Let us say it once more, but for Victor Emmanuel's moral authority, but for the respect inspired by his unbending will, it had been impossible that Europe should remain a mere spectator of this great revolution, and that this should be accomplished so rapidly. In this respect the Monarchy of Piedmont did a great service to monarchical Europe. The remarkable characteristic of the Italian revolution—of having always guarded social principles—greatly depends on its having been headed by the King and by men entirely devoted to monarchical principles, and brought up in those of conservatism and public order. Thanks to these, the revolution did not throw disorder into the vital forces of the country, but gathered them together, directed them, and made them a power.

The Monarchy of Piedmont rendered another service to Europe. It taught her how feudal monarchies must draw fresh vigor, and conform themselves to the new times, by being for nations still better guarantees of sure and full liberty than republics. It was one of the thoughts which guided Victor Emmanuel in his bold enterprise; he failed not to say so on many an occasion. We shall quote the closing words of his proclamation to the populations of southern Italy before crossing the Tronto:

"Whatever be the gravity of events, I await with tranquillity the judgment of civilized Europe and of history, for I have the conviction of fulfilling my duties as a king and as an Italian. In Europe my policy will not perhaps be useless in reconciling the progress of the people with the stability of monarchies. In Italy I know I put an end to the era of revolutions."

The national enterprise being brought to a happy fulfilment

* The words of Victor Emmanuel's Prime-Minister are all the more remarkable since, when he thus spoke and wrote, not only was the Berlin Cabinet hostile to Piedmont but all the principal European Governments expressed also their dissatisfaction and, with the exception of England, had recalled their representatives from Turin. At the head of the English Foreign Office was Lord John Russell, known for his great partiality for Italy. On the 27th October, 1860, he wrote to Sir James Hudson at Turin a long note which ended as follows: "Having examined the causes and the accessorial condition of the Italian revolution, Her Majesty's Government sees no sufficient reason to justify the severe blame which Austria, France, Prussia and Russia have visited on the King of Sardinia's acts. Her Majesty's Government finds more pleasure in turning its gaze on the consoling prospect of a people that raises the edifice of its liberties and consolidates the work of its independence in the midst of the sympathies and favorable wishes of Europe."

by his entry into Rome, Victor Emmanuel felt all the importance of quieting the conscience of the Catholics by convincing them that the Pope's spiritual authority would be in no wise lessened. He thus desired, promoted, and without delay had brought before Parliament, the law known as the "Law of guarantees of the liberty of the Pontiff and of the Church;" a law which, notwithstanding some imperfections, will remain a monument of political wisdom.

"Of all the enterprises accomplished by the King," writes Minghetti, "this was the most arduous and the greatest, not only because it consummated the unity with the Capital so longed after, but also because it did away with the temporal power of the Popes. In this respect the revolution did not terminate within the confines of the Peninsula, but extended its influxes beyond them; it was not only Italian, it was world-wide, and he carried it out with all the greater frankness that no one could cast a doubt on his religious feelings and on his personal devotion to the Head of the Church." *

Dante, the father of Italian literature, had, in the way which was possible in his time, predicted the day in which the Eternal City would contain in its walls the head of civil society and the head of religious society, the latter free of all earthly dominion. Dante had delineated the unity of Italy in her territorial configuration, in her race, in her language; but in his mind unity was connected with the Roman Empire, which, returning from Germany, would have carried back to Rome its ancient seat and become national.

If Italy in so long a course of centuries did not succeed in forming herself into one State, but remained divided and under a foreign yoke, in all that relates to the intellect she was far in advance of the other European nations; and, if they succeeded much sooner in establishing themselves, she was the first to show that she had a clear and persevering notion of her existence as a nation. Thus not only Dante, but also Petrarca, Macchiavelli and a few others foresaw, although under a different aspect, the possibility of a day dawning when Italy would be free and united †; and after the whole country at

* Minghetti, *op. cit.*

† The constitution of the nation crossed the mind of some princes, sometimes under the form of unity, sometimes as a confederacy, but always in vain

the middle of the sixteenth century had fallen under foreign rule, Italian feeling survived in the mind of some thinker or of some poet. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Chiabrera, Marini, Testi, Boccalini, Burlamacchi, Morone, Tassone and others, foresaw the national revival; it was a vague, indistinct, but perennial thought of that Italy whose unity was promised by the oneness of her name, which had lived since the earliest ages through so many vicissitudes and so many governments.

Perhaps those powerful minds turned a prophetic glance on that House of Savoy from which was to spring Victor Emmanuel, the founder of Italian nationality.

"There is much of Henry the Fourth in this man," said one day Mr. Seward, Special Envoy to the French Provincial Government, on leaving the Pitti Palace where he had been cordially received by the King himself. The comparison is worth recalling; it contains much truth and reflects much honor upon Victor Emmanuel. There are, however, two points of difference which, while leaving to each of these great monarchs his portion of merit, throw out into stronger relief the historical figure of the Italian prince. Henry the Fourth was an absolute king, and, like nearly all great men, he reached that height owing to his living in times and amidst events in perfect harmony with his own nature. On the contrary, the first King of Italy was a most constitutional prince, and his greatness comes, above all, from his having known how to bend his own nature to every change of time and circumstances, remaining, however, inflexible in his principles as a liberal king and as the redeemer of his country.

C. Pozzoni.

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on account of the many internal divisions and of the opposition always made by the Popes. Thus failed the attempts of the Scaligeri, of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, of Ladislaus, King of Naples, and the hopes of Lorenzo di Medici, of the Duke Valentino and of Lodovico Sforza.

ART. VII.—CODIFICATION OF THE COMMON-LAW.

1. *Works of Sir Henry Sumner Maine.*
2. *Works of Sheldon Amos.*
3. *Works of Jeremy Bentham.* Edinburgh: 1843.
4. *Essai sur l'Histoire du Droit Français.* Par M. F. LAFERRIÈRE. Paris: 1859.
5. *Histoire de la Législation Romaine.* Par J. ORTOLAN. Paris: 1875.
6. *An Address, delivered to the Graduating Class of the Law School of the University of Albany.* By MR. D. D. FIELD, March 23, 1855.
7. *A Code or a Digest.* By F. S. REILLY, *Law Magazine and Review*, Vol. II. N. S., 1873.
8. *The Juridical Society Papers.* London.
9. *The English School of Jurisprudence.* By FREDERIC HARRISON. *Fortnightly Review*, 1878-1879.

> "The work which I propound tendeth to pruning and grafting the law, and not to ploughing up and planting it again: for such I should hold indeed for a dangerous innovation."—*Lord Bacon.*

"THE historical method in law," says Mr. Frederic Harrison, in his papers on *The English School of Jurisprudence*, "is the special resource and almost the discovery of our immediate time;" and it is that method, the method of Savigny and of Maine, to which recourse must be had in seeking any satisfactory answer to the question, whether the common-law is a

proper subject for codification. The question involves the external rather than the internal condition of the law, and is one less of substance than of form. But eventually form and substance are interdependent and inextricably bound up together. The question, therefore, reaches down to the very basis of jurisprudence, and can only be answered after a study of the functions and objects of law as such; of the place of law among institutions; of its relation to the growth of society; and of the forms that it has assumed.

Mere discussion of the superficial facts will not suffice properly to answer the question; for our law, the realization of social order, may not be subjected to experimentation, and nothing will here suffice but an appeal to the largest principles of juridical science. How far the demand for codification has arisen from crude theories and fancied analogies—how far it has arisen from jurisprudential wisdom—remains to be seen. It is claimed, by advocates of the historical and comparative methods in law, that the time is ripe for the reduction of our customary law to a Code; and it has become the fashion for jurists, charmed by the civilians, in season and out of season to decry our own system, while they find no word of praise sufficiently exalted for that of the Roman law. Forgetting that the historical value of the Roman law is vastly greater than its substantive value, they regard its form and substance as reverentially as its lessons.

Before proposing a change in the organic form of our law, we should study well its physiology. To fully comprehend that, however, demands a knowledge of the physiology of society; a watchfulness of the play of its organs; and the study of law as a fact related to all of the other facts of social life. For law is not something superimposed upon society, but, like the language, morals, religion and politics of a people, it springs from their common consciousness. The foundations of possible law are to be sought in the national spirit, that *volksgeist*, as the Germans call it, which exists in all the members of a nation, and has its life in the national history, producing specific traits of nationality, as distinguished from the generic traits of humanity. Aiming at the establishment of

a perfect order within a perfect State, the course of law is determined by the necessities of peoples, physically and morally, by climate and geographical position, by economic conditions, by traditions, creeds, and politics. Working with human means upon humanity, and changing with every change of condition and circumstance, law is, by virtue of its very nature, an imperfect instrument—an instrument never finally sufficient in its form and methods, but only tentatively sufficient. It progresses substantively and formally with the progress of civilization. At no time can it be regarded as more than relatively perfect, and its perfection cannot be considered apart from the national life of which it is the product. As the conditions and needs of societies differ, so must their laws differ. In Lord Bacon's words, "As streams, and like as wáters, do take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run, so do civil laws vary according to the regions and governments where they are planted." Eventually the laws and the public opinions and habits of a people coincide, not, however, because they stand in the relation of antecedent and consequent, but because they grow side by side from the same stem. At any given moment Law, consequently, better than any other human institution, proximately represents the actual popular will. The very fact, then, that our law is mainly customary, finds its reason necessarily in our national consciousness and history. The form corresponds to a deep-seated national sense of its fitness and necessity. It follows that systems of law can be, with profit, studied comparatively only when all differences of conditions between the communities in which they obtain are taken into consideration; and that indiscriminate argument from analogy is of no force.

Passing from the nature of law and its relation to national life, let us regard its growth and development. As change and adaptation constitute the final law of life, individual and social, so are they inherent necessities in every system of municipal law. Mr. Bagehot points out that "law—rigid, definite, concise law—is the primary want of early mankind; that which they need above everything else, that which is requisite before they can gain anything else." If, however, it

have not within it the germ of adaptability, if it be regarded as final rather than provisional, national progress is eventually arrested. And this is true of law, not only in its earliest, but in its latest stages. Any form which has a tendency to perpetuate indefinitely and unchangeably the existing rule is fraught with danger to society. Progressive law contains the principles and means of change and growth.

In early law, when the rule appears to have become unalterably fixed, and to have been outgrown by society, it is conformed to the actual social need by the means of fiction. By that instrument customary law is insensibly changed until its framework will permit of no further growth, and is discovered to be too small for the necessities of progressive communities. Then the new and larger system of equity comes into existence and develops to its limit. In its turn it becomes too confined for the requirements of society, and is finally supplemented by legislation. This is Sir Henry Maine's great discovery. Fiction may cease to be used; but the principles of equity are eternal, and survive the system of equity, working hand in hand with legislation for the perfection of law. Fiction, equity, and legislation, however, are simply methods for bringing law into harmony with new social conditions. They are the instruments of growth, the springs of progress, but they do not sum up the successive historical stages of law. This latter is quite another thing.

We may not here trace the history of law, but it is necessary, nevertheless, to hastily glance at it to discover, if possible, in what state of development our own law is. Of that early law, indistinguishable from pure custom or usage, which precedes distinct national existence it is unnecessary to speak. Allusion must be made, however, to the nation-making stage of law, by which discordant tribes are welded into one, and conflicting customs are harmonized; as well as to the stage which immediately follows, and in which law takes on the form that accompanies the earlier stages of national existence. Throughout both these periods the law is unsymmetrical and illogical. As the nation and the law develop, jurisprudence comes into being to mould the latter into something of logical form and

order; "and while the sources of its growth are not cut off, the principles and maxims of the law are evolved into a precise statement, false growths are pruned," and science "dispels the chaos and arranges into its natural order the system of justice." The last stage of law appears when nations have arrived at the climax of their evolution, beyond which there is no progress, and when their national life is so centralized that the only possible tendency is for the worse. In the first, or nation-making stage, the law is altogether customary. In the second, or early national stage, legislation has begun, but customary law still predominates, fiction and equity remaining as yet the chief instruments of change. In the third, or middle national stage, the law is about equally legislative and customary, with the customary still the fundamental law, but with legislation as the favorite means of amendment. In the last, or mature stage, society being no longer progressive, the laws are all reduced to statutory form, as in Justinian's time, and an effort made to retain them in their perfection—to save them from the influence of national decline. This last may be called the age of codification, which age, from the very nature of things, cannot be said to have arrived so long, to quote Heron, as "a nation is progressing in wealth, knowledge and civilization;" a complete Code being possible only when progress is arrested. This last stage is followed by decadence, and while the perfect Code stands a new customary law springs into being, as in the Roman Empire after Justinian, where "modern Roman law" arose through the adaptation of the "old Roman law" to the exigencies of the new States.

This reference to the principle of growth and to the history of legal systems, will enable us to determine in what stage of development, relative to its maturity, our American law is. That it has not reached the final stage is apparent from a momentary glance at its characteristics. It recognizes the principle of growth by "the silent promulgation of custom and the active promulgation of legislation;" the customary law still, however, being regarded as the dominant body, as it is the basis of the whole. While it possesses energy and elaboration it lacks, nevertheless, symmetry and beauty. It

must be admitted of it, as even Bentham was obliged to admit of English law, that while it may be confused, indeterminate and ill-adapted, as a repository of precedents and principles "it affords for the manufacturer of real law a stock of materials which is beyond all price." We are yet accumulating data for our final and perfected jurisprudence, and its "exuberance of principles" is the most inestimable characteristic of our law. It was the uncontrolled multiplication of cases which made the perfected Roman law possible, and this multiplication of cases in our books is working to a like end, making of our law essentially a law of principles, rich with references and guides to their application, the mass and confusion of authorities being more apparent than real. There is progressing at the same time what Sir Henry Maine calls "tacit codification." "Every time the result of a number of cases is expressed in a formula, and that formula becomes so stamped with authority * * * that the courts grow disinclined to allow its terms to be revised on a mere appeal to the precedents upon which it originally rested, then, under such circumstances, there is *pro tanto* a codification." Illustration of what is meant would seem almost useless, and yet I may refer, as affording instances of such formulations of principles, to the summary by Church, Ch. J., of our law concerning a married woman's contractual liability, in *58 N. Y. Rep., 82*, and to the long line of cases from *3 N. H. Rep., 508*, in 1826, to *7 Wall., U. S., 205*, in 1868, which formulate the law of duress of imprisonment.

These characteristics all conspire to assure us that our law is still immature; and this condition is the only one possible in view of its causative environment. We are a new people in a new land, and our full national resources are still undiscovered. New forms of productive industry and of coöperation bespeak the rapidity of our development. We still possess all the marks of youth, notwithstanding that it is a youth enriched by our grand inheritance from the past. Our law, consequently, is as rich in principles as any old law, but as flexible in form as any young one. If its form is blameworthy for the crude and unscientific condition of our system of justice; if, in a word, our law like every other mixed customary and statutory

law has its superfluities, its deficiencies, its obscurity and its confusion; if it is chaotic, anarchical, vacillating, and unsymmetrical, it does not, therefore, necessarily follow that we should change our legal system. We are bound, rather, to retain the system which is the natural product of our political and economic condition, and to remedy the evils of our law by recourse to the methods known to it, without tearing it up by the roots and transplanting it.

It is the fashion of the hour to charge all the evils of the law upon the absence of a Code, even though they be inherent in the very nature of law itself, and are such as must exist in some measure in every system so long as imperfection is a characteristic of human institutions. That our law needs reforming is undeniable, but the need for reform and the necessity for codification are not interchangeable propositions. No one more bitterly (and quite justifiably) attacked the English law of the early part of this century, no one believed more firmly in the necessity for codification, than Bentham. No one prayed more ardently for "the duly arranging hand" as the only possible salvation, and yet, as Harrison reminds us, hardly one of those things which Bentham attacked can now be found in the actual state of the law. "English law has worked itself free," he says, "from whole masses of those feudal anomalies and accidents which, in the last century, made it seem something so monstrous and hopeless to men trained in the civil law." If, in the same way, our law has worked itself free from greater evils than any that now exist, without having had recourse to codification, without revolutionizing its spirit and discarding the system which made possible all antecedent growth, then the simple need of reform, so long as the safety of the State and the continuance of practical justice are not jeoparded, does not prove the necessity of a Code. The future of our law may be safely trusted to the remedial energies and processes which are inherent in our system and which have operated so effectually in the past.

The advocates of codification have used the term in such widely differing senses that the limits of a short essay will not admit even of reference to the principles of all of the different

schools. Some would, like Sir James Stephen, condense and summarize the law as it exists, arranging it in systematic order but adhering strictly to existing terminology. The result of this method, however, is rather a Digest than a Code, for a Code *makes* law while a Digest merely *summarizes* it. Others would not only restate the law in a condensed and symmetrical form, but would, while retaining every existing part of it, aim at a new and consistent terminology and a perfect logical distribution. A third school, and they are by far the most numerous, would not only republish the entire law, but would embody with it fresh legislation. Such was the scheme for which provision was made in the New York Constitution of 1846, a scheme looking to the abolition of the law in its existing form, the retention in a new shape of so much of it as was good, and the addition of such new legislation as should make the whole harmonious and consistent and bring the law as nearly as possible to ideal theoretical perfection. As matter of fact, no people has ever adopted a Code of any other than the last-described class, there being *no example in history of a Code which looks only to the systematization* and avoids the reconstruction more or less of the body of the law. As codification has been advocated and undertaken in this country, it has looked not only to the reduction of a wilderness of rules to a coherent, consolidated and symmetrical body of general conceptions, but to the embodiment of improvements suggested by comparative legislation; thus not only changing the form of the law but making innovations in its substance. Such I judge to be codification as the term is used in the question under discussion. Its object then is not simply to reform the law—for that end can be obtained by existing customary methods and by occasional legislation—but to perfect it logically and substantively; in a word, to substitute an all-comprehending Code for a mixed customary and statutory law, the law of mature national life for the law of a still growing and immature national life.

The question, then, is presented—to paraphrase Mr. Amos—whether the course of changing conceptions and progressive enterprise in the field of law is an unending one, or whether a

period ever arrives when the formal shape of the whole body of law may be finally and definitely fixed. That such a time ever arrives I doubt, and the doubt is founded upon the inherent imperfection of all law *per se*, and the endless changes of life and environment which may not be foreseen by human wisdom in its narrowness. Had Gaius, for instance, codified the Roman law, his Code would either have been outgrown or the development of the law would have been arrested—for masterly as was the condensation of Gaius, compared with the Justinian law it was a semi-archaic system. Even the *Corpus Juris* of Justinian was never the actual practical law throughout the Empire, but was superseded by paraphrases, abridgments and later compilations. So, if Blackstone had codified the law, his Code would have been outgrown as his *Commentaries* have been, unless it had succeeded in strangling the principle of growth. Heron happily says: "Laws once digested remain as they have been written. Men, on the contrary, never repose—they always act, and this movement which never stops, and the effects of which are differently modified by different circumstances, produces at each instant some new combination, some new fact, some new result. Many things are then necessarily abandoned to the empire of custom, to the discussion of learned men, to the arbitrament of judges." The only universal and unchangeable elements of law are those principles fertile of consequences which do not descend into detail and which are not subject-matter of codification—the general maxims which are the only *leges legum* known to jurisprudence.

Now, it is maintained that the time for codification arrives only when a nation is matured, and when its perfected law has to be reduced to a systematized and statutory form in order that it may survive its parent civilization. But even admitting that there is a time in the history of progressive peoples when codification becomes proper, it remains to be answered when that time is, and how a people is to know beyond doubt that it has come. Without discussing this question at large, it is sufficient here to determine whether the time has arrived with us. Unquestionably if our law were so wholly inadequate

to its purpose as to be out of coincidence with the popular will, so inadequate as to require its reënactment and resystematization in order to perpetuate the State and to maintain justice—as was the case in France after the Revolution of '89—then a Code of laws would be not expedient merely, but an absolute necessity, and its promulgation would be, as was that of the French Codes, not an act of codification but of new and original legislation. If we had no printing-press, and books were not only scarce but inordinately expensive, and legal treatises scarce and expensive beyond all others; if at the same time our law were already digested in some such way as was that of Rome by the perpetual edict, then a condensation and republication of it would be not only practicable, but would be required by every principle of justice and of policy—as at Constantinople. But that would not be codification in the large modern sense of the word any more than the compilation of the Pandects was codification. From whatever side of pure jurisprudence the work of Justinian is regarded, it was an evil, but an evil rendered necessary for the avoidance of greater evil—a matter rather of state-craft than of the philosophy of law.

Admitting that our law achieves practical justice—that it is practically sufficient for the fulfilment of the function of law, and that there is no such exigency as in the Byzantine or French Empires; and remembering that Prussia, Austria and Italy, where the modern Roman law is the foundation of the legal system, and where the customary law has for ages been subordinate, afford nothing analagous to our own case; the advocates of codification must show not only that jurisprudence is sufficiently advanced among us as a science, and that the times sufficiently excel in learning and knowledge to make possible a Code which will meet the requirements of a ripe jurisprudential philosophy, but that the habits of the community will render the use of a Code more or less popular and effective. Now, as matter of fact, jurisprudence is in its very infancy. It is characteristic of the stage to which our law has developed that this should be so. Nothing is more indeterminate than the scientific classification of its parts, unless it be

its terminology. We lack the education and the language for codification. We are not possessed of the jurisprudence or of the jurists. This is due to the condition of our law, undoubtedly, but it is the fact none the less; and, so long as it remains the fact—and it must so remain just so long as the standard of legal education is low and the reformatory remedies that are at hand lie neglected—a Code which shall leave us better instead of worse is out of the question.

The French, after 1789, required a Code to harmonize two wholly different and conflicting systems of law, the *droit écrit* and the *droit coutumier*, not only, but to bring the whole into consonance with the principles of the Revolution; and it was required, further, to enforce the policy of the new and imperial government. The New York Constitution of 1846 was passed when our people went farthest under the urgency of an extreme democratic-republicanism in their advocacy of renovating the State and its institutions, when they were most enamored, in a word, of the spirit of '89. They determined to codify their law as the French had done, and yet their condition, and that of their government and their law, had not one trait in common with those of France at the time of the promulgation of the Codes. As to whether the people are now fully ready to perfect the proposed change, is a matter hard to get at; and until they make it plain that they are ready for it, our legislators and lawyers should hesitate to change the system which is part and parcel of our national psychology.

Codification means legislation, the exchange of a crescive and elastic law for an inherently unalterable statutory enacment. The first, or customary law, as Sir John Nicholl says (*3 B. & Ald., 245, N.* [*ab*]), "is governed by the *jus tacito et illiterato hominum consensu et moribus expressum*," and so in the long run it is but a reflection, or organized reëxpression, of the social ethics of a nation. And as it reflects the popular conscience, it in turn reacts upon a people, and insensibly but certainly moulds its habits and its opinions. "Customs," says Lord Bacon, "are laws written in living tables," and customary law has all the breadth and liberality of spirit, all the adaptability and potentiality of progress possessed by the

people among whom it prevails. Its standard is the national morality. In the long run it works a justice in exact accord with the public demand and the public conscientiousness of right and wrong—and it preserves the liberties of a people as no other form of law has ever done. Such are the grand and monumental merits of the common-law.

A codified law, on the other hand, is open to every objection that can be urged against legislation. In the first place, in the absence of a scientific jurisprudence—which is the connotation of all of the facts of life studied in relation to the fact Law—there is no standard of legislation; wherefore, Legislation falls short of Common-Law, which, guided by principles and not by words, seeks to do such justice in cases as they arise as will comply with the intangible and unexpressed, but none the less existent, standard of public morality. A formal standard is not needed for the latter; but for the former, which is declaratory and inflexible, it is absolutely required. Further, legislation, which always requires interpretation, is left nevertheless, in the present state of juridical and legislative science, entirely without a standard of interpretation.

From actual practice, we know that the crudeness and imperfection in the form and terminology of our statutes actually confuse the law and hinder the administration of justice; and not because they break in upon the system of common-law as it existed, but because the sciences of Jurisprudence and Legislation are so little advanced among us. Stability, amendment and progress are the marks of a sound legislation; but, as practised among us, legislation tends only too often to unsettle the law and render it uncertain, with only questionable success in the matter of amendment and reform. Bentham dreamt of a statute-book which, upon one's turning to the appropriate part, disclosed the exact law in a given case, "all plain reading, no guesswork, no argumentation; your rule of action—your lot under it lies before you. Thus might it be, thus ought it be;" but thus has it never been, thus can it not be in the present, and possibly in no stage of legal science. We possess no machinery for the proper preparation of enactments. It is useless for us to

discuss what Legislation would be with an ideal Legislature; we must consider it only, for the purposes now in hand, as what it is, what with a Legislature far from ideal it can only be. But passing from these general objections, growing out of the undeveloped state of legislative science, the character of legislative bodies, and the machinery of legislative enactment, all of which apply with full weight against a Code which has to run the gauntlet of our Legislature; let us turn to some, as yet here insufficiently considered, objections to codification.

The objection to a Code—that to achieve its end it must legislate in anticipation, and that to legislate in anticipation is an impossibility—seems to me never to have been squarely met. Referring to this objection, Mr. Field says: "You may, it is said, stretch your foresight to its utmost limit; you may exhaust all the sagacity and ingenuity of the human mind; the future nevertheless is a sealed book, you cannot look into its unopened leaves; and, therefore, attempting to provide for what they contain, is spending your strength in a vain and fruitless effort;" and it does not seem to me that, clever as Mr. Field is, he answers the objection. To say that, although we cannot provide for all cases, we will provide for as many as we can, is not an answer; for the common-law, whatever may be its imperfections, is so rich in principles that it reaches all cases as they arise, and the advocates of a Code for the sake of accessibility would substitute for a system admittedly adequate one admittedly inadequate; notwithstanding that adequacy and not accessibility and logical order is the *sine quâ non* in law.

And not only is a Code incapable of an exact anticipation of the cases which will arise for determination, and consequently inadequate and insufficient, but it perpetuates into to-morrow the errors of today beyond all possibility of escape, except by isolated legislation. Until such legislation is had, "the inconvenience, the impolicy, the hardship and injustice of the law afford no warrant for its abrogation by the judiciary" (*Ludewig* v. *Pariser*, *4 Abb. New Cases*, *252*); and so soon as isolated legislation has begun, the law begins again to become unsymmetrical, inaccessible and involved.

A mistake once made, an error once perpetuated, a single *casus omissus* is fatal to justice, and irremediable except by appeal, when it is too late, to a political tribunal which is too apt to leave the law worse than it finds it. It is the inadequacy of a Code that is its chief objection. This is peculiarly so in the matter of fraud. "The modes of fraud and wrong-doing by which men endeavor to evade the vigilance of law," says Mr. Amos, "are so varied and so constantly new that it is impossible in anticipation to frame particular language which shall distinctly describe all the acts that it is the intention of the legislator to prevent." In the same spirit Lord Redesdale said (*2 Sch. & Lef., 666*): "The possibility will always exist that human ingenuity, in contriving fraud, will go beyond any cases which have before occurred." But Lord Redesdale shows how new contrivances for fraud, be they never so cleverly conceived, cannot escape the common-law; while Mr. Amos has to admit that they cannot be provided against by a Code; and it may be presumed that Mr. Field had this among other things in view when, in the introduction to his Civil Code, he said that he could not safely attempt to define all the acts by which men might hereafter seek to countervail the public policy of the State, or to foresee what the public policy should be in ages to come. The wiser advocates of codification have come to admit that a Code must fail in a measure in the respects referred to, but they say it compensates for this in that it makes the law knowable and certain, and reduces it to a harmonious system. If such were beyond all doubt the case, there would then be much to say in behalf of a Code, but that it is the case is by no means beyond controversy.

So long as an undefined legal vocabulary and an undeveloped legislative science beget inexact legislation demanding judicial interpretation, so long will our law remain in its present state of uncertainty, so long will it continue unknowable. It is said that our unmanageable legal literature is due to the absence of a Code. But it is answered that the necessity for comments and reports of decisions is perennial. The French and Roman law, to which such continued reference is made by the codifiers,

are not comprised in two books, but in many. So little do the Pandects and the Institutes speak for themselves, that it is only after years of study and by the acutest historical research that we are able to read them aright. For ages we have possessed the Justinian texts, but they were a closed book to us, or a simple snare, until Niebuhr recovered the MS. of Gaius in the chapter-house of Verona, and Savigny recast and rearranged the world's knowledge of the *Corpus Juris.* The French law is unintelligible without the aid of Pothier and without reference to the many laws anterior to the first Empire which are still in force, and the host of commentators upon the old and the new system. Who that has ever seriously tried to digest and keep pace with the *Bulletin des Lois*, *La France Judiciaire*, and all the rest of the periodicals in which legislative enactments are promulgated, and the decisions of the courts announced, will say that the French lawyer is happily relieved of the necessity for consulting many books? The law, in fact, is overrun with commentaries, and is as uncertain and undiscoverable as our own—more so in reality, for with us a precedent is a guide, and has somewhat of weight, while in the French law it may be disregarded with absolute impunity, and is no indication of how the same law will be administered a second time upon the same state of facts.

The plea that a Code makes the law certain and readily knowable may be in no way so well answered as by reference to the French *Code Civil*, to our National and State Constitutions and to our Codes of Procedure; and all of these illustrate at the same time how futile it is to expect by codification to prevent the growth of a common-law. The French *Code Civil* devotes only four articles to the subject of payment with subrogation, which give but the faintest notion of the law upon the subject, which leads M. Demolombe first to exclaim: "*C'est bien peu! pour une matière si compliquée, et d'une telle importance doctrinale et pratique*," and then to give four hundred pages of his *Cours du Code Napoléon* to the subject. So our actual National Constitution is not the written Code of institutional political law drafted by the

Convention of 1787, but the crescive law which has grown up around it as Roman law grew up around the Twelve Tables. The "implied powers" are all the result of a new growth of customary constitutional law. Turn to just these few words, for instance: "Congress shall have power to regulate the commerce with foreign nations," etc., and then to the works of the commentators and to the long line of authorities from *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* to *Gilman* v. *Philadelphia* (*3 Wall., 713*), and say whether our constitutional law is fixed or crescive; say what different meanings the few simple words have possessed as one view or another of public policy has predominated. So Mr. Field's Code of Procedure became intelligible only after our courts had piled up the interpretations which fill Abbott's and Howard's reports, and left the law of practice more voluminous than it had ever been before. No sooner was it becoming certain than it was conceived to be necessary to recodify it to harmonize the text with the decisions and with logic of the whole body, and we have had imposed upon us an unscientific and partial work, which unsettled the law, necessitates another quarter of a century of interpretation and amendment, and demonstrates beyond the power of disbelief that our legislative machinery and the backwardness of juridical science make scientific and systematic codification a practical impossibility, and any attempt at it absolutely inexpedient.

Thus codification does not achieve the benefits alleged. An end cannot be put to the growth of a common or customary law so long as a nation is progressive, and the evils that are attendant upon its law are not adventitious, but inherent in the nature of law itself. Codification impedes the growth of the law; it cannot better the law. The best system of law is a mixed system of statutory and customary law, with the latter as the foundation of the whole. This system permits an endless and uninterrupted development, and supplies a ready means of reformation. It is fitted to our age and our circumstances. It is not an accidental but a necessary part of that *volksgeist* which makes us, as a people, what we are. To

revolutionize it in favor of a system out of coincidence with our national development, and which would place an obstacle in the way of spontaneous legal growth, without remedying the evils complained of—which evils are remediable by well-recognized and less hazardous processes—is to outrage every principle of state-craft and of jurisprudence.

WILLIAM M. IVINS.

VIII.—Reviews and Criticisms.

Boston Monday Lectures: Socialism, with Preludes on current Events. By Joseph Cook. 12° Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1880.

As a whole this book appears to undertake to solve the social and political problems of the day. The "preludes" are videttes to the lectures. The lectures discuss, in outline at least, creeds of all kinds, political, economic, philanthropic, social, theological. Idiosyncrasies in others are criticised by the author with severity, and his own are displayed ostentatiously. As a whole, too, the object kept in view is everywhere to sparkle with indignation, to interest by striking contrasts, to incite a holy war, and to propagate the peculiar religious belief of the author. Interwoven with these is an effort not sufficiently disguised to establish a claim to vast learning, to multiscience.

It will be perceived that such objects are very vast in their scope, such motives for the most part laudable or allowable. But it must also be granted that a work of such scope is one requiring capacity in its performance which is rarely accorded to men. A worker in such vast immensity should be if not omniscient at least multiscient; for it is nothing less than the correlation of man and nature. To decide the question of socialism alone, hemmed in as society is with all the conditions of civilization, to decide whether indeed the world may not witness a higher civilization than any that has yet appeared, can only be achieved in a work of three hundred pages by taking for granted nearly all of the claims of the conservative on the one hand, or nearly all of the claims of the innovator on the other. That is to say, the range of subjects comprised in these essays are treated deductively. There is not room to accumulate evidence tending to establish even the chief of the assumptions that must be made. It is assumed, and must be assumed, in order to get through at all, that the present social institutions and political results are nearly satisfactory, that the Declaration of Independence announced social and not political principles, and that that declaration was a summary of axioms. It is also assumed, and on the plan of the book *must* be assumed, that Trinitarian Christianity is true, and that Romanism is an objectionable

phase of it. Besides these vast assumptions are others connected with finance, with education, with cities, etc., which save time, and enable the author to accomplish the objects enumerated above without encumbering himself with the burden of such authorities and facts as are deemed necessary in philosophical treatises where the object is the getting at truth and wisdom. In this manner, with these advantages of being in light marching order, the preludes and lectures are enabled to sweep through a vast array of hostile encampments, concealing in part the slight impression they make on the substantial strength of the enemy, by fierceness of invective and personal abuse. It is a sort of Chinese war with gongs and cymbals, upon the camps of socialism, communism, sand-lotism and free religion. It is a kind of demonstration, like a spectacular act or procession, in favor of orthodox Christianity and the Gospel according to Joseph Cook. If more than this, it is an opportunity to return the abuse which has been so liberally bestowed on Joseph Cook.

Lest it may seem improbable that any man should attempt to solve so much in so narrow a space, we give a synopsis of the contents of this pretentious book. The subjects treated in it are: 1. Socialism in connection with universal suffrage, with a prelude on postal laws and inhibited literature. These are compressed into twenty-seven pages. They require two hundred or more. 2. Socialism a political blunder, with a prelude on commercial honor, on bankrupt-law, etc. This is compressed into thirty pages, but requires five hundred to be thoroughly discussed. 3. Self-help, not State help, the hope of the poor. This has a portico also on culture. It is compressed into twenty-nine pages although it wanders over an indefinite number of schemes, literary and social, and alone requires a large volume to develop a fraction of them. Yet, brief as it is, it is loaded with ornaments of rhetoric and displays of learning which leave small space indeed for the subject announced. 4. Coöperation as a help to the poor. The prelude to this is on the Chinese in America. The intricate problem of coöperation cannot be dealt with except in the most general way in so short a treatise; and the Chinese question is not to be disposed of by spiteful allusion to sand-lot oratory, and an outpouring of epithets. Twenty-six pages are given to finally demolish all the legislation of California and the United States in reference to the Chinese; to discussing the law of treaties, and the social and religious advantages of Oriental infusions.

There are, besides the foregoing, some six other lectures and six preludes requiring, according to the author's ideas, only two hundred pages. It is evident that they can be only thumb-nail sketches, somewhat above the articles which appear in the average country newspaper, but far below the standard of metropolitan journalism. The book can not be regarded as an authority on any one of the subjects it professes to treat, or as a repertory of facts. There is little or no information to be gleaned from these

short essays. On the whole, then, we are constrained to say that there is too much attempted and too little attained. And it would seem that even for a less pretentious effort there are fatal weaknesses in the mind of Mr. Cook which would make his efforts in such a field of small value. He is too subjective and callow. His callowness, and we might say his sophomoric style, impair his usefulness. This is very noticeable in his flights of rhetoric, and his holy phrases. As an instance of rhapsodical fustian take the following passage (pp. 129 and 130):

"Charles Sumner's ghost stands on the Pacific coast, and from under the shadows of Mount St. Elias points out to us that in Alaska we have the key to the northern Pacific. Seward's spirit hovers along the Aleutian Islands, looking upon us through the smoke of the ten volcanoes which there belch their fire and ashes toward the sky. John Eliot, through the clear northern azure, spreads his hands above the Yukon. When I turn that way, I see, behind these historic spirits, the angel that appeared to one of old, and said, 'Come over into Macedonia and help us. [Applause.]"

These pretended visions and rhapsodies occur frequently and are generally credited with the affix, [Applause]. This indicates that somebody thinks them very fine. They strike us as vealy. There inhere in them vanity, egotism, puerility. Equally offensive to good taste and redolent of egotism is the canonization of those whom the author delights to honor. How does the author know that William Cullen Bryant wrote a letter "just before he was caught into the Unseen Holy?" (p. 70.) Passing from these defects of style, these tawdry ornaments, which it will be seen are the outcome of quackery, we shall find that there is a deficiency of kindliness, a tendency to epithets, and an indulgence in invective which, taken collectively, indicate a hard heart, and bellow with a savage theology. The violence of language is noticeable. Speaking of socialists, and freethinkers generally, the mind of Mr. Cook is soon lashed into tiger-like rage. He calls them "*ogres*," "*moral-cancer planters*," "*leper's leagues.*" Their ranks are black; their God is a cannibal (p. 13). In this connection he asserts that a Boston seminary publishes no catalogue, and examines all letters lest these should contain some immorality. He winds up the tirade with the statement: "Out of free religion has grown free irreligion, and out of infidel liberalism, immorality." The remedy he argues for is "arrests" (p. 15). So the doctrine which Mr. Cook believes in (which seems to be a kind of mongrel Calvinism and Methodism), is to be enforced by the jail, and it is our duty to bury this "cannibal god" alive (p. 15). These are the methods of force, these are the tactics of the Inquisition, and no doubt Mr. Cook would like to see a Protestant gibbet and rack managed by the Saints, if the jail should fail to crush freereligion. No other inference is probable according to the passages scattered here and there throughout the (so-called) prelude in pp. 3 to 16.

The man is so blinded by the intensity of his convictions and the malice of his intolerance that he seriously advances the extreme statements of his opponents as their average sentiments, and confounds the voice of the minority with that of the majority. (*See* pp. 43 to 47.) He is so superficial, too, in his examination of the subject that he ignores the difference between communism and socialism, and visits on the whole in lump the fires of his ignorant rage. For the rest, his citations from history are hackneyed, and his assertions much more numerous than his facts, or proofs. The oft-told story of the king who wished every peasant could have a chicken for dinner (p. 16), is made to do service as a startling illustration, *i. e.* "applause" follows it! *L'état, c'est moi*, gets quoted again, and the story of Magna Charta.

In his lecture on Coöperative Savings-Banks, he has an opportunity (which he does not neglect) to rail at the much-abused officials of savings-banks (pp. 138 to 139), and to intensify the distrust felt of them. And he does not fail here or elsewhere to exalt the imperialistic and forceful methods of Germany in theology, in finance and in education, making unjust comparison between the relations of Government and people there and in France and the United States. No young man, we maintain, can derive from this author a just estimate of the social forces at work anywhere. On page 53 he makes the grossly erroneous statement that the interest on $2,300,000,000, "at the lowest rates at which money is borrowed, would be greater than the present national revenue." Our annual national revenue exceeds $325,000,000, or quite three times the annual interest on $2,300,000,000! On page 55 the absurd statement is made as an axiom that "Governments acquire power through patronage." The obverse of this is true: Governments acquire patronage through power. The power of Governments, their authority and stability, is derived from belief in their expediency, or in their divine right to exist.

All these errors are weak enough, but surely no believer in perfectibility ever announced a scheme for its attainment more impracticable than that which Joseph Cook develops in an allegorical "dream" which is doubtless deemed by his admirers a choice bit of literary composition and a wonderful exhibit of comprehensive learning, though we are matter-of-fact enough to look on it as a wild scheme, told in an affected way. Mr. Cook calls this scheme for perfect culture (p. 62) "a vision of the inner universe and its harmonies, that is, of the laws of culture, the necessary conditions of its completeness, and the mischief of its fragmentariness." He then very verbosely makes a great display of the books he has read, or claims to have read, giving a partial syllabus, which is curiously characteristic in that it omits from the list of philosophy all opponents of *Christian* philosophy, and from the evidences of Christianity all critics of these evidences, particularly the great names of Hume and Renan. So that even

his scheme of universal culture is to be like himself, one-sided only. The object is to make a perfect Christian in culture, not a savant. But narrow and one-sided as this scheme of "culture" is, it makes up in height and length what it lacks in solidity or breadth. You are to have Joseph Cook's half of (1) Mathematics; (2) Logic; (3) Rhetoric; (4) Languages; (5) Political Economy; (6) History; (7) Physics; (8) Chemistry; (9) Natural History; (10) the Fine Arts; (11) Music; (12) Gymnastics; (13) Metaphysics; (14) Ethics; (15) the Christian Evidences. In short, for the student-life of man, which is from twenty to sixty—or forty years—a course of study is laid down which it would take six hours a day for four hundred years at least to finish! If, then, a man reads in ten years what should take four hundred years, he can only read the marginal notes, or extracts from them, and he will be superficial and insufficient. Mr. Cook has forgotten or despises the ancient saying that it is "better to know everything of something than something of everything," and takes the reverse of this maxim as a rule of culture. This arises partly from his callowness and partly from his maw-worm ambition which covets every prize, in every walk, in literature and in science. But the desire to do this is not more agreeable in literature than on the stage. Bottom in literature will fare like Bottom in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, even though he thinks he can "roar like a sucking dove."

The eloquent passage of Henry Thomas Buckle, the great historian of civilization, wherein he laments the shortness of life, should be pathetic enough to reach even a man so enwrapped in self-conceit as Mr. Cook, and demonstrate to him that he is playing the part of Bottom. Speaking of his effort to make a science of history, Buckle says, near the close of his fourth chapter in the second volume:

"To solve the great problem of affairs; to detect those hidden circumstances which determine the march and destiny of nations; to find in the events of the past a key to the proceedings of the future, is nothing less than to unite into a single science all the laws of the moral and physical world. * * * Perchance the human mind is hardly ready for so vast an enterprise. * * * Let him toil as he may, the sun and noontide of his life shall pass by, the evening of his days shall overtake him, and he himself have to quit the scene leaving that unfinished which he had vainly hoped to complete. * * * Once I own I thought otherwise. Once when I first caught sight of the whole field of knowledge and seemed however dimly to discern its various parts and the relation they bore to each other, I was so entranced with its surpassing beauty, that the judgment was beguiled, and I deemed myself able, not only to cover the surface but also to master the details. Little did I know how the horizon enlarges as well as recedes. * * * Of all that I had hoped to do, I now find but too surely how small a part I shall accomplish."

The task undertaken by Buckle seems of vaster proportions than that which Cook has assigned to himself, but in this respect there is not so much difference as there might appear. In addition to man in communities or as States, Mr. Cook dwells on the individual man, and his institutions. It is needless to say that this investigation requires nearly as many statistics, and as much generalization, as the problem of civilization as affected by nature. The contrast between the diffidence of Buckle on the one hand and the confident arrogance of Cook on the other is worth noting, and is evidence of the charlatanism of Cook, as displayed in his scheme of study. His pretensions are not fortified by accuracy. He constantly blunders. He "cooks" his figures. Speaking of the bankrupt-law of the United States, passed in 1867, he says:

"Anybody whose property is worth over three hundred dollars can declare himself unable to pay his debts, and take the benefit of the law, putting his assets at the mercy of his creditors. The law makes no discrimination among the creditors. It was passed in the interest of the debtor class" (p. 36).

We commend this lucid passage to his admirers as bad law and self-evident foolishness. Voluntary bankruptcy may be entered into where the bankrupt *owes* more than three hundred dollars, but no one ever heard of the possession of assets being regarded as ground for bankruptcy! (See *Bump on Bankruptcy*, pp. 352-354, and section 5014 of U. S. Statutes.) Besides, the law did make nice discrimination among creditors. Claims for labor were preferred; secured claims were protected; there is a marshalling of assets for partnership or individual creditors, as the equity of the case and the origin of the assets may require. (*Bump on Bankruptcy*, pp. 219-223.)

Again, speaking of the Romanists, he says: "There are governmental returns showing that the Romish population doubles every ten years" (p. 204). Where are these returns? If there be any authority whatever for this statement it is not disclosed. It is contrary to the census, which gives an increase of only thirty-five per cent. in the accommodation in 1860-1870, and certainly accommodation is always ahead of actual attendance as a whole; though here and there may be edifices insufficient in size, the want is soon supplied. The statement of Mr. Cook conveys a false impression, to wit, that America is favorably located for the growth of Romanism, that this is relatively stronger, and that we are in danger of falling under its control unless we fight against it. Thus he finds "recent statistics a little startling" (p. 204). Against this attempt to raise the no-popery spirit, and the general desire thinly disguised or openly avowed of inciting *odium theologicum*, may be cited the general facts that *indifferentism* is complained of by eminent divines among all denominations, and especially the Romanistic. There is indifference among the Catholics; there is a movement among Catholics to get up parochial schools in order

to check this indifferentism. For the facts are that while more than forty per cent. of our population, or about 20,000,000, are of Catholic blood, *i. e.*, either Romanists or descendants of Romanists by training and inheritance, there are less than nine millions of nominal Catholics in the land. This shows that we convert one-half from Romanism whose race or culture should make them Romanists. Witness a further fact, viz.: that when a parochial school is established, as in Providence, Rhode Island, not more than one-half of the Catholic parents send children to it. The danger, then, to Mr. Cook's theology is not from Romanism but from scepticism. There is an increase of free-religionists and these come in larger proportion from Protestants than from Catholics. Again, it is a stupid blunder to say that one-fifth of our people live in cities because of Sunday clubs and extravagance, and therefrom to argue great peril to the land (p. 38). This result arises from the law of supply and demand. It is a sign of civilization. Owing to labor-saving machinery it is possible that a larger proportion of persons can abandon food-raising and resort to manufactures and live in cities. There are no such disastrous consequences to the future of the country from this natural result of progress in the arts.

There is a gross misrepresentation of socialism and its purposes on p. 83, which consists in citing a few utterances from the "mouth of Proudhon, the lips of Lasalle, and the pen of Karl Max." That any considerable body of men, any organized society at present of the slightest political importance advocates confiscation of land, or general division of property, or even relentless war by legislation on vested interests, is one of the vagaries of a mind disordered by the constant practice of sensationalism.

In dealing with the Chinese question Mr. Cook makes the same mistakes as he does with regard to socialism. He cites the sand-lot oratory, as if that exclusively expressed the sentiment of the anti-Chinese party. He cites the selfish Gibson (the man who crowds hundreds of Chinese into a building adapted to one-fifth the number) as an authority. As well take the opinion of a grinding English landlord as to the lawlessness of Irish tenantry. And he argues (on pp. 102 and 103) for the Chinese on purely mercenary grounds. He would have us believe that it were better to have 20,000,000 Chinese than 10,000,000 Irishmen come into the country. He arrogantly condemns as folly and wickedness, and a breach of national faith, the revocation of a treaty with China,—thus fathering the principle that the treaty-making power is superior to the treaty-revoking power. It is needless to say that his tirade against the Irish is plentifully affixed with the word [*applause*]. He advocates the Chinese upon Christianizing grounds. This is precisely the defence of African slavery before the war. The introduction of Asiatic slavery is advocated for Christian purposes just as African slavery was advocated by "South-side" Adams and others. The pretence of philanthropic

motives in this respect is mere canting hypocrisy. Those who advocate so hotly the liberty of the Chinese to come here on the plea of philanthropy are secret advocates of caste, and desirous of establishing peasantry on the one hand and aristocracy on the other.

But Mr. Cook does not claim merely to be authority on matters of sociology and theology. He is also, he would have us understand, *au fait* on matters of science. He has entered the field before as a biologist, and now he looms up as a physiologist and explains to us the action of alcohol on the human system (p. 249). He prefaces what he has to say on the subject with this astonishing remark of Sidney Smith: "It is all nonsense to talk about not being able to work without ale, gin, cider and fermented liquors. Do lions and cart-horses drink ale?" He might have pushed the inquiry farther and asked whether lions and cart-horses drink tea and coffee (to which Sidney Smith was, and Joseph Cook is, "addicted"), eat wheaten bread and scalloped oysters, or indulge in thousands of other artificial products of an ever-developing human institution! Mr. Cook restates, and with much force, the argument from excess. We presume that no one doubts or disputes that strong alcohol will coagulate albumen and destroy life. So will acetic acid, which, taken largely diluted, as vinegar, and in *suitable* moderate quantities, is not only innocuous but wholesome, and is, we dare say, to be seen every day on Mr. Cook's dinner-table.

Whether the microscope does or does not indicate such frightful ravages on the blood-corpuscles of tipplers as Mr. Harriman's seventy-fifth objective is said to have revealed, we, who have had reason to be distrustful about observations with high powers, shall not discuss, being satisfied with the more gross and palpable lesions which follow the abuse of strong drink. It must certainly have been most appalling to that portion of Mr. Cook's audience not addicted to total abstinence principles, to behold with their mind's eye their own shrunken and shrivelled blood-cells putting forth spores and mycelium, and we hope that "this rare and impressive exhibition" will long be remembered by them.

We do not here assert that Mr. Cook does not claim some acquaintance with the results of experiments made by Anstie, Binz and other eminent physiologists who have contributed largely, of late years, to our knowledge of the *rôle* of alcohol in the human organism. What he does show is that he does not appreciate the bearing of these experiments on the subject which he discusses *ex cathedrâ*. It is an instance of that superficiality which distinguishes much that he attempts. A right comprehension of the position of both Anstie and Binz would have kept him from blundering respecting the action of moderate *stimulant* doses of alcohol, which he supposes to have some coagulating, and otherwise permanently deleterious, effect on the brain.

The action of alcohol on the tissues is bad enough. Heaven forbid that we should underrate it! What we do assert, however, in speaking of alcoholic beverages, and what we have the best scientific authority for asserting, is that small stimulant quantities (and by stimulation we mean with Anstie a heightening or increase of general physiological function without narcosis) do not *necessarily* affect the brain and nervous system injuriously; that Joseph Cook, by flying in the face of what the "latest science" has said on the subject, is guilty of unwarranted exaggeration, and that such really trustworthy living physiologists as Professors Binz, Gubler, Jaccond, Stillé, Flint, Curtis, will regard this entire prelude of Cook's as nothing but rhodomontade and drivel, with much sound and little sense.

Time fails us to develop further in detail the blunders and misrepresentations of this book, but we ought not to pass without remark the vindictive spirit which breaks forth in the lecture on tramps and Sunday laws.

The remarks on high-schools are interesting and many of them valuable. But there is the distrust of the people which characterizes all persons with arbitrary tempers and aristocratic tendencies. Mr. Cook is afraid to leave salaries of teachers to local option (p. 199). He fears they will be reduced beyond justice. There is nothing to justify such fears. The competition between towns for securing the best has so raised in many cities the price of teachers as to have made the positions prizes to be scrambled for. Six hundred dollars is no more in New York than four hundred in Tenafly or Fitchburg. As a rule, outside of New York there is no kind of skilled labor so well paid as teaching. In the cities of Massachusetts the average earnings of male teachers are double those of lawyers per head. And in many places teachers even for primary schools earn in a year double what is made by skilled dress-makers, and four times as much as saleswomen per day. A greater advance on these prices would be so burdensome to rural communities as to impair the popularity of, and perhaps destroy, the district schools. Our experience has satisfied us that teachers have generally in small places influence enough to make and unmake school-committees, and to obtain about as much as town treasuries can possibly spare. If it is different in New York City it is because of the imperialistic form of government there, and the independence of school trustees of the people. Mr. Cook's arguments, however, so far as they advocate sustaining high-schools are sound enough, though disfigured with the usual appeal to the *odium theologicum* (*See* pp. 282-284).

The views of Mr. Cook on taxation strike us as very crude and unsound. He says (p. 206): "The poor man pays only a poll-tax. The rich support the high-school." And in the discussion of female suffrage with property qualification the same idea is advanced. Now, all taxes are in the end paid by the consumer, and only when the tax is on luxuries or incomes can it be said to come

out of the person paying it. The excise is added to the cost of the manufactured article, the land-tax to the rent. The poor man consumes nearly as much as the rich man, and consequently is more interested in having low taxes than the capitalist. And experience shows that the poorer classes realize that they bear their share of the burden, with less strength to bear it, for in towns and cities where the poor rule, municipal expenditure is on a more meagre scale than where the rich are dominant. It is always the prosperous and the rich who originate schemes for large costly buildings, parks, and ornaments. It is always in school-committees and city councils the poorer members who are parsimonious.

And here we must terminate our review of this book. It interested large numbers in Boston, and doubtless was better adapted to be heard spoken than to be coldly scanned in the cabinet. Intensity of feeling in books is rare nowadays, and valuable from its rarity.

Political and Legal Remedies for War. By SHELDON AMOS, M. A. 12° pp. 254. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

THERE are those who hold that the legitimate function of a reviewer is simply to afford to the reader a clear and precise notion of the contents of a book and its governing motive. Criticism, they contend, so far as the reviewer is concerned, is limited to conveying to one who has not read the subject of the review an exact idea of its scope and purposes. In a word, they ask of the reviewer a microscopic photograph, a truthful reproduction, and not a judgment. This last, say they, if his work be well and properly done, they can reach for themselves, and more to their satisfaction. Put in another way, they want as much as possible of the author and as little as possible of the reviewer.

Whether they are right or wrong in their contention, we shall not here discuss; suffice it to say that the method for which they plead may be applied with the best possible results to any of the books of Mr. Sheldon Amos, of whom we are about to speak, because of the clear and beautifully logical arrangement which characterizes all of his works. In his *Political and Legal Remedies for War* we have something more than a rhetorical plea for a perpetual peace. In what a practical and judicial spirit Mr. Amos approaches his work appears from this passage, in which he foresees the objections that will be offered to the idea for which he argues:

"It will be replied," says he, "that a time when War shall become obsolete, or the frequency of its recurrence much reduced, is too distant to furnish any guide to the conduct of the practical politician, or legal reformer. The prospect of such a time may invigorate the hopes of the philanthropist and even console the

despondent misgiving of the moral philosopher; but there is much on the face of the civilized world to point to the speedy advent of a season of warfare on an unprecedented scale, and little to suggest the hope of its speedy abolition."

In reply to this objection he only says:

"If it were conceded that, however distant the time of general and permanent Peace now seems, yet that time *may* come, and that it should be one of the objects of the International Law Reformer to make that time a reality and to hasten its arrival—so far as he could work in this direction without jeopardizing nearer and more certainly attainable ends of true value—enough would be admitted for the present purpose. But this concession is not a hard one to make as a little examination into the facts will make clear."

As proof that the abolition of war is not impossible, he makes reference to the fact that private wars, judicial combat and duelling have disappeared and war itself has undergone a sweeping change of character:

"The interminable, and seemingly irrepressible, private wars which marked the middle period of the Feudal system, and against which the abler Kings and Popes so perseveringly struggled by the use of such devices as the 'King's Peace' and the 'Truce of God' are remarkable quite as much for the completeness with which they were superseded by the supremacy of Law and Courts of Justice, as for the complexion they imparted to the whole of the nascent political life of Europe."

As we look back through history we see that War is always giving way to Law. Originally war was the normal state of society; today its normal state is that of peace. But this change is no more remarkable than the changes that have been effected in the moral aspect under which war is viewed:

"In the most primitive period, scarcely any distinction can be drawn between the form and spirit of the contests and the unrestricted ferocity which marks the internecine struggles of wild beasts. The object of the fight is one little short of mutual extermination, and the conduct of it is marked throughout with personal vindictiveness and blood-thirsty hatred. In the next stage, War begins to be regarded as a means to an end outside itself, and more lasting than itself. The notion of national right, as a legal conception, has begun to disclose itself, and War is regarded as merely a temporary suspense of well-ascertained relationships. Under some such forms as those of chivalry, or of religious obligations enforced, perhaps, by the head of a common spiritual community, restrictive measures are introduced into the modes of conducting War, especially in relation to the treatment of prisoners and the observance of positive engagements. At a still later stage, the laws which regulate the conduct of War have become almost as numerous and cumbrous as those which ascertain the relations of peace; War is conducted after the most

highly systematized methods, and with the help of the most finely organized and expensive military and naval equipments; the scale of operations is enormous; the armaments so prodigious in times of Peace, as well as of War, as to encroach perilously on the labor needed to provide means of subsistence; the objects of War are increasingly complex and manifold; and yet, withal, it is theoretically held that War is (at best) nothing but a disastrous means to an indispensable end; that no greater injury ought to be done an enemy than is needed to attain this end, and that it is the imperative moral duty of statesmen to exhaust every pacific resource before plunging their country into War."

Thus Mr. Amos makes it apparent that war has no fixed character. He goes further, and shows that for some hundreds of years past the modes of conducting wars between civilized States have been steadily undergoing changes in one continuous direction, to wit, in the direction of diminishing the miseries inherent to warfare and in the limitation of its area. In addition to these tendencies the advance of economic science, teaching free-trade and amicable intercourse between nations, makes against the war idea and assists in diffusing an apprehension of its evils and moral anomalies. "But the growing dislike to War, on social and purely ethical grounds, * * * has an independent origin of its own, and is connected with an aggregate of social, moral, political and religious influences which are only very remotely connected with commercial considerations." Of these influences the most noteworthy is that of "education and of popular knowledge directed to the economic anomalies resulting from War, and coöperating with this influence is the power of the newspaper press in modern times."

The spread of liberalism in Europe and the antagonism of philosophy are also to be taken into account here. So far as philosophy is concerned, all schools alike, even though they are so widely apart as those of Hegel and Comte, agree in this, that their tendencies are pacific. A fifth influence making against war is religion. Thus Christianity and its ecclesiastical institutions have greatly modified the character of war. Christianity ultimately tends to peace. Here it must be remembered, however, that the world's Christianity is nominal and not real. "The truth is," says the author, "that the populations and Governments are the reverse of what they call themselves, and a truly Christian population and Government have yet to be seen—if, indeed, they ever can be seen." Strangely enough, war has been defended on purely Christian grounds, as by the late Professor Mozley, who "intimated that the scheme of Christianity distinctly contemplated War as an essential remedial agency in the progress of society."

Mr. Amos is unsparing in his treatment of the English Church so far as its attitude as regards war is concerned, and shows that the English clergy are strongly in sympathy with the war spirit. This not only results from the relation of the Church to the State

but is incident to the conservatism of the Churchmen, who "have invariably resisted every reform which has finally been accepted by the whole country. * * * The inherent temptation of Churchmen is to prefer order and quiet to right. The pursuit of right, as such, is always a restless search; it may lead to strange companionships; it may land the seeker in circumstances of temporary isolation; it may even, for many anxious moments, seem to point in the direction of anarchy or disorder. But the seeker knows that Right implies at length the highest order; and that to rest anywhere short of obtaining the object of the search is to live, or rather slumber, in a dreamland of shadows, which may at any moment flee away, and leave him homeless and heartless."

A passage like this, and there are others of them in the book, marks with the strongest possible accent the strength and purpose of the writer. He is not only a practical man approaching his work from a practical as opposed to a sentimental point of view, but a practical man dominated by a sense of right stronger than any sentimentalism.

His chapter upon the causes of modern European wars is especially valuable. Intervention, the defective state of international morality and international law, and standing armies, he ranks as among these causes. He instances the case of the *Virginius*, the circumstances of which are yet fresh in the public memory, as an illustration of the dangers to peace from the difficulty of instantly and authoritatively clearing up a doubtful point of mixed law and fact. In treating of standing armies he confines himself entirely to the objection that they conduce directly to war, without stopping to consider the grave economical, constitutional and moral objections to which they are obnoxious.

The main interest of the book attaches to the last two chapters, which discuss the remedy for war. In discussing the nature and possibility of political remedies, Mr. Amos declares against the possibility of any one remedy of universal efficacy. He assumes, however, a desire to abolish war, while admitting that it is not universally strong; and the achievement of the desired end he contends must be a constant political aim. He then proceeds to the discussion of international relations with the purpose of discovering remedies for war, and at the outset comes very naturally to the question of intervention, which, he holds, constitutes the most unsatisfactory chapter of international law. He contends that all neutral States have a common cause. "The object of a pacific policy," says he, "should be to remove all occasions of divided and self-regarding interests from these States, so that, free from all prejudices, mutual suspiciousness, and vacillation of purpose, they may combine, either to keep clear of the struggle or to throw their weight into one scale or the other, or insist that the matter in dispute shall be settled by arbitration, at the risk of the recusant party being treated as the general enemy." As to arbitration, that becomes more feasible every day as the sensitiveness of States as to

what touches their existence, independence or honor is reduced; and as each State comes to feel a greater confidence in the disinterested integrity of foreign governments.

The discussion of the operation of war on trade, and of the laws of war as bearing on peace, is of deep interest, the same interest which prevails throughout the book, the interest which is always imparted to a work by ripe scholarship. Mr. Amos' book is essentially a treatise upon international law and international politics for the unprofessional reader, while it is at the same time a most valuable contribution to the library of the specialist. As compared with Kant's *Project for a Perpetual Peace* on the one hand, or the fine-sounding resolutions of the Peace Societies on the other, it is a revelation of the scholarly and practical manner in which the subject is susceptible of being treated.

Leçons sur les Phénomènes de la Vie, communs aux Animaux et aux Végétaux. Par CLAUDE BERNARD. pp. 404. Paris: 1879.

THE problem of the nature and cause of life still defies solution, and the various definitions which have been attempted express only the conditions of vital phenomena. Men have essayed to throw light on the problem by certain hypotheses, the vitalist and the functional. Stahl, Von Helmont, Kant, regarded life as an interior principle of action, a sort of calculating intelligence with evolutionary powers, of which the developed organism is a resultant. This theory, with some modification, finds an exponent at the present day in Prof. Lionel Beale. The latter insists with especial emphasis on the spontaneity of vital as contrasted with admittedly physical phenomena.

Claude Bernard, in the volume before us, shows the weakness of the vitalist's position. The essential oneness of living beings with nature, and the reciprocal relations which they sustain with their environment, forbid the assumption of an indwelling archeus maintaining a constant struggle with natural forces and subjugating them. The principle of action of living bodies is not internal, exclusive of external atmospheric or cosmical conditions. The spontaneity of vital movements is apparent only—there are always exterior agents, stimuli, foreign to the living organism, which provoke active manifestations in the matter of life. In the higher animals these stimuli generally reside in and act through what Bernard happily calls the "interior medium," *i. e.*, the circulating blood; but this interior medium is still an environment of the real living protoplasmic elements of the organism.

The definition of Bichat, which asserts Life to be "the sum of

the functions which resist Death," is superficial and inadequate. The opposition or contrariety between the terms life and death which Bichat predicates does not exist, for in every living substance destructive processes simultaneously accompany the constructive or organizing :—*Ce qui est vivant mourra, et ce qui est mort a vécu.* This simultaneousness of constructive and destructive operations in the matter of life is the most striking characteristic of living things. There is a perpetual coming in of new molecules to take the place of other molecules which leave the protoplasmic mass to enter into new combinations; it is a sort of elemental strife, a clashing together and a flying apart of atoms, to which a whirlpool offers a faint analogy. Flourens did in fact apply the term vital whirlpool (*tourbillon vital*) to the fundamental process always and incessantly going on in living beings. Hence, the definition of De Blainville finds also justification: "Life is a double internal movement of composition and decomposition, at the same time general and continuous." A similar definition, though more elaborate and precise, has lately been propounded by Le Tourneau. Vide *Biologie*, p. 1.

It is from this stand-point that Claude Bernard discourses of vital phenomena in these remarkable *Leçons*, which form his last offering to the world. M. Bernard speaks to us not as a theorist, but as a worker in experimental science, who made more useful discoveries in physiology and pathology than any other man of our day and generation. Who is not familiar with his investigations on the formation of sugar in animals; his researches on the functions of the sympathetic nerve, and the innervation of blood-vessels; on the pancreas, and its special physiological *rôle;* on the action of poisons and medicines, and on animal heat?

M. Bernard is unwilling to rank himself among the vitalists, though acknowledging his belief in an "evolutive force," which is about the only mystery, in his estimation, that will long continue to defy the researches of chemistry and physics. No one has combated more strenuously the ancient notion that life is an "interior principle," independent of conditions, and moulding homogeneous matter into form. The dependence of animals and plants on exterior conditions is especially obvious in that suspension of function occasioned in the lower orders by cold weather; the renewal of vital manifestations which accompanies the return of Spring. If man and other warm-blooded animals appear independent of the variations of their cosmical medium, it is because they have, surrounding their vital elements, another environment always of the same temperature, and little susceptible of change, *i. e.*, the blood. Moreover, the lowest as well as the highest vital operations demand the intervention of oxygen, supplied by the respiratory process, without which the living elements would lack their necessary stimulus. Life is the result of an adaptation (rather than a *struggle* as Bernard calls it, though it would be proper to call the process of adaptation a struggle toward equi-

librium) between the organism and surrounding cosmical conditions, and in its manifestations we recognize as factors:

1. Preëstablished laws which regulate the phenomena in their succession, their concert, their harmony.

2. Determinate physico-chemical conditions without which the phenomena cannot appear.

With the preëstablished laws we have nothing to do, any more than with the "evolutive force" which determines growth and development. These laws must find their explanation (as far as explanation may ever be possible), in antecedent conditions of atavism. Each living being continues and repeats the life of a predecessor organism, and we may in imagination follow each link in the chain to the origin in the far remote past, of all living beings, in the germs, single or multiple, from which they have been evolved. It is doubtless at bottom a problem of molecular physics, polarities and affinities; actions and reactions between a changeable organism and an ever-changing environment. But this is simply an hypothesis, based on some inductive experience, and appealing to our belief in the uniformity of nature and the sufficiency of natural processes for its warrant. It is, we repeat, only the conditions of vital manifestations that are accessible to us. Life is, in a word, the result of a definite and harmonious correspondence between external conditions and the preëstablished constitution of the organism.

M. Bernard, in that graphic and luminous style which characterizes all he has written, devotes considerable space to a discussion of the three "Modes of Life," as he calls them:

1. Latent life—life not manifested.

2. Life with oscillation; its manifestations being variable and dependent on the exterior medium.

3. Life that is constant, free and independent.

As an example of the first (latent life), we have in the vegetable kingdom seeds and grains, and in the animal kingdom, rotifers, tardigrades, and certain infusoria existing in, or capable of passing into, a state of complete torpor or chemical indifference, from which they can be revivified by heat, moisture and atmospheric air. With regard to seeds, they have been known to remain years (centuries, say some) in this state of physical and chemical torpor, and have germinated when the suitable conditions were provided. During these years of "chemical indifference" there were absolutely no vital manifestations—no relations of exchange between the seed and its atmospheric environment—neither a borrowing of oxygen from nor a restoration of carbonic acid to the surrounding air. Experiments have also proved that certain dried animalcules—rotifers, kolpodes (certain encysted infusoria) may be kept for months and even years (five years at least, according to M. Bernard) in a state of inertia and chemical indifference as absolute as if they were, what they seem to be, particles of dust. Let a shower of warm rain come upon them,

and in the presence of the requisite conditions for vital manifestations (heat, moisture, oxygen) they swell up, manifest internal movements, display an organization (especially manifest in the rotifers which have a nervous system), and pass from a state of apparent death to one of vital activity. Desiccation, in these minute animals, suppresses vital destruction as well as vital creation (the two distinguishing characteristics of active life), and the physical and chemical properties of the tissues disappear. The protoplasmic elements coagulate, to become again fluid when suitable conditions present themselves.

Every philosophical student must stand in rapt astonishment before exhibitions of this sort witnessed not merely in M. Bernard's laboratory and class-room, but on a larger and far more magnificent scale in nature's laboratory every Spring-time, when multitudes of veritable resurrections take place under the influence of vivifying sunshine and genial showers.

What shall we call that power by which this seemingly dead rotifer-dust comes to life, unless we call it a property of the protoplasmic tissues, as much as elasticity, density, tenacity, equally restored by warmth and moisture, are properties of the general organic structure? Surely the definition of Beale, "Life is the power that moves and governs protoplasm," seems inadequate to explain the phenomena of latent life.

As examples of "Life with oscillations" we have all plants, and some animals known as hibernating animals, that pass the Winter in a state of torpor; not in a state of absolute chemical and physical inertness like the first class, but in a condition where the vital manifestations are at a low ebb. The material exchanges of assimilation and disassimilation are reduced to a minimum; but Spring-time exalts and restores the partly suspended vital functions.

Examples of the third mode of life are seen in all warm-blooded animals. Life is never suspended but courses on, seemingly indifferent to the material changes of environing conditions. This is because the "interior medium" which envelopes the tissue elements is unchanging, and the living components of the tissues are kept at all times supplied with proper heat and moisture. By this interior medium, too, the tissues are constantly furnished with force-giving, change-compelling oxygen, brought to them by countless millions of red blood-corpuscles, whose special office as carriers of oxygen is well known.

The plasma of the blood penetrates all the tissues and bathes the anatomical elements, and is the source and confluent of all the elementary exchanges. A complex organism is a reunion of simple organisms (bioplasts), which are the anatomical units, and which live in the interior liquid medium; and the fixity of this environment is the condition of that life which M. Bernard calls constant. The stability of the interior medium is the result of a perfectioning of the organic mechanism, a physiological inte-

gration and coördination, such that exterior variations are at each instant compensated and equilibrated. The higher animal, instead of being independent of or indifferent to the external world, is in close and intelligent relation with it, and its equilibrium is the result of a continual compensation, established by the most delicate of balances. The conditions necessary for the life of the anatomical elements in their interior medium are the same that have been mentioned before—heat, moisture and oxygen, besides nutritive supplies. Equilibration is regulated by the nervous system, a special department of which presides over the heat-generating processes.

The heat-regulating function comprehends a nervous apparatus (thermic nerves and vaso-motor nerves) whose agency produces now a heightening, now a lowering of temperature, according to circumstances. Heat-production in the animate, as in the inorganic world, is due to intense chemical changes of the nature of combustions—these are simultaneous with all nutritive and vital actions. The living elements must be maintained at all times at a constant temperature; an excess of heat-production is largely compensated by the refrigeration attendant on increased perspiration; all local demands for an increase of heat are responded to by the vaso-motor nerves, whose action dilates the small blood-vessels, thus causing more warm blood to flow to the tissue or organ, and augmenting the physico-chemical calorifacient processes.

Water: This is an element indispensable to the constitution of the "interior medium," where the living elements pass their existence. There is in all animals of the third class an *ensemble* of appliances for regulating the fluidity of the blood and tissues; supply and expenditure being kept at a nearly uniform balance. Water is carried off by the secretions, and supplied by ingestion of aliments and liquids; and the nervous system (from which proceeds the sensation of thirst) is the mechanism by which compensation between the gains and losses is effected.

Oxygen: In the higher animals the introduction of oxygen is accomplished by the respiratory function, and the instrumentality of the red corpuscles as before stated. The hemo-globuline of the blood has been proved to be the active absorbent material of the oxygen. The respiratory movements are under the control of the nervous system, and rarifaction of the external atmosphere is compensated by augmentation of the quantity inspired.

Pabulum: In the higher animals nutrition is not direct, but it is indirect, and effected by means of *reserves* (a term applied by M. Bernard to alimentary products of digestion, stored away in the recesses of the tissues to be utilized in nutrition and work). The formation and accumulation of these *reserves* is a necessity of both plant and animal life.

The doctrine of duality as formerly applied to the two great kingdoms of life, has been ably treated in the work before us.

Animals and plants have been ranged in two distinct categories.

It has been supposed that there was a radical difference between animals and vegetables from the point of view of the composition of their tissues. Nitrogen was said to be an element exclusively pertaining to animal organization, existing but exceptionally in the vegetable. This teaching is now given up, since the wonderful modern discovery of nitrogenous protoplasm, the only *living, active, working* constituent part of both animals and plants, identical in modes, properties and chemical composition in both kingdoms.

It was once supposed that lignite or cellulose was peculiar to vegetable tissues, but this substance has been lately found in the cutaneous investment of the tunicata, and its analogy to the chitinous material which forms the carapace of crustacea has been shown.

But dualism found its first and strongest arguments in the reciprocal relations of animals and plants with the atmosphere. Animals absorb oxygen and exhale carbonic acid, plants exhale oxygen and absorb carbonic acid; thus the two behave in an inverse manner relatively to their environment. The animal has been called an apparatus of combustion, oxidation, analysis, or destruction; the vegetable an apparatus of restoration, formation and synthesis. The animal organism being incapable of forming any of the proximate principles of its constitution; fat, albumen, fibrine, sugar, starch, all these were furnished him by the plant, and the alimentation of the animal was simply the putting into place of materials solely elaborated in the vegetable kingdom. The milk secreted by the herbivorous animal, the caseine, butter, sugar were believed to exist, ounce for ounce, in the herbage on which he fed.

It has been one of the discoveries of this age that this sharp antagonism does not exist, an antagonism which contradicts the fundamental conception of life which necessitates the conjunction, in both plant and animal, of phenomena of creation and destruction. It contradicts the doctrine of *reserves*, before mentioned, as common to both plants and animals. The body is not nourished directly by its food, but indirectly, after a long effort of elaboration, in the tissues whereby the aliment is rendered fit to take its place in the organic synthesis. As for the formation of immediate principles, it has now been demonstrated that animals form fat independent of that which they ingest, and which exists as such in their food. They not only make fat, but that which exists in the food which they eat they transform. The dog does not fatten himself with suet (mutton-fat) but with *dog-fat*. It can also be demonstrated that the albumenoid substances which constitute the animal tissues are not borrowed directly from alimentary principles existing in vegetables. Before Bernard's time it was believed that sugar was formed only by the vegetable, but he demonstrated, by incontestable proofs, that the animal

fabricates for itself this substance, indispensable to vital function, at the expense of alimentary materials of a very different nature.

The antagonism of the respiratory function of animals and plants has not been confirmed by experimental investigation.

The reduction of carbonic acid performed by the plant is the function of chlorophyl; but chlorophyl has no relation whatever with that respiration which is identical in the two kingdoms. The vegetable protoplasm, the *uncolored* parts, roots, grains, etc., have the same respiratory properties as the animal tissues. The vegetable as well as the animal absorbs oxygen, exhales carbonic acid, and generates heat. The fact is not doubtful when one follows the germination of grains.

In fine, sensibility (the third point of antagonism between the two kingdoms) is not an exclusive attribute of animals. If plants do not possess locomotive functions, comparable to those of animals, they none the less possess a sensibility which is the *primum movens* of every vital act.

As for chlorophyl, even this wonderful substance, which, sole among organic compounds is capable of utilizing directly the force in the solar ray, is not, as was once supposed, the exclusive possession of the vegetable kingdom, for while there are multitudes of plants, as mushrooms, which have none, there are many animals of a low type, as euglena viridis, stentor polymorphus, which are distinguished by the possession of this green coloring matter.

These final results of physiological research, in which chemical analysis and the microscope have an important part, are but the expression of a general law which proclaims the unity of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. This law declares that life can only be engendered and maintained by death, creation by destruction. Life is the consequence of a perpetual struggle for adjustment between the organism and its environment. Internal changes are continually adapting living matter to external changes and individuality is kept constant though the material substratum is ever passing from living into lifeless form. The facts, familiar to all—that animal life is nourished by vegetable life, that plants through the agency of chlorophyl and solar light decompose carbonic acid, evolved by the animal, and form organic compounds, that vegetables are especially force-giving while animals are especially force-consuming agents,—are in reality accidental and contingent, epiphenomena, which in no sense militate against the general conclusion above stated.

This general conclusion is stated in these words: "General physiology, which takes into consideration only the general and essential phenomena of life, does not sanction the admission of a duality in animals and plants, an animal physiology and a vegetable physiology distinct. There is only one mode of living; only one physiology for all living beings. It is in the play of the various vital mechanisms, in the interior arena where the struggle

for existence goes on, that we find functional differences and varieties infinite."—*Leçons*, etc., p. 148.

The *IV^e Leçon* is occupied with phenomena of organic destruction. Comprised under the heads, Fermentation, Combustion, Putrefaction, and is prefaced by this physiological axiom: "Every vital manifestation is bound in necessary relation to an organic destruction." As for fermentations, two kinds are recognized: one produced by figured, the other by soluble ferments. Of figured ferments the yeast plant offers a type, and of soluble ferments, vegetable diastase, and the digestive ferments (pepsin, pancreatin, etc.).

These ferments effect destruction of the complex components of the organism, their breaking up into simpler bodies, accompanied by hydration, and perform an important part in nutrition. The *reserves* of which we have before spoken—alimentary products of digestion which accumulate in the tissues—require to be acted upon by soluble ferments before they can be utilized for nutrition by the economy. The *inversive* ferments are charged with this transformation.

Combustion: It has been known since the time of Lavoisier that the molecular waste which accompanies vital phenomena consists in a sort of oxidation of organic matter; it is the equivalent of a combustion. Here is the principal, if not the only, source of animal and vegetable heat. This combustion, however, is not direct; and the true *rôle* of oxygen in the organic economy is still unknown. It is, however, certain that this gas is fixed in the organism, as one of the elements of its constitution.

In entering into combination with the elements, it renders them excitable; it compels those changes without which life is imposssible. Its agency, therefore, seems that of a general excitant. A simple experiment with the vibratile cilia of the respiratory membrane of the oyster proves this. If you expel the oxygen from the microscopic preparation and replace it by hydrogen, all vibratile motion ceases, to be resumed when oxygen is again brought into contact with the cilia.

Carbonic acid and water are produced in the organism as a final result, not merely of direct oxidations (which are doubted) but of organic decompositions effected through the agency of the ferments.

Putrefaction: It has been known from all time that the materials which enter into the constitution of animals and plants begin to disintegrate after death, the products of which decomposition have a strong putrid odor. We have not time to enter into a consideration of the recent labors of M. Pasteur and others in this interesting department of scientific study. The phenomena of putrefaction generally demand as their essential condition the absence of all somatic life. We say *generally*, for it is rendered quite probable by recent researches of M. Pasteur and others that certain malignant and infectious diseases are the result of a

veritable putrefaction in the blood under the influence of certain pestilent bacteria and vibriones.

The *V^e Leçon* treats of the phenomena of organic creation. These are considered under the head of chemical synthesis and morphological synthesis, and in this connection a full history is given of the cell theory and of protoplasm. It is now agreed that the final morphological element of living beings is the cell, but there is a substance *living* and *formative*, capable of indefinite self-multiplication and reproduction which is anterior to the cell —the protoplasm or matter of life. This is the substratum and agent of all chemical and morphological syntheses.

The *VI^e Leçon* discusses the *rôle* of chlorophyl in organic syntheses. This substance effects the synthesis of ternary bodies under the influence of solar light. M. Bernard calls chlorophyl the *colored protoplasm*, in distinction from the *uncolored* (or ordinary) protoplasm, which latter can indeed effect complex chemical syntheses, but cannot directly incorporate carbon. Chlorophyl alone is capable of the syntheses of the carbon principles from such simple compounds as carbonic acid. Uncolored protoplasm, with the help of the ternary bodies formed by chlorophyl, can form the syntheses of the most complicated quaternary bodies, the energy employed being heat (from internal combustions), not the direct solar ray. Recent experiments of M. Pasteur and M. Bertholet have shown that the uncolored protoplasm can form the most complex organic compounds without any help from a synthesis previously effected by the chlorophylline protoplasm. In a medium of a most simple constitution, without albumen, without organized products, a granule of a humble vegetable organism known as mycoderma aceti was planted. In this culture-fluid without chlorophyl, without light, this granule of mycoderma produced a considerable quantity of new cells of mycoderma and proteine compounds, as well as fatty matters and cellulose. The fluid of culture (M. Pasteur, in the *Comptes-Rendus*, April 10th, 1876) contained only alcohol, ammonia, phosphoric acid, potash, magnesia, water and oxygen. M. Pasteur also cultivated vibriones in a similar medium.

M. Bernard's experiments to prove that irritability and sensibility are distinguishing characteristics of all animal and vegetable life, and his interesting exposition of general morphological development end this intensely interesting volume.

Life: Its True Genesis. By R. W. WRIGHT. 12° pp. 298. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1880.

THE fundamental idea of this volume is contained in this sentence: "That the primordial germs (meaning germinal principles

of life) of all living beings, man alone excepted, are in themselves upon the earth, and that they severally make their appearance, each after its kind, whenever and wherever the necessary environing conditions exist."

It is gratifying that the writer saves his reputation for orthodoxy by not including man in his formula, and that the above rigid proposition is based on a passage in the first chapter of Genesis—correctly interpreted, we mean, for Mr. Wright shows his skill in tinkering badly translated texts. "Whose germinal principle of life [*seed*, in King James' Bible] each in itself after its kind, is upon the earth." These "seeds" or germinal principles (elsewhere called vital units) were implanted in the earth at the creation (or "in the beginning"), and derive their origin, not from natural conditions, but from a supernatural act. They are the archetypes of species, whose fixity the author maintains in opposition to the "absurd" and "fatuous" theories of Darwin and Spencer. When the necessary time arrived they "came forth," developed into geese and hens, fish and frogs, mastodons and monkeys; all but man, whose creation demanded the direct interposition of Deity.

Mr. Wright's "Genesis" is, as we have said, a Bible genesis; and to verify and confirm his exegetical deduction he searches the fields of natural science, lance in hand, to deal hard thrusts at impious sceptics, materialists and evolutionists, of whom Mr. Darwin and Mr. Bastian fare the most severely.

We shall quote a few sentences in illustration of the polemics of this writer who has been hailed by a certain portion of the religious press as a savior from the errors and enormities of the evolutionists. It is the same class of callow critics who have been inane or insane enough to suppose Darwin refuted by T. Warren O'Neill, or Herbert Spencer by Prof. Bowne.

On page 281 Mr. Darwin is credited with teaching that our "semi-human progenitors" were "apes that had lost their capacity to subsist as apes, and hence found it necessary to subsist as men."

When or where has Mr. Darwin taught any such doctrine as this? It has the most distant resemblance to Lamarck's notion of the transmutation of species, but is in no sense Darwinism.

"The demoralized monkey becomes the incipient man" (p. 280). No evolutionist teaches such nonsense as this.

On page 291 we read this astounding paragraph:

"When we reflect that all this vast aggregation of sun systems visible in the telescopic field is not stationary, but is revolving with inconceivable rapidity about some unknown and infinitely remote centre of the universe, * * * how unutterably puerile and fatuous the thought of *Mr. Darwin's little whirligig* as the author of it all!"

We confess that this quite takes away our breath, and we wonder to ourselves if Mr. Darwin has ever been guilty of such

atheistic presumption and impiety! We turn to his principal work, and while we fail to find anything about the "little whirligig" (what can Mr. Wright mean?), we do find, prefacing the last edition of the *Origin of Species* as *mottoes*, the following passages which seem to show that Mr. Darwin is at heart a deeply religious man:

"But with regard to the material world we can at least go so far as this—we can perceive that events are brought about, not by insulated interpositions of divine power, exerted in each particular case, but by the establishment of general laws."—W. Whewell, *Bridgewater Treatise.*

"To conclude, therefore, let no man out of a weak conceit of sobriety or an ill-applied moderàtion, think or maintain that a man can search too far, or be too well studied in the book of God's word, or in the book of God's works; divinity or philosophy; but rather let men endeavor an endless progrèss or proficiency in both."—Bacon, *Advancement of Learning.*

In conclusion, we would recommend to Mr. R. W. Wright that he repress his disposition to say "smart" things that *tell*, and that he cultivate the spirit of humility and modesty characteristic of some of these true men of science whom he denounces; and that he ever keep in mind that dishonesty and unscrupulousness in literary criticism is just as reprehensible and just as abominable in self-gratulant defenders of the faith as it is, or would be, in Professors Bastian, Tyndall or Huxley—or any of the more professed opponents of Christianity.

English Men of Letters. Edited by JOHN MORLEY. 12° New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

1. *Cowper.* By GOLDWIN SMITH. pp. 128.

2. *Alexander Pope.* By LESLIE STEPHEN. pp. 209.

3. *Byron.* By JOHN NICHOL. pp. 212.

1. IT was not altogether a happy conjunction which brought the task of interpreting a poet of extreme sensibility to the desk of a robust historian; for it is not extravagant to conclude that one may very well understand the British Constitution and its workings who could not read with sympathy the constitution of Cowper. But, if Mr. Smith's attempt is not satisfying as a whole, he makes occasional points that are well taken and that serve to illustrate some of the best characteristics of the poet. His shorter poems, which bring graceful reflection and touching thought to trivial topics, Mr. Smith regrets to say were too few; and they were, in fact, work better suited to him than was the translation of Homer. It

is a noteworthy felicity which terms the translation of Homer into verse "the Polar expedition of literature, always failing, yet still desperately renewed." And Mr. Smith's remarks upon Southey's opinion of Cowper as a letter-writer are just, and carefully discriminated. Gray's letters are pieces of fine writing, addressed to literary men; Horace Walpole's are memoirs, Byron's were genuine, but "Cowper's have the true epistolary charm." Some of these letters are given to illustrate the easy conversational flow which marked them all. "But," says Mr. Smith, "they are also the best pictures of his character, and his character is everything." The events of Cowper's life can be put in a brief space, as they have been in Mr. Smith's book; but whoever wishes to understand and rightly judge either Pope or Cowper must keep in constant remembrance the age in which they wrote and the quality of English poetry which surrounded and preceded them.

2. IT would have been well for Mr. Stephen, perhaps, if he could have given Mr. Lowell's piquant essay on Pope an appreciative reading before writing his own estimate of that author; though we cannot accuse him of any lack of industry in working out his theme. He has had access to Mr. Elwin's late researches, which serve to throw new light on Pope's correspondence, and he seems to be impressed with a delicate sense of the fact that even with the newest and best aids the attempt to solve all the intricate problems which perplex the study of Pope as a person is to go over a road "full of pitfalls for the unwary." To be "an acute critic, and a patient antiquarian," an antiquarian, too, where the facts to be unearthed are involved in a labyrinth of quarrels and contradictions, is not an outfit which is by any means too common, but it is a necessary one for the biographer of, and commentator on, this poet. Lowell, before writing his brief essay, read and reread everything which ten years ago could be procured in relation to his subject, and he gives us a poet's interpretation and fervor, which would, had it been at hand, have added a little warmth to Mr. Stephen's work. The facts in the case, however, are here well arranged, and perhaps have a sufficiently good portrayal for popular use. If Mr. Stephen is not an "ideal biographer" he is not exactly a dull one, and will interest those who wish to know something about the writer who has left more quotations and minted phrases as a legacy to speech and thought than any other English author except Shakespeare.

Of Pope's literary quality there will always be disputes of taste, that grow out of taste purely. If you are born a Popist or a Wordsworthian, as Lowell intimates, you will remain one; "and there is nothing more to be said of the matter."

3. IT is not too much to say that we have in Mr. Nichol's estimate of Byron one of the most acute and temperate, as well as one of the most readable, of the books which make up the interesting

series of Morley's *English Men of Letters*. It brings into an easy perspective all the essential facts in Byron's somewhat lurid career; and, if it does not furnish many new ones, it sets those which are well known in a light that is natural and consistent, and which will help all classes of readers to a wise conclusion in respect to one of the *Dii Majores* of English verse. If it had done nothing more, it deserves well of those who respect reality and decency, for the vigorous manner in which it treats the disgusting scandal which a celebrated American author thought it her duty to exploit, nearly a dozen years ago, in a most injudicious book. "The grounds of this reckless charge have been weighed by those who wished it to prove false, and by those who have wished it to prove true, and found wanting. The chaff," says Mr. Nichol, "has been beaten in every way and on all sides, without yielding a particle of grain; and it were ill-advised to take up the noxious dust that remains. From nothing left on record by either of the two persons most intimately concerned can we derive any reliable information,"—and all this, taken in connection with Lady Byron's well-known tendency to hallucination and not less curious temperament—though in another way—than Byron's own, and other circumstances not necessary to repeat, leaves not an inch of ground for the ghastly story to stand upon.

Byron succeeded, however, "in making himself—what he wished to be—the most noted personality in the world of letters in our century." Southey and "an American writer of tracts in the form of stories" held him to be "the principle of Evil incarnate"; to the Countess Guiccioli "he is an archangel"; Carlyle rates him as a "sulky dandy"; and Goethe ranks him as the first English poet after Shakespeare, and is followed by the leading critics of France, Italy and Spain. Carlyle said of him, too (in 1839), among other disparagements, that "he taught me nothing that I had not again to forget." "The refrain of Mr. Carlyle's advice during the most active years of his criticism was 'Close thy Byron, open thy Goethe.' We do so, and find that the refrain of Goethe's advice in reference to Byron is: *Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.* He urged Eckermann to study English, that he might read him." And many more were the compliments the great German bestowed. Mr. Nichol gives also the verdicts of Castelar, Mazzini, Stendhal, Sainte-Beuve and Taine, and adds: "So many voices of so various countries cannot be simply set aside." In the midst of much judicious criticism of his characteristics, Mr. Nichol says of his subject: "His greatness, as well as his weakness, lay in the fact that from boyhood battle was the breath of his being. To tell him not to fight was like telling Wordsworth not to reflect, or Shelley not to sing." And he concludes with these, among other words: "In good portraits his head has a lurid look as if it had been at a higher temperature than that of other men. * * * We may learn much from him

still, when we have ceased to disparage, as our fathers ceased to idolize, a name in which there is so much warning and so much example."

Poems. By EDWIN ARNOLD. With a Preface written for this Edition by the Author. 16° pp. 246. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

IT was an eminently proper and happy sequence on the part of Mr. Arnold's American publishers to follow up *The Light of Asia* with the most important lesser poems in that author's repertory. The present book would be quite able to stand alone without help of preface or predecessor; but now that it has an audience ready-made for, and educated to, its quality, its beauty and timeliness will receive all the more emphasis. To those who have been charmed by the previous volume, it will only be necessary to say that the fabric of this is mostly of similar import. Mr. Arnold has won his well-deserved popularity not more by his exquisite sense of poetic symbols and flavors, than by the fact that he has stood and served as the prophet and interpreter of the intellectual moods and passions of the older hemisphere to the younger. There are authors, like Müller, to be sure, who have a more profound and accurate scholarship in Sanskrit, and poets like Swinburne, who can make our English speech amenable to finer *nuances* of expression; but we shall look in vain, doubtless, to find the single writer who unites both acquirements in the same matchless degree. We are not surprised to discover, therefore, in the *Indian Song of Songs*, which is the initial and longest poem in this book, such a feast of Eastern dainties as have not come together before in so small a compass in our tongue. The poem is not here so much a translation, though it is partly that, as it is a paraphrase of the *Gîta Govinda* of the Hindoo poet Jayadeva, a poem which has been popular in India for over seven hundred years. The poem was, originally, a musical mystery-play, or pastoral opera, so to speak, and is adapted to a musical system of tunes and changes that is as foreign to our sense of harmony as the Sanskrit tongue is to our vocal organs. It is full of abruptly shifting metres, "fanciful alliterations, assonances, and recurring choruses," some—but not all—of which Mr. Arnold has attempted to reproduce. But, considering that in the Hindoo scheme of music the semitones are accurately divided, and that in Sanskrit a single word may go through a hundred and eight different permutations, the author has evolved out of some bewildering difficulties a poem that pulsates with passion and beauty. In the background against which all that appeals to the ear is set, lies a deep ethical lesson, not peculiar to any one literature, but, if prevalent in all, one deeply marked in Oriental

modes of thought—the search of the soul after absolute rectitude, after the final and highest truth. The erotic warmth with which this lesson is here invested is set forth with glowing imagery, but the last "Sarga," or canto of the poem, it was thought necessary to omit, in order to keep in compliance with "the canons of Western propriety."

The *After Death in Arabia*, and *She and He*—gems of a different kind—are each worth a more extended comment than the exigencies of space and time permit. Mr. Arnold has also shown himself happy in some poems rendered from the Greek, and altogether adds fresh laurels, by this collection, to his previous wreath of honor.

Letters on the Eucharist, addressed to a Member of the Church of Rome. By E. O. PHINNEY, A. M., M. D. 12° pp. 393. Baltimore: Published for the Author, by D. H. Carroll. 1880.

A Massachusetts physician, of high professional and religious character, had a brother-in-law, to whom he was strongly attached. Both had been life-long Protestants, but through some influence the latter renounced his early faith and became a Roman Catholic. Hence arose between the two an extended but very friendly controversy, chiefly relating to the question of the Holy Sacraments, which to a large extent has occasioned the real difference in the respective systems of belief. The Protestant view of the question has, with great candor and ability, been presented by Dr. Phinney in the series of letters now published. The style is so clear and finished that the reading is a constant pleasure. The spirit is so kind and courteous that the most sensitive Catholic will receive no offence, whilst the industry and the fidelity of the writer in the study and in the citation of his authorities are unmistakable throughout. All the available records, both inspired and patristic, which contain any reference to the subject, have been carefully explored in the original tongues, and their true spirit reflected, so far as accurate scholarship and sound judgment, conscientiously exercised, are able to do it. The book is entitled to rank as a standard authority in its line, and should have a place in the library of every thinking person irrespective of his creed.

The Perception of Space and Matter. By Rev. JOHNSTON ESTEP WALTER. 12° pp. 451. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 1879.

THIS book discusses certain questions which have puzzled the brains of metaphysicians in all ages. What is the nature of

Perception? What is Space? What is Matter? What is it to perceive Space and Matter? These are fundamental problems in metaphysics.

Mr. Walter reviews with considerable ability the various theories of the perception of the external world—that of Reid, of Hamilton, of Bain and of Spencer. He develops at considerable length his own views of matter and space. These are briefly as follows: That we have an immediate, though narrow perception of extension, and a *mediate* perception of external extended realities. Our knowledge of all the properties of matter is mediate and relative; we know those properties only through the affections of the mind which they produce. (This is a philosophical truism which is not worth debating.) "We know the extension of material objects *directly* because extension is *a property of the mind.*" But we are unable to follow our author into this metaphysical cloud-land.

There is much in this book which will be unintelligible to the common reader,—and Mr. Walter raises more difficulties than he lays.

How extension can be a *property* of the *unextended mind*—spiritual being whose very nature forbids extension—is a Gordian knot which Mr. Walker has not the ability either to unravel or to cut.

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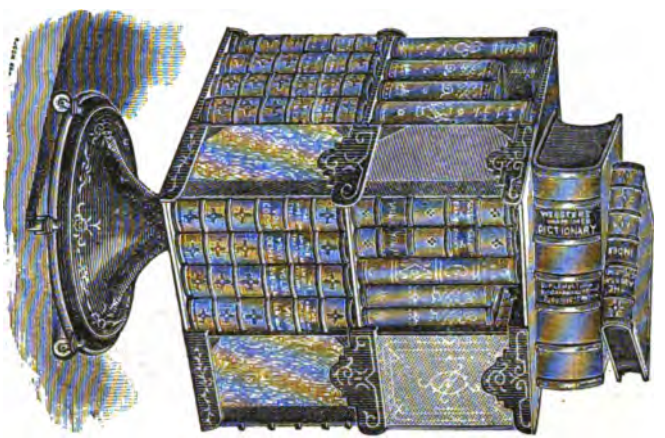

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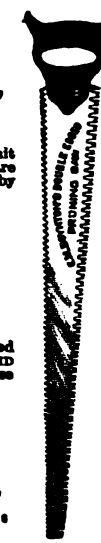

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